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The Tragic Myth of Black Power

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Man is, among other things, a myth-making creature. Indeed, the almost infinite capacity to create and perpetuate illusions is one of man's most generous and massive endowments. Myths, of course, serve a variety of functions in the human economy, and may be harmless, creative or destructive. Profoundly destructive and self-defeating is the myth of "black power." It is a dangerous romantic illusion. It is an illusion of power, but we should not underestimate the power of the illusion.

Social movements have a peculiar way of breeding internal rebels and of generating purposes and qualities quite different from, and at variance with, their initial character, direction, and moral tone. So, ironically, an important sector of the Civil Rights Movement is beginning to wave the ominous flag of black nationalism and, in voices and style reminiscent of the demonic racism which has informed and inspired so much of the Southern political process, shout incantations of "black power." Quite a reversal of meaning, value and aspiration.

What is the meaning of the slogan "black power"? The answer depends not only on who is defining the term but also the place, time, and atmosphere. Its chief proponents display a remarkable absence of consistency and specificity of meaning. One of the great hazards of the slogan is its ambiguity, complexity, and mystical quality. It fosters all kinds of confusion and misunderstanding. It not only means many things to many people but also, judging from the record, many things to the same people.

Shorn of pretensions, hypocrisy, and intellectual dishonesty, the slogan "black power" does have, when words, context, and program are combined, a generic or core meaning, and that meaning is racist. It is anti-white. It is separatist and isolationist.

Make no mistake about it: vigorous denials under pressure notwithstanding, the unique dimension of the black power myth is racism. "If there is anything new in the slogan," Les Dunbar properly noted, "it is racism."

The racist character of the myth of black power is expressed in many ways: counsel to exclude whites from positions of leadership and influence in the Civil Rights Movement, advocacy of independent all-Negro third parties, the symbol of the Black Panther, the call for a "black takeover of political and economic power," the declaration of the irrelevance of integration and the issue of violence, self-righteous and glib assertions of the moral decadence of white America, and the general ventilation of anti-white frustrations, emotions and bitterness. "Black power" is meaningful only in the context of "white power." Thus an appeal to black power is necessarily an appeal against white power; hence, an anti-white mentality and strategy. Why is the slogan so dear to the hearts of its exponents? It is calculated not only to "develop" pride and self-confidence in "black people," but also to serve as a catharsis and to exploit anti-white resentment, frustration, bitterness, and sentiments. ~~It is also designed to rally and mobilize the resources of the Negro community in an anti-white crusade.~~

Imitating the dishonesty and corporate hypocrisy of the substance of Southern history (and much of Northern history as well) on the score of race relations, the proponents of black power, for the most part, piously renounce any claim to racism. But no one should be deceived.

Sources of the Myth of Black Power

There are several reasons for the escape from the world of reality to the world of fantasy--called black power. First, the experience of bitter disappointment, disgust, and despair over the pace, scope and quality of social change. Some civil rights workers, especially the young ones with all their idealism, activism, unselfish commitment, and great enthusiasm were, at first, excessively optimistic about the immediacy and completeness of basic changes in the structure of American society. Failing to recognize the ultimate dimensions and depth of racism in the mind and institutions of the country, they were supremely confident that they could re-make and democratize the country and eradicate racism in swift and short order. ~~over night.~~ They had great and overwhelming visions of the millenium. Excessive hopes and extravant expectations breed disillusionment, despair, and cynicism. Pessimism is the child of inordinate optimism, ~~and exaggerated faith and hope in the immediate higher possibilities of the drama of history. Too much optimism then about the prospects of transforming American culture into a truly free society has produced now too much pessimism.~~

Lacking a sense of history and a sane appreciation of the stubborn and brute realities of power and life, the excessive optimists were, when history did not conform to their preconceptions and expectations, cut off from the saving fresh water of a sober philosophy of social and historical change. They lost perspective, balance, and faith. ~~Hence, they sailed from excessive optimism to excessive pessimism, from idealism to cynicism.~~ Initially, they were blind to the persistence and power of the vested interested of the status quo; they are now blind to the ideals and richness of the beloved community. ~~Lacking a sense of the tragic character of history, they now advocate a course of thought and action that will add to the tragedies of history.~~ They forgot the difficulties of achieving

a fully integrated society, and they now proclaim, with a gnawing and brooding sense of treason to past goals, the irrelevance of integration. Morris R. Cohen was right. History is, among other things, "the cemetery of human hopes." ~~A healthy sense of tragedy and realism about socio-historical change is the best safeguard against pessimism, disillusionment, cynicism, and despair.~~

A second source of the myth of black power was the prolonged and direct encounter of certain civil rights workers--especially those connected with SNCC and CORE--with the grim and aching realities, the dark and brute ~~realities~~ actions and deceptions of certain sections of the Deep South. They were exposed to the worst parts of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Their existence rocked and reeled against harsh oppressions and wretched evils. The scars and bruises of constant battle against violence, fear, intimidation, and perversions of governmental institutions operated to enlighten and to blind.

Close, direct and continuous contact with, and immediate and concrete involvement in, the harsh brutalities of life often is a double-edged experience: a source of light and darkness, insight and blindness, confusion and clarity, wisdom and foolishness. It can cause us to lose perspective, balance and sound judgment and to oversimply and distort, to forget the larger universe and deeper dimension, and to identify the part with the whole. So, Carmichael, facing an angry, jeering, sneering, cursing, and rock-throwing mob saw in it not the worst but the best there is in white America. Again, he could find no white allies in Lowndes County, Alabama, but then went on not only to organize Negroes there (which was his only choice) but to commit the supreme fallacy of identifying the whole structure, process and character of Lowndes County with

the whole of America. That county became his model. What was necessary in Lowndes County is, to him, necessary in every political system and situation in the United States.

The myth of black power was, perhaps, also prompted by an attempt to capture the following of Malcomn X, with his black nationalism creed, as well as by the immediate and dramatic popularity of the slogan. It makes crowds roar, conversations sparkle, and television cameras click. It wins headlines. After all, it made Stokley Carmichael a national figure overnight.

Four Fallacies of Black Power

The myth of black power is pragmatic nonsense, strategically self-defeating, anthropologically illusionary, and ethically destructive. ~~Although our discussion is limited to the political dimension, it is also relevant to every department of public life.~~ It is impossible to divorce racist politics from other institutions and processes of culture. Bi-polarity in politics means the polarization of the total culture on racial lines. Forms of power are integrally related. Racism in politics, as Southern history clearly demonstrates, means racism in the socio-economic and other institutions of life. Splendid isolation and separatism in the political process mean splendid isolation and separatism in the whole web of culture.

A. Pragmatic Nonsense

Like so much of the political history of the white South is divorced from reality, the myth of black power is a tragic exercise in futility. It is political mysticism, superstition, alchemy or astrology. The Negro must form alliances and coalitions with liberal, progressive, and moderate whites. Since he is a clear minority, constituting only about 10.5 per cent of the total population, sheer arithmetic is against the success of any isolated program of action. There is no possibility of any black takeover of power. The Negro, therefore, must have allies and friends. In pragmatic terms, black power or domination is a dangerous myth and self-defeating illusion. It can only produce frustration, disappointment, heartache

bitterness, and disaster for the Negro. Because of both quantitative and qualitative considerations, polarization of politics on a white-versus-black basis would be, for Negroes, the height of folly and would mean political suicide.

Demographic factors will not be nullified by emotional outbursts and the incantations of political witchdoctors and magicians. In no state do Negroes constitute a majority (Mississippi, which is 42.0 % Negro, has the highest ratio) and hence cannot hope to control such a primary center of power. Because of the great tide of migration, the ratio of Negroes to whites in the South has been declining for decades; it dropped from 30% to 20% from 1950 to 1960. In 1900, for example, Negroes constituted 44% of the population of Florida, 47% of the population of Louisiana, and 58% of the population of South Carolina, but in 1960, those percentages had dropped, respectively, to 17.8, 31.9, and 34.8. During the 1950's, the Negro ratio of the population declined more than 10% in more than half of the counties in the South (569), while it increased ~~in only~~ by ~~183~~ 10% in only 134.

If the black power argument has any validity and meaningful possibility and applicability, it must be in the context of those Black Belt counties in which Negroes constitute a majority of the population. But, here again, demographic factors are instructive and sobering. Counties with Negro majorities have declined dramatically in recent generations and decades. Between 1900 and 1960, for example, counties with Negro majorities in Virginia went from 36 to 15, parishes in Louisiana with Negro majorities dropped from 31 to 10.

In 1960, Negroes constituted a majority in only 12 of 67 counties in Alabama, 28 of 82 in Mississippi, 34 of 159 in Georgia, 15 of 46 in South Carolina, 8 of 100 in North Carolina, 2 of 95 in Virginia, 2 of 67 in Florida, and 3 of 254 in Texas. Of the 11 states of the Old South, Negroes, in 1960, had majorities in only 134 of 984. This is, in the total framework, not much potential power. In terms of the crucial matter of registered voters, Negroes have majorities in only a handful of the 134 counties in which they have numerical majorities.

Besides, the black power philosophy, in the very nature of the case, can have no strategy or program ~~of power~~ in counties where Negroes are a distinct minority. This doctrinaire concept would place Negro power in a straitjacket and political ghetto of the worst kind. If it were successful in the counties with Negro majorities, it would be, for that very reason, a supreme failure in that vast region in which Negroes are in the minority. Because of political retaliation, it would do havoc with the movement for racial justice and paralyze the Civil Rights movement. It would gain an inch but lose miles and miles.

It also should be noted that counties are simple creatures of state governments and hence at their mercy. They can be shifted, altered, merged or liquidated at will. White majorities, therefore, through control of state machinery, could manipulate, ~~and~~ control, ~~coun~~ and starve counties with Negro majorities--assuming, of course, that white-dominated federal courts and ~~political~~ national political institutions go along. It is ~~also~~ worth remembering that the counties with Negro majorities are the poorest economically, educationally, and otherwise in the poorest section of the country. Getting control of them, in view of the poverty and continuous migration, would be governing ghost towns or cemeteries.

~~In conjunction with allies and friends, those who share a community of interests~~, Negro voting power, even when maximized, will generally be able to hold the balance of power in close elections. 10,000 votes will not be effective against 100,000. History reminds us that, at the end of Reconstruction, the Negro was eliminated from participation in the Southern political process precisely because he held the balance of power in inter-party contests. To achieve his objective, the Negro has to work with others in the totality of American institutions.

It is, of course, true

that alliances presuppose allies and in some local situations such as Lowndes county where Negroes have no present allies, Negroes will have to "go it alone" until some emerge. Negroes, however, must encourage, not discourage, the emergence of allies, and always extend the hand of political friendship and cooperation. The black power slogan is no more a way to encourage the cooperation of whites than the white supremacy slogan is to solicit the support of Negroes. The Black Panther symbol militates against political collaboration and the democratization of the political process.

B. Strategy and Tactic

If the Negro had a cosmic enemy who had seized control of the department of strategy and tactics of the Civil Rights Movement, he could not invent a more disastrous political methodology. The mind shudders in disbelief. The slogan of "black power" is a terrible political tactic for a number of reasons. First, it facilitates division and warfare within the Civil Rights Movement when so much needs to be done and solidarity is so much needed. Consider the time and energy lost in trying to define, clarify, and defend the slogan. Consider how it promotes misunderstanding and ill-will within the Movement. It pits leader against leader and organization against organization.

Second, the myth of black power gives moderate and even liberal whites a ready-made excuse to discontinue support of the Negro's struggle. It gives them an easy out. Third, it unnecessarily plays on the historic fears of many whites who think in terms of "black domination." It revives their myths of Reconstruction and assists their rationalization

of the historic exclusion and alienation of the Negro from full partnership in the structure and process of power. It re-enforces the irrational and fanatical fears of those whites who think that Negroes are interested in cheap retribution and bitter revenge. Fourth, the tactic of black power fosters racial polarization of the political process and thereby aggravates the brutally racist politics of so much of white America. Whites will organize more intensely against Negroes, and in cases of minority versus majority the outcome in this country the outcome is a foregone conclusion.

Above all, the myth of black power is politically self-defeating. Getting control of a few rural, poverty-stricken counties in the South will not solve any of the Negro's problems. In order to solve the great issues of housing, education, employment, political alienation, poverty, slumism, etc., the Negro desperately needs much more, rather than much less, support from the white community. He has to have wider and deeper public support if his miseries and frustrations are not to increase. To get new civil rights and other needed legislation, to win more elective and appointive positions, and to overcome his historic alienation from the public institutions of the country, the Negro must have allies. Once more, black power, when arrayed against white power, is a dangerous and self-defeating illusion.

C. Mana and Black Power

Powerless individuals and groups, while not necessarily dangerous, can be as self-righteous as powerful ones. The weak can be as vain and self-deceptive as the strong. Negroes have witnessed and suffered long and much from the way in which whites have used power. Some Negroes are on the brink of making the fateful assumption of moral superiority, of thinking that Negroes with power are better than whites with power, of asserting that the uses of power are a

function of race.

But race has nothing whatever to do with the exercise of power. Negroes are equal members of the human estate. They share all the defects as well as the virtues, all the misery as well as the dignity, all the tragedy as well as the glory, all the strengths as well as the weaknesses, and all the curses as well as the blessings of a common humanity. Negroes with power are as destructive and creative, as egoistic and altruistic, and as dangerous and self-serving as whites with power. Like whites, they are subject to all the temptations, perversions, tyrannies, pretensions, and abuses of power. Like whites, their posession of power is likely to make them different, insensitive, arrogant, vain, self-seeking, morally complacent, and deaf to the cries of the suffering and disabled. Negro politicians are as bad and as good as white politicians. Their organizations are as corrupt and as noble, comparatively speaking, as their white counterparts.

Public life, therefore, might not be more blessed and creative under "black power." History and current experience demonstrate that Negro politicians are politicians first and Negroes second and, like white politicians, they are generally more concerned wih getting elected and re-elected than with the promotion of racial justice. Reflect upon Congressmen Dawson and Powell as well as a host of lesser figures. Indeed, some of the worst enemies of racial progress are Negro public officials, some of whom were elected by Negro constituencies. If it is argued that they are that way because they are members of the "establishment" or "power structure", we might agree, but we would also add that men of power, whatever their breed or creed, have a way of creating their own "establishments" and power structures. It will be so of "black power."

In addition to Negro politicians, consider the petty egoistic rivalries and jealousies of certain civil rights leadears and organizations; consider their vanities and pretensions. Men will use the very slogan black power for selfish purposes--both personal and organizational. At the recent ceremony in Jackson, Mississippi, culminating the famous "Meredith March," one civil rights leader called for racial solidarity when, the previous night, he had voted to deny the NAACP the opportunity to participate in the ~~ceremony~~ program. Consider, too, the petty empires of tyranny and authoritarianism as well as the prominence of self-serving "leaders" of the Negro community--churches, schools, social and fraternal groups, and other organizations and institutions. They are a grim reminder that the psychology and evils of power are the common property of all humanity.

There should be no illusions about men of power--whatever their race. The myth of black power raises tragically false hopes and expectations. It promotes excessive optimism which, if not checked and sobered by a realistic appreciation of human nature, will reap a bitter harvest of disappointment, disillusionment, pessimism, frustration, cynicism, and despair. ~~History, including current history, warns eloquently and accusingly against the simple and easy assumption that there is a special virtue in black power, that Negroes with public power are, somehow, in love with justice, equality, and the common good, that the instant solution to the wretched wrongs of the social order is the turning over of the governing process to "black people." Negroes will have their hopes crushed if they equate the possibilities of social justice with black racism.~~

D. Philosophical and Ethical Dimension

The ultimate argument against the myth of "black power" is ethical, the vision of the good, and the higher possibilities of human history, the quality of public ~~light~~ life that ought to be created and conserved. It is the same simple and ancient argument against "white supremacy," "Nordic superiority," and every other form of racism and tribalism making a particular group the center of meaning and value: our common humanity and the need to create the Good Life, the beloved community. Black power for what? How will it be used? To what end? Will it be used for the tragically self-defeating purpose of revenge and retribution, to substitute one system of injustice for another? Mankind has suffered enough from the irrationalism and incubus of racism. Somehow, somewhere, the vicious circle must be broken.

The kind of political and social order needed is one in which race is value-free: neither a curse nor a blessing, nor defect nor virtue, nor special privilege nor handicap. The goal must be the creation of the beloved community--a free, open, and pluralistic society whose very structure of being, whose very processes of existence reflect the solidarity of the human family. Essential is a philosophy which unites rather than separates men, which makes men humble, not arrogant; free, not in new chains. The vision must be inclusive, not exclusive; universal, not particularistic; healing, not devouring.

The method must always be one that promotes the reconciliation of Negroes and whites, binds wounds, repairs torn social tissues, and makes the society morally healthy and whole in its fullest

dimensions and highest possibilities.

Love, said Paul Tillich, means re-union of the separated. That, too, is the ultimate character of justice. Justice is the restoration of the harmony and ultimate glory of the social order--the comming together again, after a long night of tragic estrangement, of races and classes that have been fragmented and stunted by false doctrines, corrupt systems and ideologies, corporate evils, and perverted visions and institutions.

Negroes ought to use their expanding political power, therefore, to enlarge and deepen the good of history, to destroy wretched wrongs, to eliminate the cancer of racism, to usher in the Good Life, to created the beloved community, to re-unite the separated.

23 - Maps

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GRID PROJECTION TABLES. *See* Map making.

HAWAII. *See* Coast and Geodetic Survey.

HYDROGRAPHIC OFFICE, Navy Department. The charts, sailing directions, and light lists of the Hydrographic Office, for the duration of the war, will be sold only by the Hydrographic Office, Navy Department, Washington, D. C., and the Hydrographic Distributing Offices located in the principal sea ports of the United States. Certain standard manuals of the Hydrographic Office are sold by agents at the principal American sea ports and lake ports, and are also available through the Superintendent of Documents at list price. Copies of list of publications, weekly Hydrographic bulletins, and Notices to Mariners are supplied free only to those having definite need thereof, on application to the Hydrographic Office, Navy Department, Washington, D. C., and at the Branch Hydrographic Offices in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, Savannah, New Orleans, Galveston, San Francisco, San Pedro (Calif.), San Juan (P. R.), Captain of the Port, Panama Canal, Portland (Oreg.), Seattle, Honolulu (T. H.), Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, Sault Ste Marie, and Duluth.

IDAHO.

Idaho, irrigation, by drainage basins, 1939; [map]. Scale 50 m.=3.1 in. 1942. 30×19 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.940-9 : Id 1/map

State of Idaho, compiled from official records of General Land Office and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. [1941.] 42.5×27.6 in. (General Land Office.) 35¢. I 21.13 : Id 1/9

See also Minor civil divisions.

ILLINOIS. State of Illinois, from official records of General Land Office and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1911. 32.8×19.3 in. (General Land Office.) 25¢. I 21.13 : Il 6/2

See also Minor civil divisions.

INDIAN TERRITORY. *See* Oklahoma.

INDIANA. State of Indiana, compiled from official records of General Land Office, Geological Survey, and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1916. 24.7×17.3 in. (General Land Office.) 25¢. I 21.13 : In 2a/3

See also Minor civil divisions.

INDUSTRIES. Maps of selected industries reported at the Census of Manufactures, 1937, showing location of establishments, wage earners, value added by manufacture. 1941. 126 p. of maps. (Census Bureau.) Cloth, $1.75. C 3.24/7 : In 2/937

IOWA. State of Iowa, compiled from official records of General Land Office, Geological Survey, and other sources, [with plan of] Des Moines and vicinity. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1917. 21.3×33.2 in. (General Land Office.) 25¢. I 21.13 : Io 9/2

See also Minor civil divisions.

IRRIGATION MAPS. *See* Names of States.

KANSAS.

Kansas, irrigation, by drainage basins, 1939; [map]. Scale 50 m.=3.2 in. 1942. 13×26 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.940-9 : K 13/map

State of Kansas, compiled from official records of General Land Office and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1925. 25×37.1 in. (General Land Office.) 25¢. I 21.13 : K 13/8

See also Minor civil divisions.

LAMBERT PROJECTION. *See* Atlantic Ocean; Map making; United States maps.

LAND OFFICE MAPS.

The General Land Office publishes a large map of the United States, scale 37 miles to 1 inch, and also maps for each of the Public Land States on a scale of 12 miles to the inch. These maps are each complete in one sheet, except California, which comprises 2 sheets.

The State maps show principal cities, county boundaries, national parks and monuments, Indian, military, bird and game reservations, national forests, railroads, canals and other details, but they do not show the vacant public land. These maps are entered in this list under United States and the names of the States.

LOUISIANA.

Louisiana, irrigation, by drainage basins, 1939; [map]. Scale 50 m.=3.2 in. 1942. 18×20 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.940-9 : L 93/map

State of Louisiana, compiled from official records of General Land Office and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1930. 27.5×28 in. (General Land Office.) 25¢. I 21.13 : L 93/3

See also Minor civil divisions.

MAGNETIC MAP OF UNITED STATES for 1940. Sold by the Coast and Geodetic Survey, price 20¢. Lines of equal magnetic change; size 21×27 in.; no. 3077. Published by and should be ordered from the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

MAINE. *See* Minor civil divisions.

MAP COLLECTION.

Lowry collection: Descriptive list of maps of the Spanish possessions within present limits of the United States 1502–1820. 1912. 567 p. por. large 8° (Library of Congress, Maps Division.) Cloth, $1.00. LC 5.2 : L 95

Noteworthy maps [no. 1], with charts, views, and atlases, accessions for fiscal year 1926, with acknowledgment of sources of gifts, exchanges, and transfers, 1927. 1928. 28 p. (Library of Congress, Maps Division.) 5¢. LC 5.5 : 1

This is considered no. 1, by the Library of Congress.

Noteworthy maps no. 2, accessions for fiscal year 1927, with acknowledgment of sources of gifts, exchanges, and transfers. 1929. 36 p. (Library of Congress, Maps Division.) 10¢. LC 5.5 : 2

MAP MAKING.

Cartography, review and guide for construction and use of maps and charts. Rev. 1943. 1943. 85 p. pl. maps. (Coast and Geodetic Survey, Special Publication 205.) 65¢. C 4.19 : 205

Elements of map projection with applications to map and chart construction. 4th edition, 1934. (Reprinted 1938 with slight changes.) 200 p. il. pl. (Coast and Geodetic Survey, Special Publication 68.) $1.00. C 4.19 : 68

Grid system for progressive maps in United States. 1919. 227 p. il. (Coast and Geodetic Survey, Special Publication 59.) Cloth, 35¢. C 4.19 : 59

Lambert projection tables with conversion tables, supplement to Lambert conformal conic projection, with 2 standard parallels. 1918. 84 p. il. (Coast and Geodetic Survey, Special Publication 49.) Cloth, 25¢. C 4.19 : 49

Slotted templet method for controlling maps made from aerial photographs. 1940. 30 p. il. pl. (Agriculture Dept., Miscellaneous Publication 404.) 15¢. A 1.38 : 404

Study of map projections in general. 1919. 24 p. il. (Coast and Geodetic Survey, Special Publication 60.) 5¢. C 4.19 : 60

Tables for Albers projection. 1927. 26 p. (Coast and Geodetic Survey, Special Publication 130.) 5¢. C 4.19 : 130

Tables for polyconic projection of maps and lengths of terrestrial arcs of meridian and parallels based upon Clarke's reference spheroid of 1866. 5th edition, 1939. 189 p. il. (Coast and Geodetic Survey, Special Publication 5.) 30¢. C 4.19 : 5

Topographic instructions of Geological Survey. 1928. 432 p. il. maps. (Geological Survey Bulletin 788.) $1.00. I 19.3. 788

This publication gives full information for the preparation of maps.

MAP MAKING—Continued.

Topographic instructions of Geological Survey: A, Administration. 1926. 45 p. (Geological Survey, Bulletin 788–A.) 10¢. I 19.3: 788–A

Topographic instructions of Geological Survey; E, Topographic mapping. 1928. p. 161–378, il. pl. map. (Geological Survey, Bulletin 788–E.) 60¢. I 19.3: 788–E

Topography and surveying, map reproduction in the field. 1942. 121 p. il. pl. (War Dept., Technical Manual 5–245.) 25¢. W 1.35: 5–245

MAPPING. Surveys and mapping in United States, joint letter of Secretary of War, Secretary of Commerce, and Secretary of Interior, transmitting, in response to S. Res. 87, report concerning additional surveys and mapping in United States. 1939. 4 p. maps. (76th Cong., 1st sess., S. doc. 54.) 10¢. 76–1: S.doc.54

MARYLAND. *See* Minor civil divisions.

MASSACHUSETTS. *See* Minor civil divisions.

MEXICO.

Map of Mexico, 1847. Mapa de los Estados Unidos de Méjico [with insets]. Scale 260 m.=2.8 in. Rev. ed. 1935. 29.3×40.9 in. [Disturnell's map, earliest of 5 or more 1847 editions. Reproduced to accompany treaties and other international acts of United States, v. 5.] (State Dept., Map Series 5.) 35¢. S 1.33: 5

Railroad map of Mexico; with enlarged map. State of Mexico and surrounding country. Scale 50m.=1.1 in. 1915. 31.3×43.9 in. (War College Division.) 25¢. W 26.6: M 57/2

MICHIGAN. State of Michigan, compiled from official records of General Land Office and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1928. 34.4×41 in. (General Land Office.) 35¢. I 21.13: M 58/2

See also Minor civil divisions.

MINNESOTA. State of Minnesota, compiled from official records of General Land Office and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1928. 36.6×31 in. (General Land Office.) 35¢. I 21.13: M 66/3

See also Minor civil divisions.

MINOR CIVIL DIVISIONS, 1930; [maps]. 1934. (Census Bureau.) Each 10¢.

Alabama. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 22.7×15 in. C 3.61: Al 1b

Arizona. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 26.5×22.7 in. C 3.61: Ar 4i

Arkansas. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 16.8×19.1 in. C 3.61: Ar 4k

California. Scale 50 m.=2.1 in. 30×23 in. C 3.61: C 12

Colorado. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 18.9×25.3 in. C 3.61: C 71

Connecticut. Scale 10 m.=2.5 in. 24×29.7 in. C 3.61: C 76

Delaware. Scale 15 m.=3.8 in. 27.8×13.7 in. C 3.61: D 37

Florida. Scale 40 m.=2.6 in. 30.2×31.7 in. C 3.61: F 66

Georgia. Scale 40 m.=2.6 in. 21.8×19 in. C 3.61: G 29

Idaho. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 32.4×21.3 in. C 3.61: Id 1

Illinois. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 25.6×15.5 in. C 3.61: Il 6

Indiana. Scale 30 m.=3.8 in. 38×25.3 in. C 3.61: In 2

Iowa. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 15.2×22.6 in. C 3.61: Io 9

Kansas. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 15.2×27.6 in. C 3.61: K 13

Kentucky. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 13.3×27.8 in. C 3.61: K 41

Louisiana. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 18.9×20.7 in. C 3.61: L 93

Maine. Scale 30 m.=3.8 in. 40.5×28.5 in. C 3.61: M 28

Maryland. Scale 30 m=3.7 in. 18.5×32.3 in. C 3.61: M 36

Massachusetts. Scale 20 m.=2.5 in. 15.9×25 in. C 3.61: M 38

Michigan. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 30.2×26.3 in. C 3.61: M 58

MINOR CIVIL DIVISIONS, 1930—Continued.

Minnesota. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 26.7×23.9 in. C 3.61 : M 66

Mississippi. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 23.1×14.7 in. C 3.61 : M 69i

Missouri. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 21.8×24.4 in. C 3.61 : M 69o

Montana. Scale 40m.=2.5 in. 22.5×37.8 in. C 3.61 : M 76

Nebraska. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 15.1×30.5 in. C 3.61 : N 27

Nevada. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 32.2×22.3 in. C 3.61 : N 41

New Hampshire. Scale 20 m.=2.5 in. 23.6×13.5 in. C 3.61 : N 42h

New Jersey. Scale 15 m.=1.9 in. 22.6×12.8 in. C 3.61 : N 42j

New Mexico. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 26×23.6 in. C 3.61 : N 42m

New York. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 20.7×27 in. C 3.61 : N 42y

North Carolina. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 13.8×33.2 in. C 3.61 : N 81c

North Dakota. Scale 40 m.=2.6 in. 15.3×24.6 in. C 3.61 : N 81d

Ohio. Scale 30 m.=3.8 in. 33.5×31.4 in. C 3.61 : Oh 3

Oklahoma. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 16×31.7 in. C 3.61 : Ok 4

Oregon. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 20.5×27.1 in. C 3.61 : Or 3

Pennsylvania. Scale 40 m.=5 in. 24.2×41.5 in. C 3.61 : P 38

Rhode Island. Scale 10 m.=2.5 in. 17.7×13.6 in. C 3.61 : R 34

South Carolina. Scale 40 m=2.5 in. 15.5×19 in. C 3.61 : So 8c

South Dakota. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 16.9×26.2 in. C 3.61 : So 8d

Tennessee. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 12.3×31 in. C 3.61 : T 25

Texas. Scale 70 m.=2.8 in. 32.4×34 in. C 3.61 : T 31

Utah. Scale 30 m.=1.9 in. 23.8×19.4 in. C 3.61 : Ut 1

Vermont. Scale 20 m.=2.5 in. 21.8×13.7 in. C 3.61 : V 59

Virginia. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 14.5×30.6 in. C 3.61 : V 81

Washington. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 16.7×24.9 in. C 3.61 : W 27

West Virginia. Scale 40 m=2.5 in. 16×18.2 in. C 3.61 : W 52v

Wisconsin. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 21.6×19.9 in. C 3.61 : W 75

Wyoming. Scale 30 m.=1.9 in. 19.2×24.7 in. C 3.61 : W 99

MINOR CIVIL DIVISIONS, 1940; [maps]. 1941. (Census Bureau.) Each, 15¢.

Alabama, precincts. Scale 40 m.=3.4 in. 20×30 in. C 3.61 : Al 1b/940

Arizona, districts. Scale 30 m.=2.5 in. 35×30 in. C 3.61 : Ar 4i/940

Arkansas, townships. Scale 30 m.=2.5 in. 25×26 in. C 3.61 : Ar 4k/940

California, judicial townships. Scale 50 m.=2.1 in. 30.7×21.6 in. C 3.61 : C 12/940

Colorado, precincts. Scale 40 m.=3.4 in. 26×34 in. C 3.61 : C 71/940

Connecticut, towns. Scale 10 m.=2.5 in. 22×28 in. C 3.61 : C 76/940

Delaware, districts. Scale 15 m.=3.8 in. 27.2×14.4 in. C 3.61 : D 37/940

Florida, precincts. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 31×31 in. C 3.61 : F 66/940

Georgia, militia districts. Scale 40 m.=3.4 in. 28.9×25.2 in. C 3.61 : G 29/940

Idaho, precincts. Scale 40 m.=3.4 in. 44.4×28.5 in. C 3.61 : Id 1/940

Illinois, townships and precincts. Scale 30 m.=2.5 in. 35×22 in. C 3.61 : Il 6/940

Indiana, townships. Scale 30 m.=3.8 in. 38×25 in. C 3.61 : In 2/940

Iowa, townships. Scale 40 m.=3.3 in. 20.9×30.2 in. C 3.61 : Io 9/940

Kansas, townships. Scale 30 m.=2.5 in. 21×37 in. C 3.61 : K 13/940

MINOR CIVIL DIVISIONS, 1940—Continued.

Kentucky districts. Scale 30 m.=2.6 in. 18×37 in. C 3.61 : K 41/940

Louisiana, wards. Scale 30 m.=2.5 in. 27×28 in. C 3.61 : L 93/940

Maine, towns and townships. Scale 30 m.=3.8 in. 42×29 in. C 3.61 : M 28/940

Maryland, election districts. Scale 25 m.=3.1 in. 33.7×19.7 in. C 3.61 : M 36/940

Massachusetts, towns. Scale 20 m.=2.5 in. 16×25 in. C 3.61 : M 38/940

Michigan, townships. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 31×26.6 in. C 3.61 : M 58/940

Minnesota, townships. Scale 30 m.=2.5 in. 37×33 in. C 3.61 : M 66/940

Mississippi, beats. Scale 30 m.=2.5 in. 30.5×19.5 in. C 3.61 : M 69i/940

Missouri, townships. Scale 20 m.=1.7 in. 30.4×32.7 in. C 3.61 : M 69o/940

Montana, school districts, precincts, and townships. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 23×38 in. C 3.61 : M 76/940

Nebraska, precincts and townships. Scale 30 m.=2.5 in. 22×43 in. C 3.61 : N 27/940

Nevada, townships and districts. Scale 40 m.=3.4 in. 42.8×31.8 in. C 3.61 : N 41/940

New Hampshire, towns. Scale 15 m.=1.9 in. 25×15 in. C 3.61 : N 42h/940

New Jersey, townships. Scale 15 m.=3.7 in. 45×25.3 in. C 3.61 : N 42j/940

New Mexico, precincts. Scale 30 m.=2.5 in. 36×36 in. C 3.61 : N 42m/940

New York, towns. Scale 40 m.=2.8 in. 31.9×41 in. C 3.61 : N 42y/940

North Carolina, townships. Scale 30 m.=2.6 in. 20×45 in. C 3.61 : N 81c/940

North Dakota, townships. Scale 40 m.=2.5 in. 20.9×33.2 in. C 3.61 : N 81d/940

Ohio, townships. Scale 30 m.=3.8 in. 34×31.9 in. C 3.61 : Oh 3/940

Oklahoma, townships. Scale 40 m.=3.3 in. 24×42 in. C 3.61 : Ok 4/940

Oregon, election precincts. Scale 40 m.=3.4 in. 30.1×37.8 in. C 3.61 : Or 3/940

Pennsylvania, townships. Scale 30 m.=3.7 in. 26.5×42.1 in. C 3.61 : P 38/940

Rhode Island, towns. Scale 10 m.=2.5 in. 20×14 in. C 3.61 : R 34/940

South Carolina, townships and school districts. Scale 20 m.=1.7 in. 21×26 in. C 3.61 : So 8c/940

South Dakota, townships. Scale 30 m.=2.5 in. 23×34 in. C 3.61 : So 8d/940

Tennessee, districts. Scale 30 m.=2.5 in. 47×19.8 in. C 3.61 : T 25/940

Texas, commissioners' precincts and justice precincts. Scale 70 m.=2.9 in. 33×35 in. C 3.61 : T 31/940

Utah, precincts and districts. Scale 30 m.=2.2 in. 27×22 in. C 3.61 : Ut 1/940

Vermont, towns. Scale 15 m.=1.9 in. 23.3×14.8 in. C 3.61 : V 59/940

Virginia, magisterial districts. Scale 40 m.=3.4 in. 19×41 in. C 3.61 : V 81/940

Washington, election precincts and townships. Scale 5 m.=0.8 in. 23×36 in. C 3.61 : W 27/940

West Virginia, magisterial districts. Scale 40 m.=3.4 in. 21×24 in. C 3.61 : W 52v/940

Wisconsin, towns. Scale 30 m.=2.5 in. 33×27 in. C 3.61 : W 75/940

Wyoming, districts. Scale 30 m.=2.5 in. 25.9×32.8 in. C 3.61 : W 99/940

MISSISSIPPI. State of Mississippi, from official records of General Land Office, Geological Survey, and other sources, [with plan of] Jackson. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1915. 33×20.7 in. (General Land Office.) 25¢. I 21.13: M 69i/2

See also Minor civil divisions.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION MAPS, sold by the Commission. This body of Army engineers and civilians has published a large number of maps and charts of the Mississippi River on various scales, which are sold at prices ranging from 10 cents per sheet for maps scale 1 inch to 1 mile to 26 cents per sheet for detail charts scale 1:20,000. Contoured maps of the alluvial valley of the lower Mississippi River have been printed on scales 1:500,000 and 1:250,000 for general wall maps and scale 1:62,500 for detailed topographic quadrangle sheets. The topographic quadrangle maps comprise over 215 sheets and cover portions of the State of Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky, Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana adjacent to the Mississippi River and tributaries, with an area of almost 52,000 square miles mapped; the topographic quadrangle maps are priced at 10¢ each. A folder of maps in 53 sheets with accompanying-plates and tables, scale about 1 inch to 1 mile covering Mississippi River from Cairo, Illinois, to Gulf of Mexico, Louisiana, showing navigation lights and channel line is also available at 75 cents for the folder. Recently published by this office is a folder of maps in 34 sheets, scale about 1 inch to 1 mile covering Intracoastal Waterway, Port Arthur, Tex., to New Orleans, La., including Morgan City-Plaquemine Route, also showing the confluent Atchafalaya River System and Outlets to Gulf, priced at 75¢ for the folder; and a folder of charts, scale 1:20,000, covering Red River, Fulton, Ark., to the Mouth, showing river soundings 1938, priced at $1.50 for the folder. Folders of charts, scale 1:20,000 Mississippi River, Cairo, Ill., to Rosedale, Miss., Rosedale to Vicksburg, Miss., to Angola, La., and Angola, La., to the Passes, showing river soundings 1937 are available and priced at $1.75, $1.00, 85¢, and $1.45, respectively, per folder. No discount is allowed. Requests for descriptive price list and remittance for maps should be sent only to the President, Mississippi River Commission, Post Office Box 80, Vicksburg, Miss.

MISSOURI. State of Missouri, from official records of General Land Office and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1911. 28.5×32.8 in. (General Land Office.) 25¢. I 21.13: M 69o/2

See also Minor civil divisions.

MONTANA.

Montana, irrigation, by drainage basins, 1939; [map]. Scale 50 m.=3.2 in. 1942. 21×36 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.940-9: M 76/map

State of Montana, compiled from official records of General Land Office and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1926. 31.7×49.4 in. (General Land Office.) 25¢. I 21.13: M 76/5

See also Minor civil divisions.

NEBRASKA.

Nebraska, irrigation, by drainage basins, 1940; [map]. Scale 50 m.=3.2 in. 1941. 13×29 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.940-9: N 27/map

State of Nebraska, compiled from official records of General Land Office, and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1922. 26.7×39.1 in. (General Land Office.) 25¢. I 21.13: N 27/3

See also Minor civil divisions.

NEUTRALITY ACT OF 1939 and Proclamations and regulations issued thereunder; [map]. 1939. 23×36 in. (State Dept., Map Series 8.) 15¢. S 1.33: 8

NEVADA.

Nevada, irrigation, by drainage basins, 1939; [map.] Scale 50 m.=3.2 in. 1942. 31×21 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.940-9: N 41/map

State of Nevada, compiled from official records of General Land Office and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1930. 42.4×29 in. (General Land Office.) 25¢. I 21.13: N 41/4

See also Minor civil divisions.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. *See* Minor civil divisions.

NEW JERSEY. *See* Minor civil divisions.

NEW MEXICO.

New Mexico, irrigation, by drainage basins, 1939; [map]. Scale 50 m.=3.2 in. 1942. 25X22 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.940-9: N 42m/map

State of New Mexico, compiled from official records of General Land Office and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1936. 37.7×32.3 in. (General Land Office.) 35¢. I 21.13: N 42m/6

See also Minor civil divisions.

NEW YORK. *See* Minor civil divisions.

NORTH CAROLINA. *See* Minor civil divisions.

NORTH DAKOTA.

North Dakota, irrigation, by drainage basins, 1939; [map]. Scale 50 m.=3.2 in. 1942. 14×23 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.940-9: N 81d/map

State of North Dakota, compiled from official records of General Land Office and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1918. 26×33.5 in. (General Land Office.) 25¢. I 21.13: N 81d/4

See also Minor civil divisions.

NORTHERN AND NORTHWESTERN LAKES SURVEY CHARTS, sold by the United States Lake Survey Office, 649 Federal Building, Detroit, Mich. Charts prepared and sold by this office are of the Great Lakes and connecting waters and St. Lawrence River to the international boundary at St. Regis, of Lake Champlain, of the New York State canals, and of Lake of the Woods and Rainy Lake. Charts may also be purchased at the Canal Office, Sault Ste. Marie, Mich. A catalog (with index map), showing localities, scales, prices, and conditions of sale, may be had upon application at the Lake Survey Office.

A descriptive bulletin, which supplements the charts and gives detailed information as to harbors, shore lines and shoals, magnetic determinations, and particulars of changing conditions affecting navigation, may be purchased at the United States Lake Survey Office. This bulletin is revised annually and issued at the opening of navigation (in April), and supplements thereto are published monthly during the navigation season.

Complete sets of charts and publications may be seen at the U. S. engineer offices in Duluth, Minn., Milwaukee, Wis., Chicago, Ill., Cleveland, Ohio, and at the office, Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army, Washington, D. C., but they are obtainable only at the sales offices above mentioned.

OHIO. State of Ohio, compiled from official records of General Land Office and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1910. 21.5×23.9 in. (General Land Office.) 25¢. I 21.13: Oh 3/2

See also Minor civil divisions.

OKLAHOMA.

Maps of segregated coal lands in McCurtain-Massey district, Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory, with descriptions of unleased segregated coal lands. 1904. 54 p. maps. (Interior Dept., Circular 4.) 10¢. I 1.4: 4

Oklahoma, irrigation, by drainage basins, 1939; [map]. Scale 50 m.=3.2 in. 1942. 15×30 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.940-9: Ok 4/map

State of Oklahoma, from official records of General Land Office, Geological Survey, and other sources [with plans of cities]. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1914. 21.8×42.7 in. (General Land Office.) 25¢. I 21.13: Ok 4/4

See also Minor civil divisions.

OREGON.

Oregon, irrigation, by drainage basins, 1939; [map]. Scale 50 m.=3.2 in. 1942. 19×26 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.940-9: Or 3/map

State of Oregon, compiled from official records of General Land Office and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1932. 28.7×36 in. (General Land Office.) 25¢. I 21.13: Or 3/6

See also Minor civil divisions.

Coast & Geodetic Survey: CY 0631
Sel Marietta

PACIFIC OCEAN. Map sold by Coast and Geodetic Survey, at 25¢. North Pacific Ocean, on transverse polyconic projection; no. 3080; scale 1:20,000,000; size 14×41 in. Published by and should be ordered from the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

PENNSYLVANIA. *See* Minor civil divisions.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. *See* Coast and Geodetic Survey.

PLANIMETRIC MAPS. Sold by the Coast and Geodetic Survey, 75¢ each. The Survey has compiled from air photographs and published large scale maps of certain areas along the coast of the United States. *Address the Director, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington, D. C.*, stating the region in which interested.

POLYCONIC PROJECTION TABLES. *See* Map making.

POSTAL MAPS, sold by the Post Office Department.

Post route maps. Maps of every State, prepared primarily for use of the postal service, are available to the public for 60 cents per copy, with the exception of New York, Pennsylvania, Texas, and California-Nevada (one map), which are $1.20, these being two-sheet maps. Others besides California-Nevada, printed together as one map are: Maryland-Delaware-District of Columbia, Massachusetts-Rhode Island-Connecticut, New Hampshire-Vermont. A list showing scales and sizes will be furnished upon application to the Superintendent, Division of Finance, Post Office Department. New editions, printed on thin paper, are published every eighteen months. Each of these maps shows all post offices within the State and indicates how each office is supplied with mail. County boundaries are accurately delineated and each county is named. Principal drainage features are shown but contours are omitted. These maps show no highways and only the railroads that carry mail. Rural delivery routes are not indicated on these post route maps but are shown in detail on county or local maps, described below.

Rural delivery maps. County maps are available for 1,600 counties, a list of which will be furnished upon application to the Superintendent, Division of Finance, Post Office Department. Each county map shows all post offices within the county, all roads, houses, schools, and churches known at the time the map was originally drawn, and the principal drainage. Changes in the routes traveled by rural carriers are made from time to time, but it is impracticable to keep these maps corrected to date at all times. Therefore, copies furnished although made from the latest negatives may not always show recent changes. Blue-line prints of these county maps are sold at 50 cents a copy. Rural routes emanating from post offices in counties for which county maps have not been drawn are shown on local maps. Each of these maps shows the area covered by rural delivery routes from a single post office. Blueprints only of local maps are sold at 25 cents per copy. Both county and local maps (with a few exceptions) are drawn to the scale of 1:62,500 or 1:63,360—1 mile to the inch. *Orders for these Rural delivery maps, as well as the Post route maps, accompanied by money order, must be addressed to the Superintendent, Division of Finance, Post Office Department.*

PRECIPITATION PERCENTAGE MAPS. *See* Weather Bureau.

PUERTO RICO. *See* Coast and Geodetic Survey.

RECLAMATION MAPS. *For reclamation maps apply to Reclamation Bureau, Department of the Interior.*

RHODE ISLAND. *See* Minor civil divisions.

RURAL DELIVERY MAPS. *See* Postal maps.

SOIL MAPS.

Soil conservation survey maps and summarized erosion map of the southern Great Plains wind erosion area for use with U. S. Department of Agriculture Technical Bulletin 556. 1937. 21 maps. (Agriculture Dept.) $1.50 the set. A 1.36:556/maps

Counties surveyed: Bent, Prowers, and Baca, Colorado; Hamilton, Stanton, Grant, Morton, Stevens, and Seward, Kansas; Cimarron, Texas, and Beaver, Oklahoma; Dallam, Sherman, Hansford, Ochiltree, Hartley, Moore, Oldham, and Deaf Smith, Texas.

Soil survey maps. The Bureau of Plant Industry, Department of Agriculture, issues a descriptive report and large colored map showing the kinds of soil in each area or county surveyed. These are listed as a series in our Price list 46, Agricultural Chemistry and Soils and Fertilizers.

SOUTH CAROLINA. *See* Minor civil divisions.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

South Dakota, irrigation, by drainage basins, 1939; [map]. Scale 50 m.=3.2 in. 1942. 15×24 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.940-9: So 8d/map

State of South Dakota, compiled from official records of General Land Office, and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1918. 23.8×34.4 in. (General Land Office.) 25¢. I 21.13: So 8d/3

See also Minor civil divisions.

TENNESSEE. *See* Minor civil divisions.

TEXAS.

Texas, irrigation, by drainage basins, 1939 (eastern part); [map]. Scale 50 m.=3.2 in. 1942. 39×25 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.940-9: T 31/map, east

Texas, irrigation, by drainage basins, 1939 (western part); [map]. Scale 50 m.=3.2 in. 1942. 38×25 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.940-9: T 31/map, west

See also Minor civil divisions.

TIME ZONE MAP. Standard time zones of United States and adjacent parts of Canada and Mexico, as of Oct. 1, 1935. [Map.] Scale 1:7,000,000, scale 100 m.=0.9 in. 17.5×28.3 in. (National Bureau of Standards, Misc. Publication 155.) 10¢. C 13.10: 155

TOPOGRAPHY. *See* Map making.

TRADE AGREEMENTS PROGRAM, countries with which trade agreements have been concluded, and with which negotiations have been announced, as of May 1, 1943; [map]. Equal-area projection. 1943. 15.9×26 in. (State Dept., Map Series 7.) 5¢. S 1.33: 7

TRADING AREAS. Atlas of wholesale dry goods trading areas. 1941. 107 p. il. maps. (Foreign and Domestic Commerce Bureau, Economic Series 12.) 30¢. C 18.206: 12

UNITED STATES MAPS.

[County outline map of United States]. Scale 1:5,000,000, approximately 1 in.=80 m. Rev. 1942. 25.9×42.7 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.62/2: Un 3/942

[County outline map of United States]. Scale 300 m.=3.8 in., scale 1:5,000,000. July 1, 1940. 16.1×25.8 in. (Agricultural Economics Bureau.) 15¢. A 36.37: Un 3/2/940

NOTE.—Counties outlined in blue.

[County outline map of United States.] Scale 300 m.=3.8 in., scale 1:5,000,000. 1940. 24×39 in. (Agricultural Economics Bureau.) 15¢. A 36.37: Un 3/490

Counties outlined in blue.

Outline map of United States. Scale 250 m.=3.9 in. 1936. 30.2×45 in. (General Land Office.) 25¢. I 21.13: Un 34/936

Outline map of United States, sold by the Coast and Geodetic Survey, at 20¢. Lambert zenithal equal area projection; scale 1:7,500,000; size 21×26 inches; no. 3068. Published by and should be ordered from the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

Outline maps of United States, indicating counties, June 1, 1840–Mar., 1920. 1921. 9 maps, each 21.2×33.1 in. (Agriculture Dept.) $1.50 per set. A 21.11: Un 3/6/840-920

This set is being referred to as "Historical series of maps," outlines and names of counties are in blue.

Outline maps of United States, sold by the Coast and Geodetic Survey. Lambert conformal conic projection; scale 1:5,000,000; size 26×40 inches; no. 3060, price 30¢. Same base map, but showing principal cities, airports, and index to sectional aeronautical charts; no. 3060a, price 40¢. Same base map, lithographed in 10 colors; showing drainage, principal cities, selected airports, civil airways and contours with gradient tints of elevations; no. 3060b, price 40¢. These maps are published by and should be ordered from the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

UNITED STATES MAPS—Continued.

Outline maps of United States, sold by Coast and Geodetic Survey, price, 40¢ each. Gnomonic projection: scale 1:5,094,000; size 27×41 inches; no. 3074a. Same base map, but showing selected airports along air routes; no. 3074. Both maps published by and should be ordered from the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

United States, including Territories and insular possessions, showing extent of public surveys, national parks and monuments, Indian, military, bird and game reservations, national forests, railroads, canals, and other details, 1941. Scale 37 m.=1 in. [1942.] 59×83 in. (General Land Office.) Cloth. $3.50. I 21.13: Un 3/33

United States, population density map by minor civil divisions, 1940. Scale 1:2,500,000, approximately 1 in.=40 in. 1942 [published 1943]. 2 sheets, each 48×39 in. (Census Bureau.) 75¢ the set of 2 sheets. C 3.62/2: Un 3/7/sh.1, 2

United States, showing location of land in drainage enterprises. Scale 1:7,000,000. 1943. 17×28 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.940-7: D 78

United States, showing principal meridians, base lines, and areas governed thereby, with inset, Alaska. Scale, approximately 1 in.=80 m. 1942. 17.9×26 in. (General Land Office.) 30¢. I 21.13: Un 33/942

United States, showing routes of principal explorers and early roads and highways [with insets]. Scale 120 m.=1.2 in. 4th ed. 1937. 23×31.7 in. (Land Office.) 20¢. I 21.13: Un 31/3/937

See also Magnetic map of United States.

UTAH.

State of Utah, compiled from official records of General Land Office and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1937. 31.6×25.6 in. (General Land Office.) 35¢. I 21.13: Ut 1/5

Utah, irrigation, by drainage basins, 1939; [map]. Scale 50 m.=3.2 in. 1942. 22×18 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.940-9: Ut 1/map

See also Minor civil divisions.

VERMONT. *See* Minor civil divisions.

VIRGIN ISLANDS. *See* Coast and Geodetic Survey.

VIRGINIA. *See* Minor civil divisions.

WASHINGTON.

State of Washington, compiled chiefly from official records of General Land Office with supplemental data from other map making agencies. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1924. 24.3×35 in. (General Land Office.) 25¢. I 21.13: W 27/4

Washington, irrigation, by drainage basins, 1939; [map]. Scale 50 m.=3.2 in. 1942. 15×23 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.940.9: W 27/map

See also Minor civil divisions.

WEATHER BUREAU.

Daily weather map (1901-W. B., size 19×24 inches), issued at Washington, D. C., shows the 1:30 a. m., weather data for the U. S. area and also shows the forecasts for the District of Columbia and the following States: Maryland, Virginia, eastern New York, eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, West Virginia, western New York, and western Pennsylvania. Price, daily including Sundays and holidays, 30¢ a month, $3.60 a year. Subscriptions to the Daily Weather Map are not accepted for a period of less than 1 month. Bills or notices of expiration are not sent to subscribers; the expiration date (month, day, year), is indicated along side the stencil address on the wrapper or envelope.

The only weather maps now issued for public distribution are printed at Washington, D. C.

WEATHER BUREAU—Continued.

In addition to the daily mailing of weather maps the Weather Bureau also furnishes bulk copies of the printed Weather Map for educational purposes. Bulk copies of the map for particular dates cannot be furnished in large quantities unless the order is placed in advance of issue with the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. Price, 1¢ each map (not less than five copies furnished in one order.)

The Weather Bureau prepares a limited number of monthly rolls containing one map for each day of the previous calendar month. These rolls are available, until the supply is exhausted, at 30¢ a roll. When ordering specify that a "Monthly Roll" is desired and whether or not a particular calendar month is desired.

In ordering weather maps, applicant should state definitely the amount of money remitted, the complete mailing address, and whether all copies ordered are desired for 1 day, or for consecutive days, or for days without regard to sequence.

Maps of seasonal precipitation percentage of normal by States, 53 years, 1886–1938; Tables of normals and 10 wettest and 10 driest seasons and years. 1942. 76 p. il. (Weather Bureau.) 15¢. C 30.2 : P 91

Preparation and use of weather maps at sea. 2d ed. 1941. 100 p. il. map. (Weather Bureau, Circular R.) 20¢. C 30.4 : R

WEST VIRGINIA. *See* Minor civil divisions.

WISCONSIN. State of Wisconsin, compiled from official records of General Land Office and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1931. 28.9×25.9 in. (General Land Office.) 35¢. I 21.13 : W 75/3

See also Minor civil divisions.

WYOMING.

State of Wyoming, compiled from official records of General Land Office, and other sources. Scale 12 m.=1 in. 1931. 29.3×32.1 in. (General Land Office.) 35¢. I 21.13 : W 99/7

Wyoming, irrigation, by drainage basins, 1940; [map]. Scale 50 m.=3.2 in. 1941. 18×23 in. (Census Bureau.) 15¢. C 3.940–9 : W 99/map

See also Minor civil divisions.

O

Indexes and Catalogs

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1–2. 53d to 54th Cong., 1st sess. Exhausted.
3. 54th Cong., 2d sess., July 1, 1896, to June 30, 1897. Sheep, $1.60.
4–10. 55th to 61st Cong. Exhausted.
11. 62d Cong., July 1, 1911, to June 30, 1913. Cloth, $2.50.
12. 63d Cong., July 1, 1913, to June 30, 1915. Exhausted.
13. 64th Cong., July 1, 1915, to June 30, 1917. Cloth, $3.75.
14. 65th Cong., July 1, 1917, to June 30, 1919. Cloth, $4.50.
15. 66th Cong., July 1, 1919, to June 30, 1921. Cloth, $4.00.
16. 67th Cong., July 1, 1921, to June 30, 1923. Cloth, $4.00.
17. 68th Cong., July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1925. Cloth, $3.00.
18. 69th Cong., July 1, 1925, to June 30, 1927. Cloth, $4.75.
19. 70th Cong., July 1, 1927, to June 30, 1929. Cloth, $4.75.
20. 71st Cong., July 1, 1929, to June 30, 1931. Cloth, $5.00.
21. 72d Cong., July 1, 1931, to June 30, 1933. Cloth, $5.00.
22. 73d Cong., July 1, 1933, to Dec. 31, 1934. Cloth, $6.00.
23. 74th Cong., Jan. 1, 1935, to Dec. 31, 1936. Cloth, $7.50.

DOCUMENT INDEX: GP 3.7:

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15. 60th Cong., 2d sess., Dec. 7, 1908, to Mar. 4, 1909. Cloth, 35 cents.
16. 61st Cong., 1st and 2d sess., 1909–1910. Cloth, 50 cents.
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24. 64th Cong., 2d sess., Dec. 4, 1916, to Mar. 4, 1917. Cloth, 35 cents.
25. 65th Cong., 1st sess., Apr. 2 to Oct. 6, 1917, including special session of Senate, Mar. 5 to 16, 1917. Cloth, 30 cents.
26. 65th Cong., 2d sess., Dec. 3, 1917, to Nov. 21, 1918. Cloth, 50 cents.
27. 65th Cong., 3d sess., Dec. 2, 1918, to Mar. 4, 1919. Cloth, 40 cents.
28. 66th Cong., 1st sess., May 19 to Nov. 19, 1919. Cloth, 45 cents.
29. 66th Cong., 2d sess., Dec. 1, 1919, to June 5, 1920. Cloth, 40 cents.
30. 66th Cong., 3d sess., Dec. 6, 1920, to Mar. 4, 1921. Cloth, 35 cents.
31. 67th Cong., 1st sess., Apr. 11 to Nov. 23, 1921, and special session of Senate, Mar. 4 to 15, 1921. Cloth, 50 cents.
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33. 67th Cong., 3d and 4th sess., Nov. 20, 1922, to Mar. 4, 1923. Cloth, 50 cents.
34. 68th Cong., 1st sess., Dec. 3, 1923, to June 7, 1924. Cloth, 65 cents.
35. 68th Cong., 2d sess., Dec. 1, 1924, to Mar. 4, 1925. Cloth, 50 cents.
36. 69th Cong., 1st sess., Dec. 7, 1925, to Nov. 10, 1926, and special session of Senate, Mar. 4 to 18, 1925. Cloth, 65 cents.
37. 69th Cong., 2d sess., Dec. 6, 1926, to Mar. 4, 1927. Cloth, 50 cents.
38. 70th Cong., 1st sess., Dec. 5, 1927, to May 29, 1928. Cloth, 75 cents.
39. 70th Cong., 2d sess., Dec. 3, 1928, to Mar. 4, 1929. Cloth, 60 cents.
40. 71st Cong., 1st and 2d sess. and special sessions of Senate, 1929–30. Cloth, 50 cents.
41. 71st Cong., 3d sess., Dec. 1, 1930, to Mar. 4, 1931. Cloth, 60 cents.
42. 72d Cong., 1st sess., Dec. 7, 1931, to July 16, 1932. Cloth, 75 cents.
43. 72d Cong., 2d sess., Dec. 5, 1932, to Mar. 4, 1933. Cloth, 75 cents.

Document index No. 43 was the last consolidated index issued. Beginning with the 73d Congress the information contained in these volumes is no longer issued in' index form but as numerical lists and schedules of volumes of reports and documents.

73d Cong., 1st and 2d sess., 74th Cong., 1st sess. Exhausted.
74th Cong., 2d sess., Jan. 3 to June 20, 1936. Paper, 10 cents.
75th Cong., 1st sess., Jan. 5 to Aug. 21, 1937. Paper, 10 cents.
75th Cong., 2d and 3d sess., Nov. 15 to Dec. 21, 1937; Jan. 3 to June 16, 1938. Paper, 10 cents.
76th Cong., 1st sess., Jan. 3 to Aug. 5, 1939. Paper, 15 cents.
76th Cong., 2d and 3d sess., Sept. 21 to Nov. 3, 1939; Jan. 3, 1940 to Jan. 3, 1941. Paper, 10 cents.
77th Cong., 1st sess., Jan. 3, 1941, to Jan. 2, 1942. Paper, 15 cents.

Geol. Survey
Grants Pass

WA 8644

Covering letter from C. Smith, that came with his map material, etc..

RECEIVED
OCT 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

10/13/48

Dear George:

Thanks for the numbers of things you have sent me or had sent to me recently. They will all be most helpful.

Here's a report of progress. The enclosed regional map represents my hypothesis. It is a regional arrangement worked out after consideration of many factors - soil types, climate areas, physiography, types of farming, forest distribution, etc, etc. It corresponds very closely to our hunch, and I believe it will test out very well. You will notice that the plantation area, as such, is not shown here. That will be shown on one of the over-lay maps that I will be preparing hereafter. The overlays will have two purposes: to test the tentative regional arrangement, and to characterize the regions. Two overlays hastily completed are enclosed: distribution of commercial mineral production by counties, and employment in manufacturing by counties. You will see that the regions make a good deal of sense for these two factors.

Next steps, tentative, are:

Continue to test the base map in various ways.

Prepare overlays, roughly as follows: physiographic, showing climate, topographical, soil, mineral, forest, and other areas; agricultural, showing crop areas, extent of tenancy, size of farm, farm income, etc.; industrial, showing employment in in manufacture, in mining and other extractive industries, etc.; transportation; and another series showing educational, health, and other social facilities. I will try to keep these overlays to the minimum, because they involve a great deal of work and also because a few, properly selected, will show what we want.

Prepare maps showing each region separately, and on these indicate principal areas; for example, in the Appalachian region, will show the river valley systems, with corresponding land uses.

In text accompanying these various maps, justify and explain the regional arrangement used, and characterize the regions in general terms. For the separate maps of the regions, the text will be more detailed, dealing with the resource base of the region, past and present land use and social organization, the current trends, the apparent lines of best development towards full realization of potentialities, the kinds and sources of aids available for planning for regional development.

That's about as far as I have gone in my thinking. Of course, I've been busy with a lot of details that I haven't mentioned, trying out a lot of things that proved useless and happening on some leads that promise to be fruitful hereafter.

I have received a great deal of help from F. J. Marschner, the economic geographer in BAE, and his assistant, Claude Haren. They have given me some invaluable maps prepared by them over a long period of years and now otherwise unavailable. At this time they are working on an extremely interesting project. Just before NRPB closed up, it published a volume on "Area Analysis - A Method of Public Works Planning", which included a "livelihood area" map of the United States. Marschner and Haren now are working on detailed characterizations of each of the areas shown there, based on extremely voluminous and detailed data assembled throughout their work in BAE. They are giving me access to their working papers on this. Incidentally, there are no plans for publication of their study.

Before long I want to go down to Chapel Hill to check progress with some of the people there and see if I can discover any good short-cuts. Also, I hope you will let me know when you are coming up again, becsuae I think it would be profitable for us to get together with a few people to talk some of these things over. Marschner and Haren are particularly interested, and I'd like to have them learn more about SRC from you.

Enough for right now. I'll try to report more frequently hereafter. I'm working at this full time now, and have been for weeks. It is fascinating, and I hope it results in something that will be genuinely useful.

Best wishes to you and your family, as well as the others in the office,

Charles.

STATE OF ALABAMA
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
BUREAU OF VITAL STATISTICS
MONTGOMERY 4, ALA.

D. G. GILL, M. D.
STATE HEALTH OFFICER
RALPH W. ROBERTS
DIRECTOR AND STATE REGISTRAR

ADDRESS REPLY TO
BUREAU OF VITAL STATISTICS
519 DEXTER AVENUE

2 February 1949

AND REFER TO OUR FILE NO. A-1-9 S9

Mr. Harold C Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

In compliance with your request we are sending you a photostat copy of our table showing mid-year population estimates for the years 1941-1948, inclusive. Of course these estimates are prepared for us in order to calculate natality and mortality statistics and we do not release them as official estimates. With this understanding we are glad to make what we have available to you.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph W. Roberts

Ralph W. Roberts
State Registrar

RWR/s

Inclosure

RECEIVED
FEB 4 1949
Southern Regional Council

ESTIMATED POPULATION (AS OF JULY 1) ALABAMA

COUNTIES	1941			1942			1943			1944			1945			1946			1947			1948			COUNTIES
	TOTAL	WHITE	COLORED	TOTAL	WHITE	COLORED	TOTAL	WHITE	COLORED	TOTAL	WHITE	COLORED	TOTAL	WHITE	COLORED	TOTAL	WHITE	COLORED	TOTAL	WHITE	COLORED	TOTAL	WHITE	COLORED	
ENTIRE STATE	2,856,505	1,865,440	991,065	2,895,762	1,896,360	999,402	2,893,979	1,895,556	998,423	SAME AS 1943 (1943 ESTIMATE USED FOR BOTH YEARS)			2,972,280	1,957,183	1,015,097	3,002,140	1,979,321	1,022,819	3,034,070	2,008,421	1,030,649	3,068,197	2,028,880	1,039,317	ENTIRE STATE
Autauga	21,137	9,850	11,287	19,091	8,896	10,195	17,982	8,287	9,695				21,992	10,470	11,522	22,202	10,611	11,591	22,426	10,761	11,665	22,643	10,897	11,746	Autauga
Baldwin	32,829	24,622	8,207	32,927	24,695	8,232	39,263	29,288	9,975				35,150	26,212	8,938	35,708	26,598	9,110	36,322	27,064	9,258	36,941	27,500	9,441	Baldwin
Barbour	32,854	14,620	18,234	29,849	13,283	16,566	29,554	12,873	16,681				33,545	15,213	18,332	33,706	15,334	18,372	33,869	15,459	18,410	34,014	15,599	18,465	Barbour
Bibb	20,155	13,524	6,631	18,539	12,440	6,099	18,887	12,563	6,324				20,245	13,595	6,650	20,256	13,599	6,657	20,272	13,570	6,702	20,305	13,600	6,705	Bibb
Blount	29,674	28,398	1,276	29,214	27,958	1,256	27,026	25,849	1,177				30,842	29,464	1,378	31,089	29,691	1,398	31,365	29,945	1,420	31,669	30,226	1,443	Blount
Bullock	19,810	4,358	15,452	19,279	4,241	15,038	18,621	3,864	14,757				20,080	4,431	15,649	20,127	4,444	15,683	20,190	4,467	15,723	20,259	4,488	15,771	Bullock
Butler	32,728	16,888	15,840	29,084	15,007	14,077	28,516	14,477	14,039				34,256	17,653	16,603	34,610	17,836	16,774	34,976	18,030	16,946	35,348	18,225	17,123	Butler
Calhoun	64,283	51,105	13,178	72,307	57,484	14,823	74,456	58,942	15,514				68,804	55,342	13,462	69,867	56,307	13,560	71,041	57,365	13,676	72,255	58,458	13,797	Calhoun
Chambers	42,500	24,395	18,105	41,139	23,614	17,525	40,912	23,194	17,718				44,208	26,027	18,181	44,595	26,366	18,229	45,040	26,747	18,293	45,435	27,131	18,354	Chambers
Cherokee	19,928	18,194	1,734	20,308	18,541	1,767	16,945	15,451	1,494				20,181	18,465	1,716	20,218	18,504	1,714	20,262	18,547	1,715	20,310	18,595	1,715	Cherokee
Chilton	28,377	23,666	4,711	24,170	20,158	4,012	24,100	20,028	4,072				30,247	25,172	5,075	30,677	25,513	5,164	31,129	25,872	5,257	31,589	26,243	5,346	Chilton
Choctaw	20,195	9,471	10,724	19,136	8,975	10,161	18,115	8,336	9,779				20,442	9,728	10,714	20,487	9,775	10,712	20,549	9,833	10,716	20,635	9,904	10,731	Choctaw
Clarke	27,838	13,306	14,532	26,500	12,667	13,833	25,111	11,782	13,329				28,975	13,848	15,127	29,239	13,969	15,270	29,512	14,093	15,419	29,800	14,237	15,563	Clarke
Clay	16,907	14,286	2,621	15,402	13,015	2,387	14,630	12,332	2,298				16,765	14,143	2,622	16,726	14,102	2,624	16,696	14,067	2,629	16,685	14,047	2,638	Clay
Cleburne	13,723	12,721	1,002	12,980	12,032	948	11,891	11,013	878				14,309	13,176	1,133	14,434	13,274	1,160	14,559	13,327	1,232	14,693	13,434	1,259	Cleburne
Coffee	31,987	25,430	6,557	30,976	24,626	6,350	31,575	25,000	6,575				32,312	25,801	6,511	32,388	25,875	6,513	32,465	25,954	6,511	32,600	26,079	6,521	Coffee
Colbert	34,622	25,897	8,725	36,237	27,105	9,132	37,747	28,080	9,667				37,124	28,363	8,761	37,718	28,916	8,802	38,350	29,498	8,852	39,003	30,096	8,907	Colbert
Conecuh	25,497	14,151	11,346	25,091	13,926	11,165	21,361	11,694	9,667				26,054	14,277	11,777	26,169	14,306	11,863	26,290	14,346	11,944	26,414	14,379	12,035	Conecuh
Coosa	13,585	8,640	4,945	12,680	8,064	4,616	11,944	7,526	4,418				14,232	9,076	5,156	14,372	9,168	5,204	14,514	9,262	5,252	14,676	9,373	5,303	Coosa
Covington	42,717	35,754	6,963	38,406	32,146	6,260	37,906	31,630	6,276				43,777	36,819	6,958	44,052	37,088	6,964	44,341	37,365	6,976	44,648	37,659	6,989	Covington
Crenshaw	23,631	15,856	7,775	20,381	13,676	6,705	20,722	13,792	6,930				23,961	15,796	8,165	24,029	15,787	8,242	24,113	15,791	8,322	24,192	15,794	8,398	Crenshaw
Cullman	48,129	47,551	578	45,020	44,480	540	43,971	43,439	532				51,810	51,145	665	52,653	51,974	679	53,554	52,857	697	54,492	53,779	713	Cullman
Dale	22,685	17,445	5,240	22,548	17,339	5,209	23,914	18,301	5,613				22,887	17,612	5,275	22,932	17,646	5,286	22,991	17,690	5,301	23,060	17,746	5,314	Dale
Dallas	55,473	14,534	40,939	53,974	14,141	39,833	53,893	13,460	40,433				56,180	14,859	41,321	56,394	14,935	41,459	56,653	15,033	41,620	56,940	15,144	41,796	Dallas
DeKalb	43,446	42,620	826	42,428	41,622	806	40,034	39,259	775				45,444	44,645	799	45,904	45,105	799	46,415	45,616	799	46,961	46,163	798	DeKalb
Elmore	33,485	20,191	13,294	32,863	19,816	13,047	31,655	18,878	12,777				34,028	20,838	13,190	34,160	20,976	13,184	34,287	21,125	13,162	34,458	21,297	13,161	Elmore
Escambia	29,933	20,354	9,579	28,203	19,178	9,025	29,208	19,699	9,509				31,681	21,322	10,359	32,094	21,549	10,545	32,479	21,786	10,693	32,936	22,057	10,879	Escambia
Etowah	73,727	62,963	10,764	79,240	67,671	11,569	81,665	69,542	12,123				79,020	67,996	11,024	80,260	69,135	11,125	81,598	70,364	11,234	83,022	71,674	11,348	Etowah
Fayette	22,052	18,921	3,131	20,079	17,228	2,851	18,408	15,756	2,652				23,725	20,383	3,342	24,118	20,717	3,401	24,538	21,080	3,458	24,968	21,447	3,521	Fayette
Franklin	27,824	26,349	1,475	25,945	24,570	1,375	25,723	24,341	1,382				29,380	27,863	1,517	29,713	28,184	1,529	30,071	28,533	1,538	30,446	28,896	1,550	Franklin
Geneva	29,172	25,146	4,026	27,245	23,485	3,760	26,308	22,619	3,689				29,239	25,075	4,164	29,263	25,068	4,195	29,289	25,067	4,222	29,323	25,071	4,252	Geneva
Greene	19,185	3,108	16,077	17,519	2,838	14,681	16,838	2,501	14,337				19,213	2,930	16,283	19,218	2,890	16,328	19,236	2,857	16,379	19,247	2,823	16,424	Greene
Hale	25,533	7,175	18,358	22,683	6,374	16,309	23,010	6,189	16,821				25,622	7,430	18,192	25,636	7,477	18,159	25,681	7,531	18,150	25,733	7,590	18,143	Hale
Henry	21,912	11,197	10,715	19,379	9,903	9,476	19,020	9,568	9,452				21,966	10,984	10,982	21,979	10,939	11,040	21,975	10,899	11,096	22,008	10,858	11,150	Henry
Houston	45,665	31,052	14,613	43,578	29,633	13,945	44,264	29,862	14,402				46,326	30,985	15,341	46,496	30,999	15,497	46,684	31,028	15,656	46,895	31,069	15,826	Houston
Jackson	42,417	39,745	2,672	39,603	37,108	2,495	37,906	35,478	2,428				45,402	42,779	2,623	46,083	43,456	2,627	46,803	44,169	2,634	47,547	44,907	2,640	Jackson
Jefferson	463,485	282,726	180,759	500,466	305,284	195,182	500,469	302,037	198,432				482,221	294,853	187,368	486,575	297,524	189,051	491,469	300,580	190,889	496,712	303,866	192,846	Jefferson
Lamar	19,922	16,914	3,008	17,196	14,599	2,597	16,785	14,207	2,578				20,954	17,850	3,104	21,183	18,058	3,125	21,435	18,281	3,154	21,689	18,510	3,179	Lamar
Lauderdale	46,867	39,274	7,593	62,978	52,776	10,202	48,759	40,727	8,032				49,891	42,514	7,377	50,575	43,218	7,357	51,327	43,976	7,351	52,124	44,773	7,351	Lauderdale
Lawrence	27,997	21,698	6,299	25,022	19,392	5,630	25,856	19,944	5,912				29,004	23,054	5,950	29,237	23,332	5,905	29,506	23,645	5,861	29,777	23,958	5,819	Lawrence
Lee	37,246	16,165	21,081	38,345	16,642	21,703	34,315	14,561	19,754				40,813	17,694	23,119	41,632	18,050	23,582	42,457	18,456	24,001	43,357	18,877	24,480	Lee
Limestone	35,642	26,803	8,839	32,430	24,387	8,043	34,156	25,545	8,611				35,949	27,564	8,385	36,017	27,713	8,304	36,092	27,864	8,228	36,205	28,051	8,154	Limestone
Lowndes	22,661	3,444	19,217	20,008	3,041	16,967	19,605	2,700	16,905				22,997	3,591	19,406	23,054	3,616	19,438	23,131	3,641	19,490	23,208	3,670	19,538	Lowndes
Macon	26,196	4,951	21,245	29,407	5,558	23,849	27,612	4,860	22,752				27,052	5,100	21,952	27,217	5,129	22,088	27,296	5,161	22,135	27,491	5,192	22,299	Macon
Madison	66,528	48,100	18,428	72,092	52,122	19,970	72,567	52,131	20,436				68,448	50,278	18,170	68,884	50,743	18,141	69,405	51,270	18,135	69,972	51,832	18,140	Madison
Marengo	35,736	9,720	26,016	30,689	8,347	22,342	29,687	7,710	21,977				35,904	9,673	26,231	35,947	9,660	26,287	36,003	9,647	26,356	36,060	9,636	26,424	Marengo
Marion	29,127	28,108	1,019	27,004	26,059	945	23,754	22,913	841				30,877	29,790	1,087	31,264	30,162	1,102	31,677	30,559	1,118	32,108	30,974	1,134	Marion
Marshall	42,719	41,523	1,196	40,873	39,728	1,145	40,938	39,771	1,167				44,698	43,574	1,124	45,134	44,019	1,115	45,619	44,514	1,105	46,110	45,010	1,100	Marshall
Mobile	143,245	92,393	50,852	194,048	124,773	69,275	233,897	169,441	64,450				156,422	100,526	55,896	159,799	102,684	57,115	163,293	104,925	58,368	166,942	107,259	59,683	Mobile
Monroe	29,465	13,848	15,617	25,297	11,890	13,407	24,553	11,319	13,234				29,826	13,904	15,922	29,887	13,906	15,981	29,952	13,916	16,036	30,033	13,931	16,102	Monroe
Montgomery	113,709	56,968	56,741	121,222	60,732	60,490	121,380	59,812	61,568				121,542	62,483	59,059	123,459	63,722	59,737	125,401	65,064	60,337	127,552	66,458	61,094	Montgomery
Morgan	48,394	40,215	8,179	48,624	40,406	8,218	48,414	40,092	8,322				50,090	41,947	8,143	50,479	42,329	8,150	50,913	42,750	8,163	51,354	43,187	8,167	Morgan
Perry	26,638	7,512	19,126	22,625	6,380	16,245	22,292	6,021	16,271				27,225	7,771	19,454	27,325	7,811	19,514	27,457	7,864	19,593	27,580	7,915	19,665	Perry
Pickens	28,017	14,737	13,280	19,356	10,181	9,175	25,324	13,117	12,207				29,659	15,684	13,975	30,045	15,887	14,158	30,426	16,091	14,335	30,835	16,313	14,522	Pickens
Pike	32,524	17,335	15,189	29,660	15,809	13,851	29,394	15,439	13,955				33,126	17,377	15,749	33,282	17,404	15,878	33,439	17,447	15,992	33,614	17,490	16,124	Pike
Randolph	25,516	19,647	5,869	23,864	18,375	5,489	23,063	17,674	5,389				25,253	19,280	5,973	25,195	19,195	6,000	25,152	19,128	6,024	25,129	19,077	6,052	Randolph
Russell	36,082	14,794	21,288	39,843	16,336	23,507	41,098	16,441	24,657				37,434	16,092	21,342	37,772	16,357	21,415	38,208	16,664	21,544	38,603	16,978	21,625	Russell
Shelby	29,136	22,231	6,905	27,004	20,604	6,400	27,958	21,224	6,734				30,179	23,304	6,875	30,408	23,528	6,880	30,680	23,778	6,902	30,946	24,030	6,916	Shelby
St. Clair	27,690	21,903	5,787	31,554	24,959	6,595	25,936	20,426	5,510				29,359	23,087	6,272	29,728	23,347	6,381	30,112	23,623	6,489	30,531	23,928	6,603	St. Clair
Sumter	27,370	5,638	21,732	24,355	5,017	19,338	24,100	4,654	19,446				28,015	5,643	22,372	28,156	5,645	22,511	28,307	5,650	22,657	28,456	5,657	22,799	Sumter
Talladega	52,656	34,174	18,482	68,083	44,186	23,897	64,002	41,137	22,865				56,729	37,542	19,187	57,696	38,305	19,391	58,713	39,106	19,607	59,749	39,909	19,840	Talladega
Tallapoosa	35,780	24,366	11,414	31,798	21,654	10,144	33,676	22,757	10,919				38,114	25,890	12,224	38,650	26,235	12,415	39,231	26,629	12,602	39,836	27,044	12,792	Tallapoosa
Tuscaloosa	71,941	47,625	24,316	77,018	50,986	26,032	73,551	48,286	25,265				78,052	52,526	25,526	79,473	53,615	25,858	80,766	54,775	25,991	82,327	55,981	26,346	Tuscaloosa
Walker	64,796	57,798	6,998	62,689	55,918	6,771	61,900	55,101	6,799				68,082	61,586	6,496	68,822	62,405	6,417	69,621	63,277	6,344	70,439	64,172	6,267	Walker
Washington	16,188	10,020	6,168	13,962	8,642	5,320	14,072	8,627	5,445				16,465	10,512	5,953	16,525	10,612	5,913	16,589	10,713	5,876	16,661	10,820	5,841	Washington
Wilcox	26,454	5,740	20,714	26,174	5,680	20,494	24,739	5,040	19,699				27,620	5,848	21,772	27,893	5,872	22,021	28,173	5,898	22,275	28,445	5,932	22,513	Wilcox
Winston	19,140	19,025	115	18,071	17,962	109	17,052	16,949	103				20,856	20,729	127	21,255	21,125	130	21,665	21,531	134	22,102	21,965	137	Winston

Form VS-F—1M—7-42

M Boyd

CIO ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
Public Relations Department
79½ Poplar St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga.
February 8, 1949

RECEIVED FEB 10 1949 Council

For Immediate Release

ATLANTA, February ---Three textile mills, two packing plants, a steel plant, a box factory and a chemical plant made news for the CIO Southern Drive this week when the workers selected CIO-affiliated unions as their bargaining agents. The eight union victories maintained the average of a win-a-day for Operation Dixie during the first eight days of February.

The union victories, as announced by CIO Organizing Committee National Director, Van A. Bittner, were Berryton Mills, Berryton, Georgia, Price Spindle and Flyer Company, Spartanburg, S. C., and William H. Coleman Company, Jackson, Tennessee for the CIO Textile Workers. The Southern Cotton Oil Company, Valdosta, Georgia and Wilson and Company, Chattanooga, Tennessee for the CIO Packinghouse Workers. Phillips Chemical Company, Dumas, Texas for the CIO International Oil Workers. Pittsburg Metalurgical Company, Charleston, South Carolina for the CIO Steelworkers. Indianapolis Wire Bound Box Company, Cleveland, Texas for the CIO International Woodworkers.

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ATLANTA, February ---Fifty-three employees of Swift and Company in Greensboro, North Carolina have their jobs back and will receive $15,000 in back pay as the result of an agreement reached between the Company and their union, the CIO United Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union.

MORE

The workers, discharged in November, 1947, had been ordered reinstated following an NLRB hearing last September. The $15,000 payment is a compromise agreement covering wages lost while the men were unemployed.

The discharge occurred when the employees struck in protest at the discharge of Valrie Russell, chairman of the local union which was then seeking recognition as the bargaining agent. Russell was among those ordered reinstated.

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ATLANTA, February ---Cole W. Danenburg, international vice-president of the CIO United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers, was named assistant to the National Director of the CIO Organizing Committee this week by National Director Van A. Bittner.

The youthful-looking trade unionist has a long and impressive record in the American labor movement and is credited with playing an important part in building the Chemical Workers Union into one of the strongest CIO affiliates. He has worked closely with the CIO Southern Drive since its inception and was instrumental in bringing unionization to the atomic workers at Oakridge, Tennessee.

Danenburg maintains offices in Greensboro, North Carolina, his home, and in Washington, D. C., national headquarters of the Chemical Workers.

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MAP TALK SUMMARY
6/2/49

The South of today can only be understood by going back and looking at its past.

Settlement began in areas reached by tidal rivers, and in these places the land was distributed by the Crown in large chunks. The white labor brought in under indenture persistently left the plantation areas, and was therefore the more eagerly replaced by slave labor, which could be held. The plantation economy spread explosively after the coming of the cotton-gin, and within sixty years had taken in a great swath stretching around the whole of the coastal plain, and covering the Mississippi Delta and moving on into the black waxy of Texas. Everywhere it took large land-holdings and slave labor.

The white farmers moved from the path of the slave economy, back into the Piedmont, into the Mountains, or down into the Piney Woods. Thus the ante-bellum South was really four Souths, regionally divided into those four distinct economies.

Hinton Rowan Helper, in 1858, predicted the break-up of slaveholder domination. When that came, in 1865, the small-farmer white South, sometimes in league with freedmen, made an effort to construct a free economy, but was frustrated by lack of roads, markets, industry, and power. These lacks began to be overcome after about 1880, and between then and now the people in the Piedmont area have built up a new South, based upon family-farm ownership and a decentralized and modern industrial society.

The problem of the mountains is largely one of land-use reorganization, industrial development, and forest conservation. In the Piedmont the balance between industry and agriculture and the possession by the people of a stout tradition of political participation and more lately of trade unionism (including unions open to members of both races) promises a further development of an

essentially democratic society. In the Piney woods unions are spreading more broadly the income from the one great natural resource (pine trees), and public and private measures of conservation can keep that base there.

For the old plantation country the root problem is the continuing ownership of the land in larger blocks. While much has been done in recent years, privately and through government programs, and while a change in farming systems goes on rapidly, it is still true that a basic inequality exists between large owners and landless tenants or farm laborers.

Turning to the States, as imposed upon this sub-regional division, it comes out clearly that the plantation area is geographically preponderant in the States of the lower South. In addition, by one device or another, it retains in the State legislatures a political superpreponderance. Thus the public life of the States of the lower South is held to the traditions and practices acceptable in that area where equalitarian institutions have made least headway. The more progressive parts struggle for change, but are denied it. The obvious remedy is concentration on the problem of achieving democratic institutions in the old plantation parts of the South.

MEMO ON TWO CONVERSATIONS WITH DR. MITCHELL REGARDING THE MAP WORK

I. Dr. Mitchell sketched out this rough outline of how the map work would appear in printed form. First, the historical maps on slavery (D and E), along with which would go a brief historical account that would utilize a brief, incisive summary of the main points of Hinton Rowan Helper's thesis. Second, - switching to the modern period - a map of the industrial south (Piedmont), which would somehow incorporate such factors as (a) farm ownership, (b) lumber, (c) power lines, or hydroelectric power consumption, and (d) Negro and white population. This is not in any way a closed list of the factors to be considered; others may be more appropriate. Third, a map of the mountain south, which also, presumably, would incorporate certain key factors. Fourth, a map of the plantation south, which would present such factors as (a) crop specialization, (b) tenancy, (c) negro and white population, and (d) industry. Fifth, a map of the Piney Woods south. Sixth, a map that would incorporate all the four preceeding maps; presumably certain common factors would be depicted for all four regions. Eight, a map for each state. Dr. Mitchell didn't indicate what was to appear on these maps, but certainly it would be necessary to indicate whatever regional divisions exist.

II. On August 9th, Dr. Mitchell and I briefly discussed the Piedmont. In his mind, it is the most difficult region to define. He indicated that a consideration of the following factors would help: First, the physical geography of the region in question, - and to help us in this respect, the relief map was made. It appears to be his understanding that the region extends from the mountains (the 2000 and over coloration on the relief map) to the fall line (how this latter is determined accurately, I'm not certain; certainly there are Government maps with this information, and in all likelihood, the information could be transfered to the relief map for greater usefulness). Second, the factor of hydroelectric power consumption, by counties; (Dr. Mitchell pointed out that we'd have to watch out for steam power in industrial use; he thought that we could obtain the necessary information, on maps, from the Georgia Power Company). Third, industry; it was his estimate that we'd find around 35-40% employment in agriculture in this region, with the converse in industry; (I'd be cautious, however, of any preconceptions in the matter; it's better to make a number of test overlays to determine the correct proportions.) Fourth, the population factor; he felt that the region wouldn't be more that 15-20% colored; (my test overlays indicate a figure closer to 30%). Fifth, it was his feeling that the Piedmont is a family farm area, but he wasn't certain how we could get at this factor. He thought that a sharecropping map, based on the 1930 Census, has probably been done somewhere, and thought it would be wise to write to BAE inquiring about such a study. He also mentioned the 1935 Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy (Cf. my bibliography cards for the Emory Library call number). Sixth, value added by manufacture. (On my own, I would add another factor, the National Resources Planning Board's Livelihood Areas.)

John Harmon

Maps: A, B, C, & D

These four maps were compiled from map plates 67(B, D, & G), 68B and 77B of Charles O. Paullin, Atlas of the Historical Geography of the U.S., (Carnegie Institute of Washington & American Geographical Society of New York, 1932). Appendix A below contains the introductory remarks of the editors of this volume with regard to these map plates (and their companions not here used), - sources utilized, methods of compilation, etc..

The principal map used was 68B, showing: "Slaves, 1860: Per Cent of Slaves in Total Population".

Map A

SRC Map A is directly derived from plate 68B, with additional data from two other sources: (a) the "75% and over" grouping is taken from p. 202, plate 173, of the U.S. Census Office, 14th Census, "Statistical Atlas of the U.S.", (Wash.: Gov't., 1925); - the highest percentage group of the Paullin map is "50% and over"; (b) the demarcation designating "population density under 2 inhabitants per square mile" is taken from the population density map for 1860 in the Paullin volume, plate 77B.

With regard to (a) above: The Census map from which the additional data was taken is headed: "1860: Counties in Southern States having at least 50% of their Population Negro"; there are two percentage groupings, "50-75%" and "75% and over". The term "Negro" in this map study includes free colored as well as slave. Thus, in the "50-75%" grouping, whenever this Census office map varied from the Paullin map (it includes approximately 35 more counties in this category than the Paullin map),

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the variations were traceable to the inclusion of free colored figures; therefore, these counties were retained in the grouping given them by the Paullin volume, "30-50%".[1] However, in the "75% and over" grouping of the Census map, while the percentages included free colored figures, a check with the Census data for 1860 showed that the percentages held for slaves alone, regardless of free colored figures; therefore this grouping has been included in Map A.

With regard to (b) above: The population density demarcation has been added as a slight corrective to the limitations inherent in percentage figures (cf. Appendix A for a discussion of the drawbacks of both the percentage and number methods when used alone). The density figure represents aggregate population, and not white or colored alone. The inclusion of this demarcation corrects such obvious misrepresentation as the large portion of southern Florida which, under percentage calculations alone, shows a 10-30% slave population, - a meaningless picture in an area where the aggregate population is so minute. The method by which the density figures were obtained is outlined in Appendix A. Finally, it is to be noted that such a U.S. Census publication as the Statistical Atlas of 1874 uses exactly the same technique, eliminating from consideration in regard to colored population those areas with a population density under 2 (aggregate) per square mile.[2]

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1. There are two exceptions, - Prince George and Warwick counties, Va.. Both of these are over 50% slave. Prince George has been shifted to the "50-75%" grouping on map A. Warwick, however, has been kept, - as the Paullin volume places it - in the "30-50%" slave grouping; the smallness of its aggregate population negates any radical divergence from the indicated institutional pattern of contiguous counties. For 1860 figures on all these counties, see Appendix B.

2. Supra, plate XXII.

Map B

Map B is merely the obverse of Map A, and delineates those areas preponderantly white. Thus, for example, the 10-30% slave grouping of Map A has been made into the 70-90% white grouping of Map B.

One caution is to be noted: Since Map A is based on the slave population, from which its percentage figures are derived, the obverse of these percentages does not really represent the white population percentages alone because the figures for the free colored are not taken into account. The true obverse of the slave percentages of Map A is the percentage of white and free colored in the total population (even this is not quite accurate, since there are sometimes infinitesimal numbers of Indians and/or Chinese included in the population aggregates of certain counties).

However, since in 1860 the number of free colored in the total region considered was negligible in proportion to the two principal groupings (white and slave), it has not been considered necessary to make any changes in Map B (except Prince George, mentioned above). There are certain counties in which the free colored do hold the balance, and allow neither white or slave to be 50% and over; there are a few others in which the white or slave grouping gets a precarious majority (often inconsistent with the proportions of surrounding counties), again because of free colored figures.[1] In these cases, the following procedure has been followed: (a) on Map A, as noted above, these counties remain in the "30-50%" slave grouping (except Prince George); (b) on Map B they are included in the "50-70%" white grouping, a category to which they do not quite belong percentagewise, but one which gives a fairer geographical picture of the institutional pattern this map series is depicting. Possibly, - even though the problem concerns only a few very small sections of the whole map region - Map B should be headed "Per Cent White and Free Colored...."

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1. Appendix B gives a complete listing of these indeterminate counties, and their correct 1860 Census figures. It will be noted that the large majority of these counties are under 50% white and under 50% slave. It will also be noted that, appropriately, on Map C they mostly appear in the yellow indeterminate area.

Finally, Map B has the same population density demarcation as Map A, and for the same reason.

Map C

Map C is merely a simplified combination of A and B, in which the heavily slave areas of A are contrasted with the heavily white areas of B (called on C "mainly non-slave"), and an intermediate area ("slave and free") outlined. Thus, the "heavily slave" grouping of C is a combination of "50-75%" and "75% and over" of A; the "mainly non-slave" grouping of C is a combination of the "70-90%" and "90% and over" of B, - or "under 10%" and "10-30%" on A; and the intermediate "slave and free" grouping of C is the "30-50%" of A, or the "50-70%" of B.

Map C also, of course, has the same density demarcation as Maps A and B.

Map D

Map D is a series of three maps denoting slave proportions in 1790, 1810 and 1840. They are reasonably exact carbon copies of maps in the Paullin volume: plate 67, maps B, D and G.

The density demarcations are taken from the population density maps of U.S. Census Office, 9th Census, "Statistical Atlas of the U.S.", (Wash.: Gov't, 1874),[1] and represent, of course, aggregate population density for these years.

Note: As with Map A, the density marking on D has been added after the completion of the map, - hence the apparent confusion. Note also that both A and D include Missouri (on D, the 1840 map), a state which won't appear on the final maps.

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1. The only copy of this volume in Georgia is at the University of Georgia Library, Athens. I believe, however, that the same population density information is available in Paullin, or other more easily obtainable Atlases of the U.S. Census Office.

APPENDIX A

Introductory remarks contained in Charles O. Paullin, Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States, with regard to the following topics and map plates:

P. 46 "Slaves, Free Negroes, and Colored Population, 1790-1930 (Plates 67B - 70B)

"This series shows the negro population, by counties, during the period 1790-1930. There are some statistics of the number of negroes for the period 1698-1786, but they are not sufficiently numerous or specific to afford adequate materials for a series of maps (A Century of Population Growth, Washington, 1909, pp. 149-185). Beginning with 1790 the statistics of the U. S. Census are available, and it is upon these that the maps of Plates 67B-70B are based. The Census statistics are found in the publications of the several censuses relating to population (for a list of the most important of these volumes see the preceding page). Especial use has been made of Statistics of the Population of the United States, Ninth Census, 1872, Vol. I, pp.11-74, which contains in concise form the statistics of negro population for the first nine censuses. When discrepancies between earlier and later publications are discovered, the figures deemed most trustworthy are used. Such discrepancies, however, are infrequent.

"This series contains thirteen maps, of which eight show slaves, two show free negroes, and three show negro population. In the case of slaves and negro population percentages are shown; and in the case of free negroes, numbers. Whether percentages or numbers should be shown has been determined in large part by trying out the two methods with a view of discovering the one that would make the best maps. The advantages and limitations of each method have also been considered. When the percentages are relatively large the percentage method, and when relatively small the number method, is likely to produce the best results. By the percentage method the figures for counties of widely varying populations are made more comparable. This is one of its advantages. On the other hand, by this method counties may be shifted from one group to another at different censuses, not because of changes in the negro population but because of changes in the white population. This method is sometimes misleading in respect to new counties containing but few people. Collingsworth County, Texas, is a case in point. In 1880 it contained six persons, three of whom were negroes; and it is therfore on the map for that year given the heaviest shading. In 1900 it contained 1233 persons, two of whom were negroes, and on the map for that year it is given the lightest shading.

.....2/

"The number method makes no adjustment on account of differences in the total population of counties. By this method counties may be given the heaviest shading when they have relative to the white population fewer negroes than other counties which are given the lightest shading. Some limitations are common to both methods. Thus, a very slight change in the negro population of a county as returned by successive censuses may be sufficient to shift a county from one group to another if the percentage or number for that county is close to the percentage or number that separates two groups. An area may shift from one group to another not because of a change in population but because of the creation of new counties or because of a modification of boundary lines.

"Some of the large counties of the Western States contain unsettled areas which are shaded, since it was not possible to separate them from the settled areas. Many large unsettled areas, however, have been cut off from their counties often more or less arbitrarily and appear on the map as blank areas.

"In conformity with the practice of some of the census compilations Baltimore is treated as if it were a part of Baltimore county, and the Virginia cities that form independent municipalities are treated as if they were a part of the respective counties to which they geographically belong. These cities are too small for separate treatment. The shading of Monroe County, Florida, the larger part of which lies on the mainland, is chiefly determined by the population of its most populous part, the city of Key West, which lies on an island at the southern extremity of the state.

p. 48 "Density and Centers of Population, 1790-1930 (Plates 76B-80A)

"Density of Population, 1790-1930 (Plates 76B-79). This series, except for the map for 1930, is based upon the maps, chiefly colored, published by the U. S. Census Office (or Bureau) during the years 1874-1925. .....The Census maps were redrawn and adapted to the needs of the Atlas. Since the Atlas maps were black and white, a different scheme of shading was followed. The Atlas maps show the density of the total population, while the Census maps, with the exception of those for 1910 and 1920, show the density of the rural population. This change made it necessary to recalculate the density of population of many urban counties (counties containing cities whose population was in excess of 8000) and not infrequently of counties adjacent thereto. Some of the very small areas on the Census maps, chiefly in the West, were omitted. A few obvious errors in the Census maps were corrected. Usually the Census calculations of density were accepted. It was apparent, however, that the more accurate determination in recent years of the area of counties would sometimes change the Census results.

"The geographical unit employed by the Census as the basis of its calculations was usually the county but by no means always. The maps of the first nine censuses, 1790-1870, were made during the years 1870-1874, and the method followed in their compilations is thus described in the Census Atlas for the Ninth Census, published in 1874:

> 'The county has ordinarily been taken as the unit of treatment. Its population at the period to which the individual map has reference having been ascertained...the number of inhabitants was divided by the number of square miles in the county, the quotient representing the average density of settlement. Where, however, any county was of unusual extent, or there was reason known to the compiler for suspecting that various portions of it might be found in very different stages of settlement, the county was no longer taken entire, but the investigation was carried down to sections of the county and even to its several townships. The number of counties thus broken up for the purposes of this compilation, would naturally vary much. At some censuses they would amount to several hundreds; at others, to scarcely as many score...The plan of grouping has been to make as large groups as could be done without merging any appreciable proportion of counties in groups of a markedly different grade. Thus, if a single county of small extent belonging to Group III (18 to 45) should appear surrounded by numerous counties of Group IV (45-90), or of Group II (6-18), it would not be preserved distinct, but would take the shading of its general section. If, however, a county of Group Iv or V (90 and over) should appear among counties of Group I (206) or II, the distinction would be regarded as of sufficient importance to be maintained. Again, a county whose average brought it within Group IV might come between III's and V's, appearing thus to belong to a group distinct from both. Yet the resolution of the county into its constituent townships might develop the fact that those parts of the county which bordered on the III's were themselves of that grade, while the parts bordering on the V's were of that degree of density. In such a case, the division of of the county by a central line, and the throwing of the parts, on the one side and on the other, in-

> to the adjacent groups, would not only dispense with the necessity of preserving a troublesomely small group upon the map, but would even better represent the facts of the case.' (Statistical Atlas of the United States, Washington, 1874, Part II, "Prggress of the Nation", p. 1).

"In adopting the Census maps to the needs of the Atlas considerable regard was shown for county lines. The maps for 1910, 1920, and 1930 are based wholly on the county as a unit, and their lines are located with precision. Much less refinement was employed by the Census in locating the lines of the earlier maps. The Census maps for 1910, 1920, and 1930 show the density of the total population. Differences in what is shown and in methods of construction make these three maps not strictly comparable with the earlier ones. Imperfect in details, the Census maps for 1790-1900 and the Atlas maps based on them, are fairly reliable in respect to the general picture presented by them. More than this can hardly be said.

"The Census maps are of varying sizes. The maps for 1850 and 1860 do not extend west of the meridian of central Texas. Each census from the tenth to the thirteenth has republished the maps of the previous censuses. The maps of the Atlas of Historical Geography are based upon the maps found in the volumes of the Statistical Atlas of the United States, published by the Census Bureau in 1874, 1898, 1903, 1914, and 1925, respectively....."

APPENDIX B: Counties In Borderline Areas (County boundaries and names as of 1933)

County	State	1860 Census Figures			under 50% white	over 50% white	under 50% slave	over 50% slave
		white	slave	free colored				
Anne Arundel	Md	11704	7332	4864	X		X	
Calvert	"	3997	4609	1841	X		X	
St. Marys	"	6798	6549	1866	X		X	
Northampton*	"							
Fluvanna	Va	5093	4994	266	X		X	
Westmoreland	"	3387	3704	1191	X		X	
Northumberland	"	3870	3439	222		X	X	
Richmond	"	3570	2466	820		X	X	
Mathews	"	3865	3008	218		X	X	
York	"	2342	1925	682	X		X	
James City	"	2167	2586	1045	X		X	
Warwick	"	662	1019	59	X			X
Elizabeth City	"	3180	2417	201		X	X	
Surry	"	2334	2515	1284	X		X	
Southampton	"	5713	5408	1794	X		X	
Nansemond	"	5732	5481	2480	X		X	
Norfolk	"	24357	9004	2803		X	X	
Princess Anne	"	4333	3186	195		X	X	
Prince George	"	2899	4997	515	X			X
Spotsylvania	"	7716	7786	574	X		X	
Fanquier	"	10430	10455	821	X		X	
Madison	"	4360	4397	97	X		X	
Granville	NC	11187	11086	1123	X		X	
Vance*	"							
Greene	"	3824	3947	154	X		X	
Hertford	"	3947	4445	1112	X		X	
Gates	"	4181	3901	361	X		X	
Pasquotank	"	4450	2983	1507	X		X	
Camden	"	2942	2127	274		X	X	
Pender*	"							
New Hanover	"	10615	10331	767	X		X	
Richmond	"	5211	5453	345	X		X	
Scotland*	"							
Perquimans	"	3285	3558	395	X		X	
Oconee*	Ga							
Chilton*	Ala							
Baldwin	"	3585	3714	140	X		X	
Currituck	NC	4669	2523	223		X	X	

* Counties not existing in 1860.

Maps E, F, G; Overlays 1-10; Smith Maps and Overlays; and Misc.

Maps

Map E

SRC Map E is the final, "rounded" version of Maps A, B, and C. An attempt was made to make it graphic, - the heavy red and heavy green areas being the predominantly slave and predominantly non-slave areas respectively, and the light green and light red the intermediate areas.

It will be noted that there are 8 counties in this map that have been shifted to percentage groupings which they had not previously occupied in Maps A, B, and C. In checking with the 1860 Census figures, - in order to eliminate, if possible, odd obtrusions that complicate the "rounded" representation - certain discrepancies were discovered; in the following counties the Paullin figures (on which maps A, B, and C depend) disagreed with the Census figures, and the necessary changes to correspond with Census were made in this map: (1) Powhatan, Va. was over 64% slave; (2) Amelia, Va. was over 71% slave; (3) Nottoway, Va. was over 73% slave; (4) Caswell, N.C. was over 57% slave; and (5) Marshall, Tenn. was over 30% slave. As well as these changes in the slavery area, there were the following in the white: (6) McDowell, W. Va. was 100% white; (7) Putnam, Tenn. was over 92% white. Finally, there was one change in Map E that was <u>not</u> justified by the Census figures, but which seemed fair to make: (8) Fluvanna, Va. was over 48% slave, and therefore was shifted from the 30-50% slave grouping to avoid an uncomfortable island in a preponderantly 50-75% area. None of these changes have been incorporated in the three preliminary maps, - A, B, and C.

.....2/

The density demarcation is the same as that used in Maps A, B, and C.

It will be seen that the "white" percentages employed in this map include persons designated as "free colored" by the Census. This matter has been discussed in connection with Map B, and their inclusion, it is thought, in no way detracts from the institutional picture conveyed by this map, - in fact, makes it more accurate. In any event, a comparison of the aggregate population of the 14 states considered with the total free colored population shows that the latter group composed but 2.2% of the total population.

Map F

SRC Map F was made from plates 90 and 91 of The Times Survey Atlas of the World, prepared by J.G. Bartholomew of the Edinburgh Geographical Institute, and published by the London Times in 1922. The Times Atlas was utilized because it was the same scale (1:5,000,000) as the SRC maps, and the transference was relatively easy.

Map G

SRC Map G was made from the 16th Census of the U.S., 1940, Population, vol. II, "Characteristics of the Population, by States". SRC has this material.

Table 21 of this volume was used. It has percentage figures for "native white", "foreign-born white", and "Negro", by counties. "Native" and "foreign-born" white percentages were grouped together to achieve the percentages represented on Map G; and note that the Census Bureau includes Mexicans in the "white" category. Thus, except for very minor numbers included under the Census heading "other races", the converse of the percentages represented on Map G indicate the proportion of Negroes in the total population (e.g., 75-79.9% white becomes 20.1-25% Negro).

Only 9 gradations were used. If others are desired (say a 50-54.9% and 55-59.9%) it will be simple enough to look up all the #5 counties and circle those in excess of 54.9%.

Western Texas was not filled in because it wasn't immediately necessary, and is probably completely 90% and over white.

Note: Smith Map IX and Map G represent two different methods for tackling this regional problem. The latter, I believe, is far more valuable. Instead of deciding in advance which percentage groupings of a particular factor will be the most valuable, and then incorporating them into a map (as Smith has done), it is wiser to grade each county (or, if necessary, sub-units within a county) according to a wide range of percentage or numerical groupings, and then make overlays from this base map, testing various groupings. In this way erroneous preconceptions can be avoided, and a far wider range of groupings can be tested (eliminating, for example, the far too wide a jump from 50 to 79.9% on Smith Map IX). Moreover, under this method the groupings can be increasingly narrowed, if the first test overlays prove inadequate, by the addition of other symbols (e.g., the 50-59.9% grouping can be broken into 50-54.9% and 55-59.9% by rechecking all #5 counties and circling those that are above 54.9%; and the 55-59.9% grouping can be further narrowed by coloring all those circled counties that are above, say, 57%; etc.). Finally, under this method the information is far more usable; overlays for different factors can be compared easily (whereas it's difficult to compare maps), and the overlays can be superimposed on the relief map and other maps.

This same method, I believe, will be the most effective for dealing with all the other factors that are to be considered.

Overlays

I've made 10 overlays, - 9 population overlays from Map G, and 1 "type-of-farming area" overlay from Smith Map II.

Overlays 1-9 Overlays made from Map G: (1) There are four (#1-4) labeled "Piedmont (test overlay)", which delimit the white population into the following groupings: 80-100%, 75-100%, 70-100%, and 65-100%. (2) The same percentage groupings were used for four other overlays (#5-8), which cover the "West South Central" area (three include Mississippi as well; only #5 omits Mississippi). (3) One overlay (#9), labeled "Coastal Area, Alabama through Virginia", is intended to cover all the area not covered by the other two sets (minus eastern Virginia, an oversight). The four percentage groupings included in this overlay are rather confusingly presented, but, with a little patience, it may prove helpful.

Overlay 10 Overlay made from Smith Map II, "Type-of-farming Areas": See the Smith Map for sources, etc.. For convenience, the overlay has appended the County Data Book designations for the prescribed areas, as well as their major farm products.

The overlay does not include Texas and Oklahoma, since the Smith Map omitted these states. It would be wise, however, sometime to include these two states, and room has been left on the overlay for that purpose. (Place a piece of tracing paper over Texas and Oklahoma on Map G, - or some other map on which the county boundaries are clearly visible - and fill in the individual counties according to the code designations given them by column 63 of the County Data Book; when all the counties have been checked, outline the separate areas on the tracing sheet; then place the overlay (#10) on the tracing sheet, and ink in the final job.)

Smith Maps and Overlays

There are 10 Smith Maps and 6 Smith Overlays (not counting the one overlay attached to Smith Map VII). Both the maps and overlays have been numbered and labeled, to facilitate cross-referencing and increase their intelligibility. Whatever information I've been able to gather concerning them has been attached.

Note: It would be wise to avoid the error of the Smith overlays in not including points of reference by which the overlays can be correctly oriented on the maps or other overlays to which they are to be compared. As well, the overlays are far more graphic and useful, I believe, if they are outlined according to county lines, rather than employing the dots used by Smith.

Misc.

As well as the maps and overlays he made, Smith sent on two other maps: (a) "Soil Associations of the United States", prepared in 1938 by the Bureau of Chemistry and Soils of the Department of Agriculture; Smith Map X is an accurate transferal of the Bureau map to the 1:5,000,000 base map we are using. (b)"Livelihood Areas of the United States", printed in 1943 under the direction of F.J. Marschner (B.A.E.) and L. Unger, of the National Resources Planning Board; Smith Map III is an incomplete colored copy on the 1:5,000,000 base map.

The "Livelihood Areas" map was attached to a pamphlet published in 1943 by a special committee of the Land Committee of the National Resources Planning Board, - Area Analysis - A Method of Public Works Planning. This will be very helpful reading indeed for the person that carries on this study. Smith mentions the importance of this pamphlet, and of the work being carried on with regard to the livelihood areas, in his covering letter. SRC has this pamphlet.

Finally, I have assembled a small bibliography (kept in the small

green metal box) of material relevant to the work at hand. Some of the cards bear remarks; on all I've attempted to place the reference or call numbers of the various adjacent libraries in which I've found them. Those that are in the SRC offices are so designated.

July 20, 1949

MEMO TO ACCOMPANY MAP SPEECH PAMPHLET

(Notes on conversation with Shelby Roberts, Jr., July 19, 1949)

The book by L.C. Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860 has valuable maps.

The best informed man in the country about the French Counties in Louisiana is Vernon Parrenton. He is a blind professor of sociology at L. S. U. He wrote his Harvard thesis on the Teche Country.

Margaret Hagood who now works with Arthur Raper in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. has done a report of the country, county by county, showing levels of living. In the North, the best land has the highest living levels. In the South, the best land has the poorest. John Griffin has a copy of her book with maps. Should get.

The expert on plantations in the B.A.E. in Washington is Ken Bachman, an Oklahoma man.

We could get some help from Joe Ackerman of the Farm Foundation.

At Clemson, Charles Butler or Buller (I don't know which) is attached to B.A.E. and knows most about types of farm areas. In Washington, in B.A.E. see Lee Langsford.

There remains in Washington, unpublished but completely compiled, Carl Taylor's material analysis of rural communities. Frank Alexander among many others worked on this. They did Dallas County, Alabama, Coahoma County, Mississippi, and Clayton County, Georgia.

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

Ed Stone - CIO Publicity
Southern Org Ctee
3rd floor - 79½ Poplar St
(near old PO) -
CY 5065 (Jno. Brownlee

How many new members in what industries, by race? (In Piney Woods belt)

Take Atlas + Postal Guide - we need info by counties, & they will have it by towns.

Want both "members of unions" or "persons included in bargaining unit"

Take C. Smith's map -
but can go over
boundary of subregion
concerned.

Memo from IRA DeA. REID

to

Auto 2
Chemical 8
Shipping 4
Oil 4
Warehouse ?4
Retail Wholesale (Drugs) 1
Transport 5
Clothing (Allied) 1 5 1 (7)
Dept Store
Food Producing 3,2 (5)
Cereal
Furniture 2
Dairy 1
Peanuts - 2
Barber Beauty Culture 1

Memo from IRA DeA. REID

to Laurel

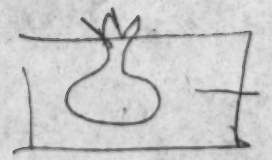
Lumber
Textile
Fertilizer
Chemicals

coldrivers
Wood - largest 3500
Clothing 1000
Textile -
Barber Beauty Cult!

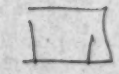
6,500

~~Tribaux~~
~~Reserve~~
~~NDI~~

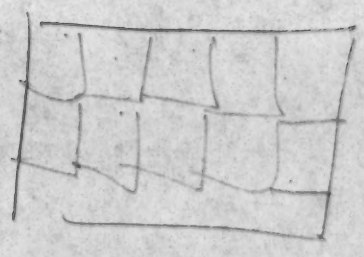
3%



300,000



guy



Memo from IRA DeA. REID

to

Predominant Internationals (in order accding to number of bargaining units listed...not accding to no. of members) in the Piney Woods counties and those counties immediately adjoining

Lumber.....	37
Packing (~~warehouse,~~ sugar, canning)	29
Textile (hosiery, cotton)	28
Fertilizer	13
Wood	7
Chemical	8
Clothing, (Allied) Dept. store	7
Fabricating (	8
Tobacco	8
Steel	5
Transport	5
Food producing (cereal)	5
Packing	6
Shipbuilding	4
Oil	4
Warehouse	4
Paper	3
Optical	4
Auto	2
Furniture	2
Peanuts	2
Stone and Allied products	2
Newspaper	1
Beauty and Barber Culture	1
Retail wholesale Drugs	1
Salvage	1

	La	SC	MISS	ALA	Fla	Va	Ga
Steel	III				I	II	
Coldsto	I						
Wood	II						
optical	IIII						
Sugar	I			I			
Furniture	see other side	I					
Cotton		I					
Wood	other side		IIII				
Salvage				I			
Peanuts						II	
Newspaper						I	
Hosiery						~~I~~	I

Paper	NC	La	SC	MISS	Ala.	Fla	VA	Ga
Canning	I	I						
Fertilizer	~~IIII~~		~~IIII~~ I					II
Tobacco	IIII		IIII					
Fabricating	I.					I.	~~IIII~~	II
Lumber	~~IIII~~ ~~IIII~~		~~IIII~~ III	~~IIII~~	~~IIII~~	~~IIII~~	III	I
Textile	~~IIII~~	I	II	I	~~IIII~~	~~IIII~~	IIII	
Brick	II							
Packing	I	I.		I		I.	II.	
Auto	II							
Chemical	III		II	III				
Shipbuilding	IIII							
Oil	II					II		
Warehouse	II			I		I		
Drugs	I							
Trucking	~~IIII~~							
Dept Store	I							
Food Prod	II					I		
Furniture						I		
Clothing	III		II					
~~Housing~~								
Cereal	II							
Dairy	I							

North Carolina

Kingston	Clothing	145
Roanoke Rapids	Paper	500
" "	"	450
Belhaven	canning	220
Whiteville	fertilizer	75
Williamston	"	72
Weldon	Brick	104
	"	96
Maxton	fertilizer	160
Rocky Mt.	textile	550
* Galesboro	Textile	270
Roanoke Rapids	Textile	600
" "	"	850
" "	Textile	900
Weldon	"	100
Ayden	Packing	100
Rocky Mount	Tobacco	210
	"	621
Lumberton	"	240
Rocky Mt	Fertilyer	120
Lumberton	Tobacco	400
Eliz City	- Fabricating	40
Clarkton	— Lumber	60
Rocky Mt	Lumber	102
Washington	"	105
Elizbeth	"	350
Maxton	"	100
Eliz City	"	60
Washington	"	45

NC

Lumberton	Lumber	120
Hertford	"	220
Washington	"	60
Hallsboro	"	260
"	"	60
Elizbetown	"	120
Hallsboro	"	70
Washington	"	101
Eliz City	"	200
" "	"	220
Roanoke Rapids	Textile	680
Whiteville	Fertilizer	70
Roland	Lumber	40

La

*	Kraki	auto	74
	New Orleans	Cereal	36
	Harvey	"	90
	NO	chemical	800
	NO	"	88
*	~~Southport~~	~~Clothing~~	~~65~~
	~~" "~~	~~" "~~	~~65~~
	New O	Chem	150
	New O	clothing	200
	" "	"	536
yes	~~New O~~	~~Ship building~~	~~40~~
	" "	" "	45
	" "	" "	40
	Baton Rouge	Oil	220
	NO	paper	87
	"	warehouse	45
	"	Dairy	110
	"	Lumber	40
	"	retail deptstore	100
	"	wholesale drugs	60
	Donaldsonville	Lumber	70
	NO	auto supplies	60
	"	steel	66
	"	"	70
	Donaldsonville	"	50
	NO	Textile	108
	"	"	95
	"	Food Prod	140
	"	"	50
	Harvey	Cannery	506

La

NO	Trucking	35
"	"	30
"	"	35
"	"	30
"	Cold Storage	35
"	Oil	50
"	Trucking	60
Kenner	Wood	40
NO	"	30
Thibadoux	Lumber	60
Sorento	"	160
Harvey	Lumber	75
Morgan City	Shipbuilding	50
NO	Optical	20
"	"	14
"	"	4
"	"	10
"	warehouse	84
"	packing	70
Rockport	sugar	150

Jasper Hampton

South Carolina

Charleston.—

	Furniture	180
	Chemicals	120
	" "	270
	Fertilizer	50
	"	150
	"	290
	"	75
	"	45
	"	300
	Tobacco	1750
	"	20
	Cotton	75
	Tobacco	75
	"	20

MISSISSIPPI

Hattiesburg	Auto	75
	Chem	80
	"	700
	"	700
	Clothing	900
	"	575
Ellisville	Border Jones Textile	75
~~Greenwood~~	~~Cotton Oil~~	~~90~~
~~Corinth~~	~~Pouch~~	~~80~~
~~Greenwood~~	~~Cotton~~	~~45~~
Natchez	Wood	350
	"	75

Hattiesburg	Lumber	135
Natchez	Wood	500
"	"	200
Foxworth	(border) lumber	160
Natchez	Lumber	75
	"	75
	"	78
	"	140

Alabama — Clarke, Choctow, Escambia, Covington, Geneva, Holmes, Washington, Mobile, Baldwin, Jackson, Monroe, ~~Santa Rosa~~, ~~Okaloosa~~, ~~Walton~~, ~~Bay~~

Mobile	Warhouse	72
"	Salvage	170
~~Lobrich~~	~~Steel~~	~~110~~
Mobile	Textile	400
~~* Forrester~~	~~Lumber~~	~~405~~
~~Elba (Coffee)~~	~~"~~	~~40 ( )~~
Mobile	"	80
"	"	120
Brewton	"	160
"	"	255
"	"	145
"	"	206
Calvert	"	65
Whatley	"	95
"	"	45

~~(Forrester =) Butler out~~

Florida

	Crestview	–	
	Jacksonville	packing	80
	"	fabricating	200
	~~Ft Lauderdale~~		
	Jax	food	70
	Fellsville	Sugar	225
—	Century	Lumber	140
—	Bonifay	"	275
		"	120
		"	46
*	Marianna	"	63

add 30%

VA,

Norfolk — clothing pins

Fabricating 138,

Auto 100

Fabricating 109

Furniture 60

Newport News 160

warehouse

Fabricating 290

So. Norfolk

Oil Distrib 26

" 213

Portsmouth

Steel - 75

Norf Fabricat 100

Portsm Fabricat 29

Norfolk - Steel 40

" Textile 175

Amphitheatre

Appihill 1400 - Textile

Portsmouth Tex 75

Norfolk " 100

Portsmouth " 35

Suffolk ~~peanuts~~ 40

" 222

Portsmouth

lumber 23

Lumber 65

Portsmouth

lumber 75

~~Lumber - Steel 175~~

Norfolk Newspaper 80 —

Georgia

Douglas (border)	Hosiery	100
Savannah	Fabricating	230
"	"	75
	Fertilizer	45
	"	25
Thomasville (border	steel)	42
Cairo . Border	Lumber	25

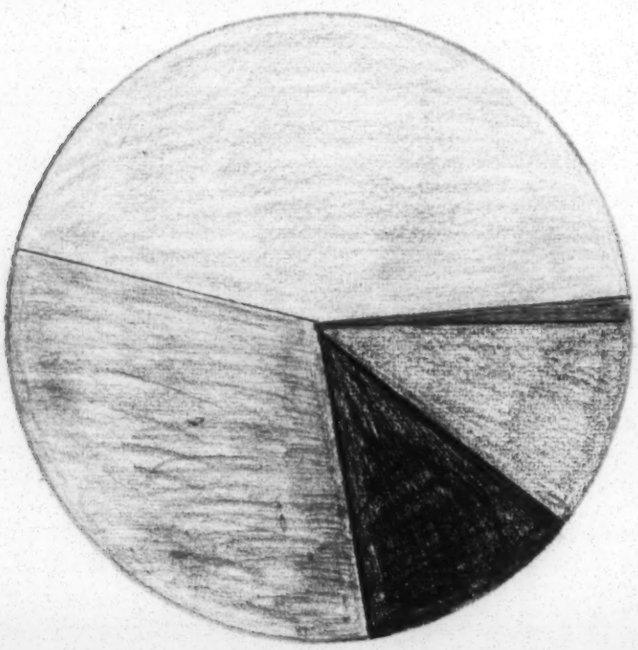
GEORGIA

	5 counties Mountain	52 counties Piedmont	85 counties Plantation	17 counties Piney Woods	~~19 counties Black Belt(?)~~
Population*					
Number.....	40,900	1,439,300	~~1,308,700~~ 1,397,200	355,600	388,500
Percent.....	1.3%	44.5%	~~31.2%~~ 43.2% 17.0	11.0%	12.0%
Legislators					
Number	6.8	90.8	~~101.6~~ 132.6	26.8	31.0
Percent.....	2.6%	35.3%	~~39.6%~~ 51.7%	10.4%	12.1%
Ratio: No. of people per legislator....	6,104	15,851	~~9,928~~ 10,537	13,269	12,532
	12,579	12,579	12,579	12,579	12,579

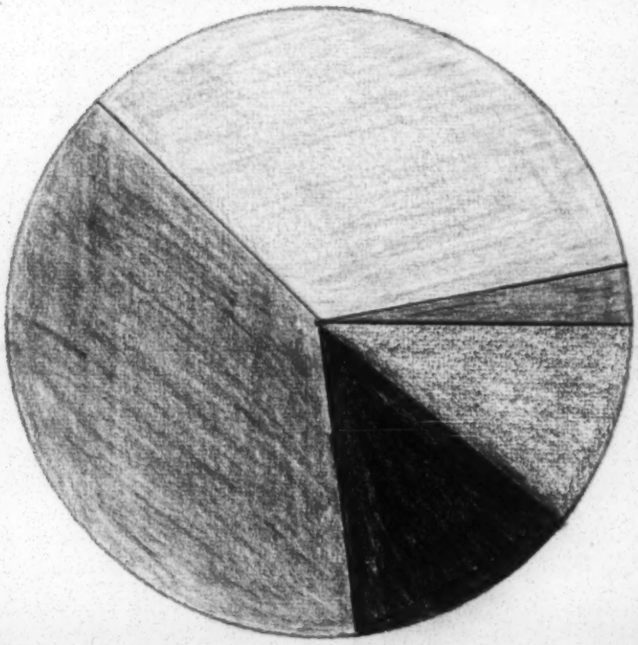
* Estimated population as of July 1, 1947 (Georgia Dept. of Public Health, Division of Vital Statistics).

Total population, 1947: 3,233,000
Total legislators: 257
State ratio: 12,579 people per legislator

Population Distribution



Legislative Apportionment



Mountain –
Piedmont –
Plantation –
Black Belt –
Piney Woods –

1948	Mountain (1)	Piedmont (24)	Plantation (39)	Piney Woods (3)
Population				
No.	47,547	1,482,489	1,317,617	220,544
%	1.5%	48.4%	42.9%	7.2%
Legislators.	(5.3 per 100M)	(3.6 per 100M)	(6.0 per 100M)	(3.0 per 100M)
No.	2.5	52.8	79.0	6.7
Percent	1.8%	37.4%	56.0%	4.7%
Ratio: No. People per Legislator	19,019 (rural)	28,077	16,680 (rural)	32,917

Total population: 3,068,197

Total Legislators: 141 (106 reps, 35 senators)

State Ratio: 21,760 - ~~4.896 per 100M~~

(28,945 per each rep.
87,663 per each senator)

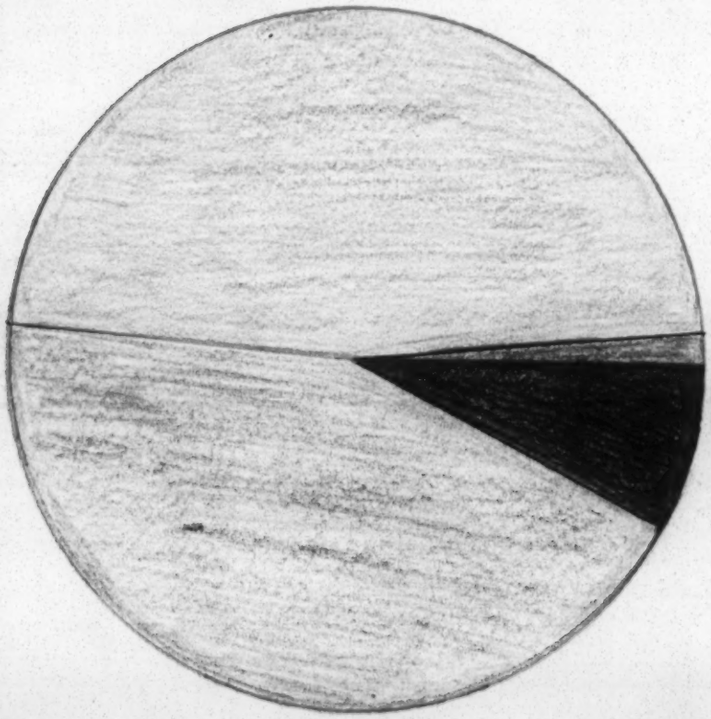
1940

ALABAMA

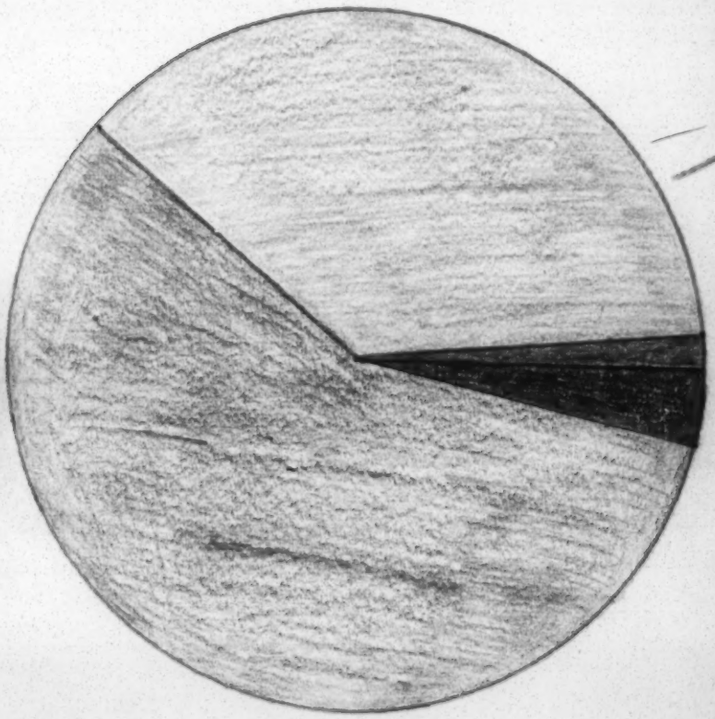
	1 county Mountain	24 counties Piedmont	39 counties Plantation	3 counties Piney Woods
Population*				
Number.....	41,802	1,357,991	1,242,683	190,486
Percent.....	1.5%	47.9%	43.9%	6.7%
Legislators				
Number	2.5	52.8	79.0	6.7
Percent.....	1.8%	37.4%	56.0%	4.7%
Ratio: No. of people per legislator....	16,721	25,817	15,851	28,862

* 1940 Census. Total population: 2,832,961.
Total legislators; 141
State ratio: 20,092

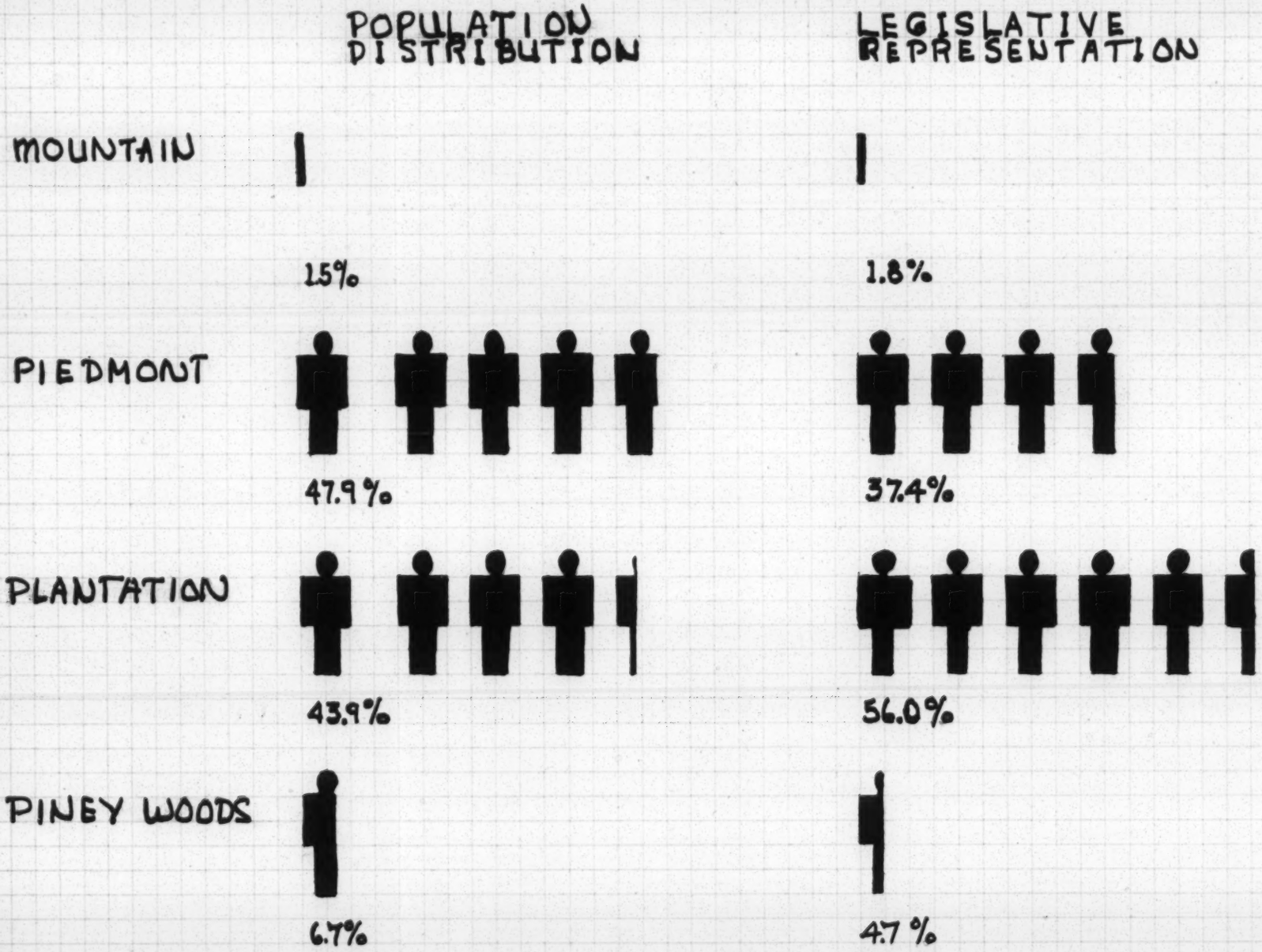
Population Distribution



Legislative Apportionment



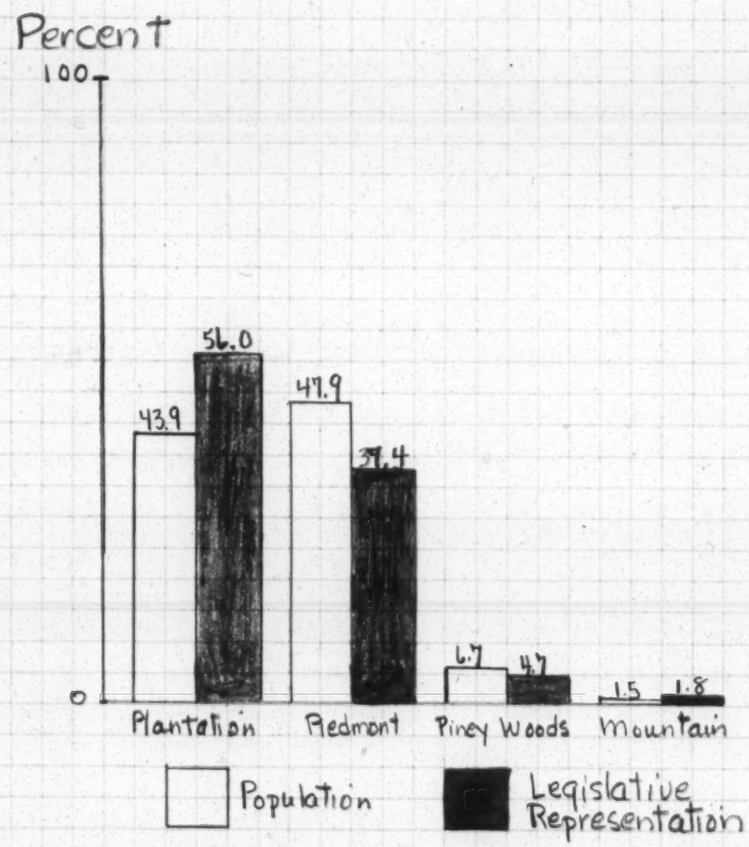
Mountain
Piedmont
Plantation
Piney Woods



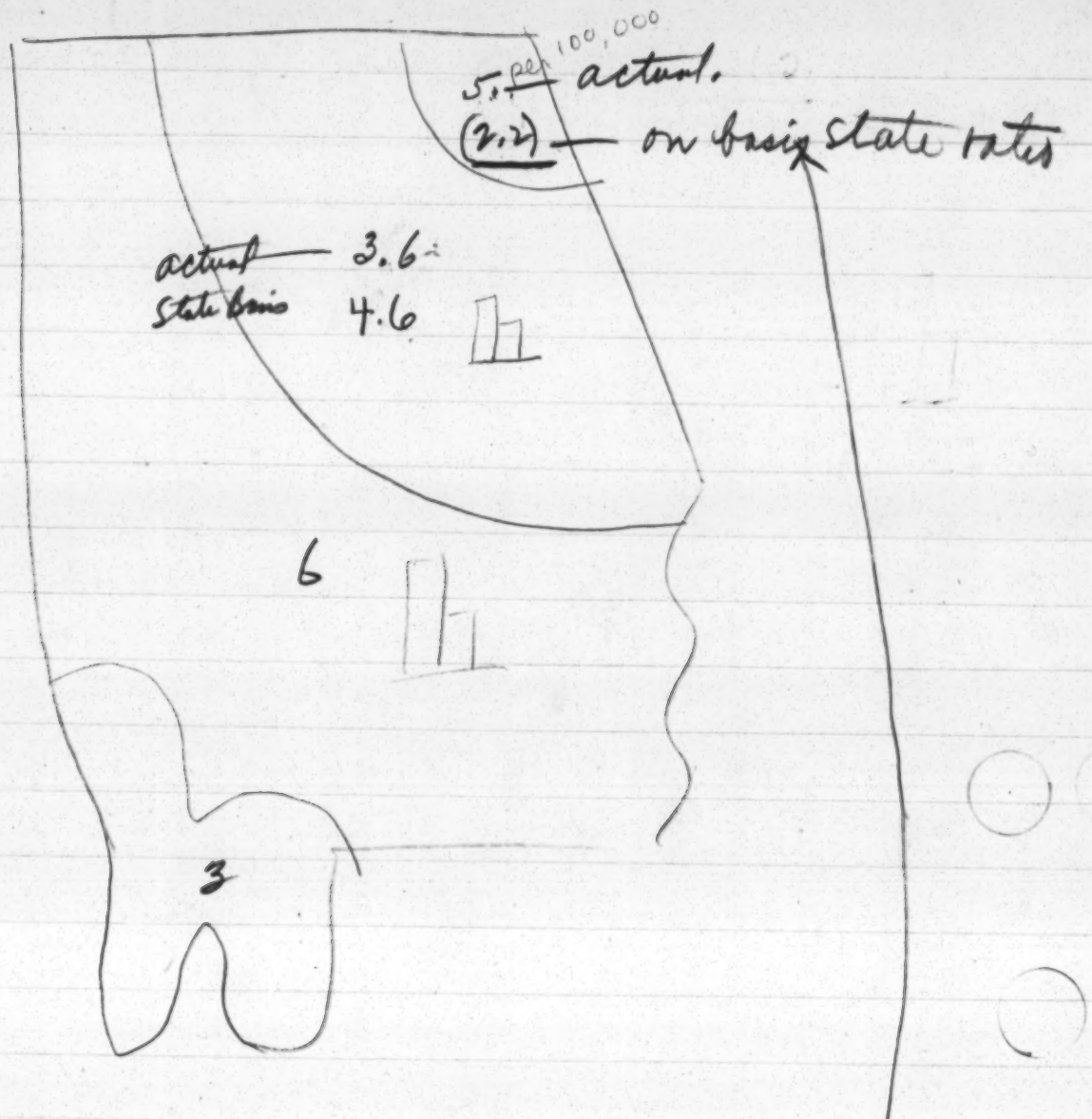
1940

ALABAMA

ALABAMA



1n40



2.18) 1000.(4.59
872
1280
1090
1.900

21,800 — 1
100,000 — 4.59 — state rates for ea 100 #

4.6.
4.75
230
322
184
2.18

100.000 — 4.59
47.547 — 2.2

28.1) 100.0 (3.55 —
843
1570
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1652

100.000 — 4.59
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21.76) 10000 (459 6
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~~19.~~

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47547 —

100. — 4.6

47547 —

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47547
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28.1 ) 100000 ( 3.559
       843
       ----
       1570
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       ----
       1650
       1405
       ----
       2450
       2248
       ----
       2020
```

100 = 4.6

14,82489 = 4.6 × 14.825

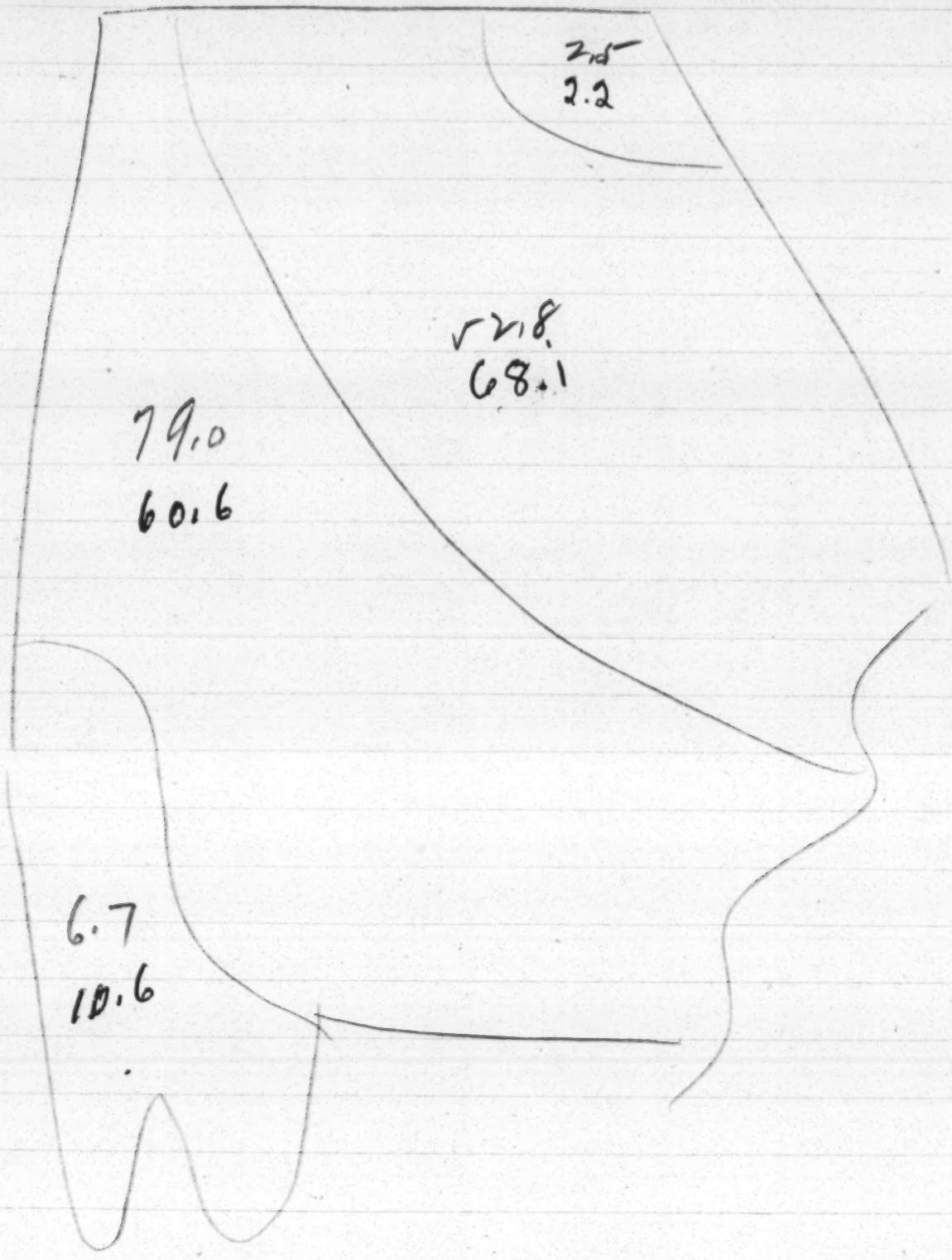
```
14.82
3.6
-----
4446
3335
-----
5
```

21 yrs. & over

1940. Pop. of Voting Age - Ala.

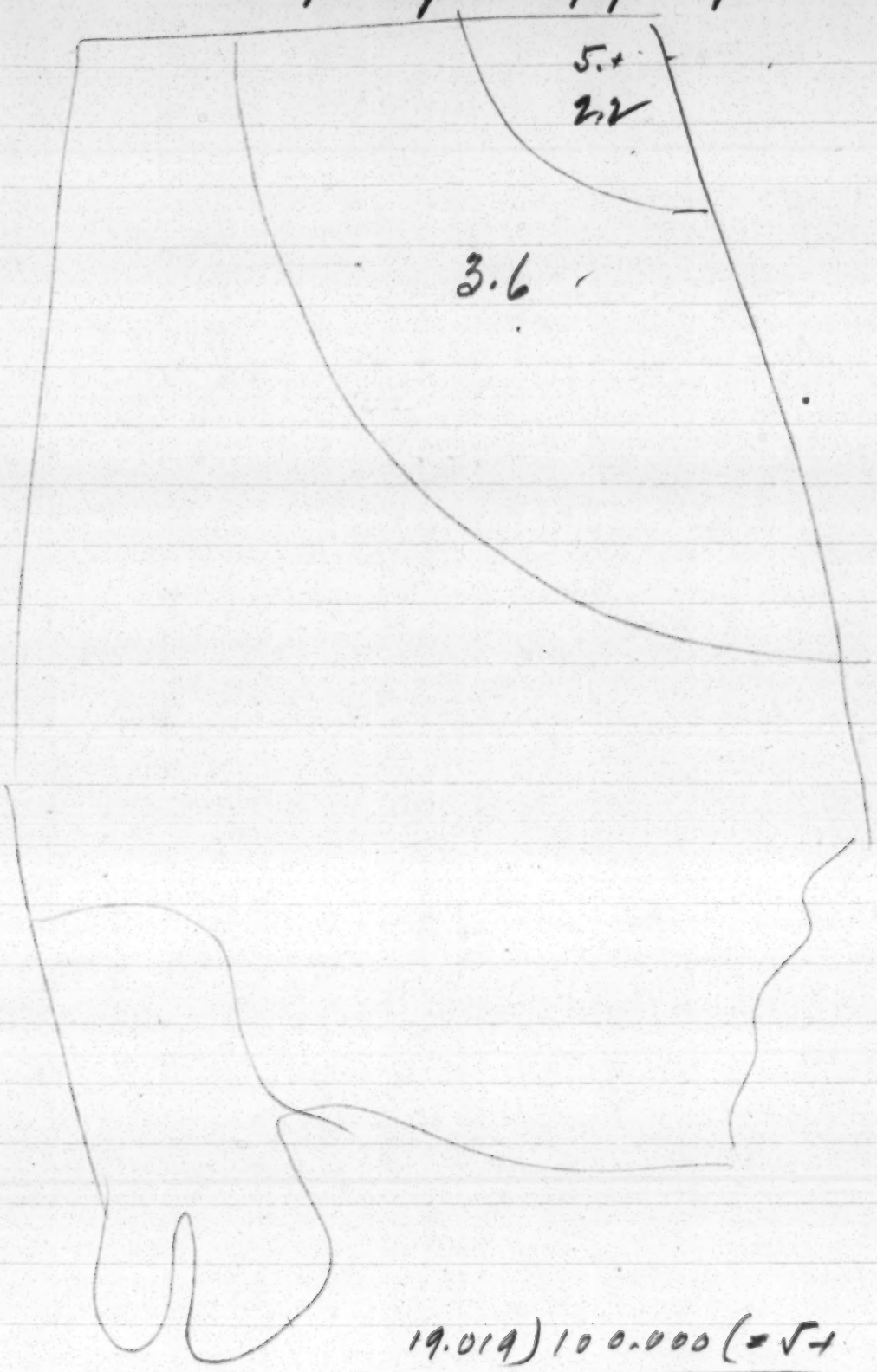
	Mountain	Piedmont	Plantation	Piney Woods
Pop.				
No.	20,942	762,005	662,942	113,791
%	1.3%	48.9%	42.5%	7.3%
Legislators				
No.	2.5	52.8	79.0	6.7
%	1.8%	37.4%	56%	4.7%
Ratio - Actual -	8,377	14,432	8,392	16,984
Per 100M -	(11.9)	(6.9)	(11.9)	(5.9)

Total Voting Pop. — 1,559,680
Total Legisl. — 141
State Ratio — 11,062
(Per 100M - 9)



		actual	Slate
for 100 AH.	– Mountain	5.+	4.6
	Prairie –	3.6	4.6
	Plant. –		4.6
			4.6

no legislators per 100M popⁿ
no legislators per 100M popⁿ – if on state average



19.019) 100.000 (= 5+

Int. 100M – 4.6
47.547 – 4.6 × .47547 – 2.188 (2.2) state average

Predment present 28.077) 100.000 (= 3.559

100.M – 4.6
1

1.482489 – 5.2.8 – 100. = 3.6

3.068 – 141 × $\frac{1.482}{3.068}$
1482

2176) 47,577 (2.18
4352
4020
2176
18440
17408
10320
10380

2176) ~~28077~~
1482489 (68.1
13056
17668
17408
~~2~~2800

2176) 1317617 (60.6
13056
12017
10880
11370

2176) 220544 (10.6
2176
12900
10880
20200

4.6

(141.) 3068 (~~141~~
282 (21,759
248
141
1070
989
~~1240~~
830
705
1250
1128
122

21,760) 1482,489 (

THESE ARE THE FACTS ABOUT C.I.O MEMBERSHIP IN THE PINEY WOODS SECTION OF THE SOUTH...AS GIVEN TO ME BY JOHN BROWNLEE AT C.I.O. HDQUARTERS. IN FEB? 49.

plus those counties directly bordering on that section

M. Boyd

Map speech folder -

Mountain

Plantation

Piedmont

Piney Woods

Note: Each figure represents the number of state legislators in that region per each 100,000 people. The actual ratios for each region are as follows:

Mountain ..... 5.3 per 100,000
Piedmont ..... 3.6 per 100,000
Plantation ..... 6.0 per 100,000
Piney Woods ..... 3.0 per 100,000

State ratio --- 4.6 per 100,000

Piney woods

Baldwin County
Crop Specialty — multiple crop systems.
Rural, industrial county
No town over 2500.
at least 10% of gainfully empl. males in mining or manuf. industries
Low pop. density

Mobile County
~~High pop. density~~
Non-farm
Small metropolis county

Washington County
Cotton dominant — multiple crop systems.
Rural, industrial county
No town over 2500
At least 10% gainfully empl. males in mining or manuf. industries
Low pop. density

Low tenancy

Regions

J. Russell Smith. Geog. of N. Amer.
Parkins (?) - Geog. of the South

Mountain

Gen: Heavy pop - mostly white
Subsistence farming - high degree of land ownership
Farms with small cultivable areas
Lumbering is, or was, important

Ala: "Sand Mtn" area ~~- a truck farming region~~
Small farms - white pop.
Comparatively prosperous for mtn. area - close to Chattanooga & B'ham -
Notably Dem. society

Piedmont

Gen: Family farm pattern
Ltd. tenancy
Light Negro pop. - about 25%
Industrial & mineral devel.
Unionization

Plantation

Gen: Large land-holdings
High degree of tenancy & sharecropping
Large no. of hired farm laborers
High Negro pop.
Little industrial dev.

Ala: Distinctive sub-regions
"Wire Grass" country - SE - poorer land
predom. white - slavery was less dev. - well on peanuts + hogs - yeoman-type farming
"Black Prairie Crescent" -
↓ pop
Hired labor
Large scale dairy & livestock a/c bottomland

Piney Woods Baldwin - low ½ largest truck farming, highest per cap income in state
pop. mixture, dif. nat'l ties

Gen: Light pop - c. ⅓ Negro.
Lumber, pulp, paper, chemical
Swampy

Ala: Thinly pop. usually, but in Ala., Mobile county is an exception to this generalization. ~~truck farm~~

put in Piedmont

Truck farming

Chilton - peach, yeoman — fairly high white - 80-89%
strawberries

Choctaw - poorest county by all indices
large poor white

Pop↑ over two Censuses

Winston, Marion, Franklin, Colbert, Fayette, Lamar - put in Piedmont?
"State of Winston" Franklin - very low Negro pop.

Harper, R M —
Resources of Southern
Ala.
Ala. Geol. Survey
Spec. Report # 11.

Ala. Ind. Dev. Bd. —
1929

*Over 25% Urban, 1940 (15 counties)

Alabama

1948

County	Region	Estimated 1948 Population	No. Legislators	No. People per Legislator
Autauga	Plantation	22,643	1.33	17,025
Baldwin	Piney Woods	36,941	1.33	27,774
Barbour	Plantation	34,064	3.00	11,355
Bibb	Plantation	20,305	1.50	13,537
Blount	Piedmont	31,669	1.33	23,811
Bullock	Plantation	20,259	2.50	8,104
Butler	Plantation	35,348	2.33	15,171
*Calhoun	Piedmont	72,255	3.00	24,085
Chambers	"	45,485	2.50	18,194
Cherokee	"	20,310	1.50	13,540
Chilton	Plantation	31,589	1.33	23,751
Choctaw	"	20,635	1.33	15,515
Clarke	"	29,800	2.33	12,790
Clay	Piedmont	16,685	1.33	12,545
Cleburne	"	14,693	1.33	11,047
Coffee	Plantation	32,600	1.33	24,511
*Colbert	"	39,003	1.33	29,326
Conecuh	"	26,414	1.33	19,860
Coosa	Piedmont	14,676	1.33	11,035
*Covington	Plantation	44,648	1.33	33,570
Crenshaw	"	24,192	1.33	18,188
Cullman	Piedmont	54,492	1.33	40,971
Dale	Plantation	23,060	1.50	15,373
*Dallas	"	56,940	4.00	14,235
Dekalb	Piedmont	46,961	1.50	31,307
Elmore	Plantation	34,458	2.50	13,783
Escambia	"	32,936	1.33	24,764
*Etowah	Piedmont	83,022	2.50	33,209
Fayette	Plantation	24,968	1.33	18,773
Franklin	"	30,446	1.33	22,892
Geneva	"	29,323	1.50	19,549
Greene	"	19,247	1.50	12,831
Hale	"	25,733	2.50	10,293
Henry	"	22,008	2.50	8,803

(2)

County	Region	Est. 1948 Population	No. Legislators	No. People per Legislator
*Houston	Plantation	46,895	1.50	31,263
Jackson	Mountain	47,547	2.50	19,019
*Jefferson	Piedmont	496,712	8.00	62,090
Lamar	Plantation	21,689	1.33	16,308
*Lauderdale	Piedmont	52,124	2.50	20,850
Lawrence	"	29,777	1.50	19,851
*Lee	"	43,357	2.50	17,343
Limestone	"	36,205	1.50	24,137
Lowndes	Plantation	23,208	3.00	7,738
Macon	"	27,491	1.50	18,327
Madison	Piedmont	69,972	3.00	23,324
Marengo	Plantation	36,060	3.00	12,020
Marion	"	32,108	1.33	24,141
Marshall	Piedmont	46,110	1.50	30,740
*Mobile	Piney Woods	166,942	4.00	41,736
Monroe	Plantation	30,033	1.33	22,581
*Montg'ry	"	127,552	5.00	25,510
*Morgan	Piedmont	51,354	2.50	20,542
Perry	Plantation	27,580	2.50	11,032
Pickens	"	30,835	1.50	20,557
Pike	"	33,614	2.33	14,427
Randolph	Piedmont	25,129	1.50	16,753
*Russell	Plantation	38,603	2.50	15,441
Shelby	Piedmont	30,946	1.33	23,268
St. Clair	"	30,531	1.50	20,354
Sumter	Plantation	28,456	2.50	11,382
*Talladega	Piedmont	59,749	3.00	19,916
Tallapoosa	"	39,836	2.50	15,934
*Tuscaloosa	Plantation	82,327	3.00	27,442
Walker	Piedmont	70,439	2.33	30,231
Washington	Piney Woods	16,661	1.33	12,526
Wilcox	Plantation	28,445	3.00	9,482
Winston	"	22,102	1.33	16,618

Ala. Art.

Population — Percent Negro, 1948 — Alabama

	Total Pop.	Negro Pop.	Percent Negro
Mountain —	47,547	2,640	5.6 %
Piedmont —	1,482,489	381,895	25.8 %
Plantation —	1,317,617	579,817	44.0 %
Piney Woods —	220,544	74,965	34.0 %
State —	3,068,197	1,039,317	33.9 %

This data for way speed.

Region	% of Total Negro Pop. 1948
Mountain	0.26 %
Piedmont	36.74 %
Plantation	55.79 %
Piney Woods	7.21 %
	100.00 %

1949
Miss.
Blanc
Ble

Library
Ref .S441
.U6 A5

U.S. Dept. Agriculture, Atlas of American Agriculture; Physical Basis, including Land Relief, Climate, Soils, and Natural Vegetation of the U.S., (Wash: Govt., 1936)

14th Census Statistical Atlas —
Plate 123, p. 202

Hungry: "Counties in Southern States having at least 50 per cent of the Population Negro" 1860, 1880, 1900, 1920

☐ 50-75%
■ 75% and over

WA 9365

The Times Survey
Atlas of the World
J. G. Bartholomew (Edinburgh
Geog. Inst.) (Lond. Times, 1922)

Pl. 91, 90

A COMPARISON OF MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL SERVICES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGROES AND WHITES IN THE SOUTH

In proposing a study of medical services and opportunities for Negro and white Southerners, the Southern Regional Council is mindful of certain criteria which have always guided its work. First, the subject - medical care - is a basic practical concern. Second, it is a major factor affecting the growth and welfare of the South. Third, satisfactory health care for the peoples of the South cannot be attained if it is unequally available to sections of the population. And fourth, there is a realistic prospect that a description of the existing conditions will, in the present climate of opinion, motivate improvements.

Health services in all their forms had been surveyed in the United States for many years and on many occasions. The particular situation in the South has been likewise investigated and documented by frequent studies. This continuing scrutiny of American health services has been a principal force in their progress. Perhaps in no other social or economic field has there been greater receptivity for searching, informed analysis of inadequacies.

Studies of the medical care generally available to Negroes have now culminated in Dietrich C. Reitzes's, Negroes and Medicine (Harvard, 1958). Dr. Reitzes's book, which was assisted by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, will for some time be the authoritative work on the subject.

The present proposal would seek to add to the influence and the findings of the Reitzes study in several ways:

- by extending the coverage beyond three Southern cities (Atlanta, Nashville, New Orleans);

- by reporting more recent data (the survey period of the Reitzes study seems to have been largely ended in 1956);

- by pamphlet presentation and planned distribution throughout the South;

- by focusing exclusively on the individual Negro patient and physician, and the services and opportunities open to them, compared with those open to white persons in similar situations (in doing so, it is thought that we may be able to get more clear-cut measurements of inequalities that exist, and that we may have findings which permit explicit conclusions).

In short, there is no ~~interest~~ intent to repeat the research which led to Negroes and Medicine. Rather, the purposes are to use it as the authoritative base, to enlarge the Southern coverage, to place the findings before a great number of Southern readers, and through comparison of individual situations to give our findings direct and indisputable meaning.

General Plan of the Study

The first object of the study will be the individual Negro patient, and his opportunity to obtain medical and hospital care equal to that available to whites. The general level of services will not be evaluated nor studied except incidentally in relation to the question of discrimination. The study will not be concerned with the adequacy of any health programs, public or private. It will, instead, focus on the question whether Negro and white patients, in similar economic circumstances, can get equal treatment.

The second object will be the individual Negro pursuing a physician's career. Again, there will be no concern with the general adequacy of medical education or practice. The study, instead, will be devoted to Negroes's opportunities for beginning and following the career, as compared with opportunities available to whites.

Topical Outline

A. Comparison of medical services (non-hospital) for Negroes and whites at two economic levels.

1. The purpose will be to describe the respective situations of individual patients who differ only in race, and to do this in a number of representative Southern localities. Two general economic categories will be used: the indigent patient, and the self-supporting. For greater precision, the study will be limited to selected types of cases, such as accident and other emergency; pediatric; venereal; mentally ill; cardiac.

2. Typical of the information to be sought will be:

   - the access of Negroes to specialists;
   - the differences, if any, in pre- and post-operative attention for Negro and white patients;
   - the differences, if any, in fees;
   - waiting room practices.

3. It is realized that reliable information on such questions as these is exceedingly difficult to obtain. These practices are not matters of record. If information is sought from interviews, widely varying impressions will be encountered. If case studies are used, there can be no positive assurance that they are typical. It is at the same time true that for the majority of persons, doctor care is the crux of his medical needs; no survey and appraisal of medical care which omits it is complete.

4. With, therefore, realization of shortcomings, the information will be developed from interviews with informed persons in the localities, such as Negro and white physicians, social workers, Negro leaders, hospital administrators and public health officials.

5. The scope of the study will be determined by funds and qualified field researchers available. As a minimum, the survey should include:

- Atlanta, Nashville, New Orleans;
- three cities selected from (in order of preference),

  Birmingham,
  Houston (or Dallas)
  Jacksonville (or Miami),
  Jackson,
  Durham (or Winston-Salem),
  Norfolk (or Richmond),
  Columbia;

- three non-metropolitan counties of similar size.

If resources permitted, two classifications of non-metropolitan counties could be covered: three with a principal city in the 5,000 population range; three with a principal city in the 25,000 range.

Similarly, the number of patient types will be selected with reference to funds and researchers available. Serious thought will, in any event, have to go into the selection, though at this writing it would seem that accident and other emergency, and pediatrics cases ought undoubtedly to be included, and that it would be desirable to have at least one type of illness whose care is heavily supported by philanthropy.

B. <u>Comparison of hospital services for Negroes and whites at two economic levels.</u>

1. The same localities will be studied, and the same types of patients and illnesses; in addition, one or two other of the latter might be included, such as tuberculosis and geriatrics.

2. Typical of the information to be sought will be:

- facilities and beds available;
- ambulance service;
- nursing arrangements;

- admission to specialty clinics and wards;
- free choice of physician.

3. The interview method will again be used, and should not be subject to as great a degree of imprecision as in A. In addition, objective data can be and will be systematically gathered.

4. An analysis of the hospitalization insurance (e.g. Blue Cross-Blue Sheild) situation in the locality will be separately made to determine if insurance is readily available, and at equal cost, to Negroes.

5. As a corrollary subject, the use of Negro patients for clinical instructions and experimentation will be explored, and findings included in the study if they warrant it.

C. Comparison of opportunities and rewards for Negro and white physicians.

1. Again, the intent will be to describe the situation and prospects confronting the individual Negro in comparison with those of the white person in the profession. It is believed that the factual data in Negroes and Medicine on medical education will not need up-dating. One topic concerned with medical education will be explored in some additional detail; i.e., the role and accomplishments of the Southern Regional Education Board. Other than this, the time of the study will be devoted to the physician after graduation. The same localities will be used as in A and B.

2. Typical of the information to be sought will be:
   - availability of interneships for Negroes (a) in the localities; or (b) if there are none or but few for whites or Negroes in the particular localities, the opportunities elsewhere;
   - opportunities for continuing education;
   - membership in local and state medical associations;

- staff and courtesy privileges in hospitals (here an item of specific interest will be the policies of Hill-Burton and other federally-aided hospitals);
- opportunities for specialty practice.

3. Again, the interview method will be the chief reliance, both for factual data (which should be obtainable for all of the items noted above), and for evaluations and opinions.

Personnel

A. The Southern Regional Council's Research staff will administer the study in all phases, will prepare the interviewers's questionnaires in order that they be uniform, will assemble the findings and prepare the reports, and will plan their distribution.

1. It may be desirable to attach to the staff for the period of the study another social scientist.

B. An advisory panel of recognized experts will be formed to review the soundness of the conclusions.

C. For each city of the survey, a chief reporter and at least one other reporter will be recruited; in each non-metropolitan county, at least one reporter will be appointed.

To whatever extent possible, persons with previous experience in this sort of study - e.g. participants in the Reitzes study - will be selected.

D. The hospitalization insurance analysis will be contracted to a firm of economic consultants, or an academic economist.

E. The role of the S.R.E.B. will be studied either within the SRC staff, or by an outside consultant.

($25,000 - $30,000)

HEALTH CARE
and the
NEGRO POPULATION

A Publication of the

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
14 East 48th Street
New York, New York 10017

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Also see:

Double Jeopardy

plight of the aged Negro

filed in Research

CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
OVERVIEW OF NEGLECT	2
SEPARATE BUT UNEQUAL	4
INADEQUATE HEALTH SERVICES	8
DOCTOR, DENTIST, HOSPITAL CHIEF	13
RECOMMENDED ACTION	20
INFORMATION AVAILABLE FOR OUR INTERPRETATION AND YOURS	22

INTRODUCTION

By Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League

The health care received by the American people, in general, leaves much to be desired.

Among Negro citizens, it is a national disgrace, a tragic waste of human beings and human life, all the more deplorable because it is preventable.

The late President John F. Kennedy, in his speech of June 11, 1963, told the nation that the life expectancy of Negro citizens was seven years shorter than that of whites. But the entire story makes for even grimmer reading.

The Negro, in comparison to whites, has more diseases and disabilities; spends more days in bed and loses more days from work because of ill health.

The story of his separate and unequal health care opportunities begins before birth, with the lack of adequate prenatal care among millions of Negro mothers -- one of the biggest factors contributing to the high rate of infant mortality.

Poor health care lasts throughout the life of most Negro citizens, due to poverty, racial discrimination or both, and it becomes particularly acute among the aged, 70 per cent of whom have incomes below the poverty line -- less than $3,000 annually.

This booklet attempts to present the public with some elementary facts and figures concerning the health care of our Negro millions. Their health gains have simply not kept pace with progress in other areas -- a record of needless, tragic waste.

Our hope is that an aroused and informed public will recognize the waste of manpower, life and health occasioned by the twin evils of racism and poverty in health care and move swiftly and boldly to eradicate these evils.

OVERVIEW OF NEGLECT

Over the past half century the improvement in the health of Americans has been dramatic and gratifying. The health of Negro citizens has shared in this improvement but, as in other areas of national life, the Negro's share has been the smallest.

Infant mortality rates are generally considered the best single measure of the state of a community's health. The chance that Negro babies will die in the first year of life is almost twice as great for white babies -- 41 out of every 1,000 will not survive their first year in contrast to 22 out of 1,000 white babies.

The American who has reached the prime of life is well protected by modern medical science against many of the former deadly diseases. Out of every 1,000 white Americans in their later forties, five will die during the coming year. But if they are Negro, 10 will die.

No special diseases account for the greater proportion of deaths among middle-age Negroes. The major causes for their deaths are the same as for whites: heart disease, cancer, brain hemorrhage and accidents. The difference is that, proportionately, more Negroes die from each of these causes.

What do all these figures mean when added up?

A white baby boy born today can expect to live long enough to celebrate his 68th birthday. For a Negro baby, the chances are that his life will be cut short seven years sooner -- a point dramatized by an address of the late President Kennedy in June of 1963.

Most comparisons of the health of white and Negro Americans are based on mortality rates. This negative method of comparison is widely used because death rates are the most scientific and detailed information regularly collected about

all people, but death rates describe only part of the health picture.

Many reports have been made about the health of large groups of people based on medical findings or events other than deaths, which have been obtained from individual medical examinations such as the Government's selective service examinations and from the home-to-home interviews of the U. S. National Health Survey and others.

The information collected in these different ways about various groups of people is not always conclusive. Nonetheless, the main outlines of the health picture do emerge clearly from the mass of independent details: the Negro, in comparison to the white, has more diseases and disabilities; has more days in bed and more days lost from work because of disease and disability.

Considerable evidence suggests that the Negroes' shortened life span and increased amount of disease and disability is due primarily, if not entirely, to low incomes, inadequate education, and poor living conditions. When Negro and white populations of the same socio-economic status are compared, many of the health differentials tend to disappear.

No matter how unpleasant or costly the implications may be, the nation must face up squarely to the real picture of the health of the Negro. Whether infant or adult, male or female, Northerner or Southerner, the Negro is substantially -- and needlessly -- less healthy than the white.

If the medical care needs of Negroes are disproportionately large, the health services they receive are disproportionately small.

Among pregnant women, large numbers of expectant Negro women receive little or no prenatal care and suffer from pitifully inadequate health supervision during their postnatal period. Not only are infant mortality rates higher, but women without prenatal care are approximately three times as likely to give birth to premature babies as those who do receive it. Very small premature infants are about ten times more likely to be mentally retarded than children of normal births. These, and other conditions are preventable, and adequate prenatal care is a major tool in prevention.

Another illustration of inequality -- perhaps less dramatic but nonetheless serious -- is dental care. The Negro is seen by the dentist so infrequently that little preventive or restorative care is possible. No wonder that almost one-half of the dental services received by Negroes are tooth extractions, compared to one-sixth of the dental services received by whites.

Similar inequalities can be found in most types of health services ranging from the chronically ill older person to the individual suffering from mental distress. Moreover, the pattern of inequality is found in all sections of the country. Not surprisingly, the greatest disparity is in the South -- a region whose spokesmen, ironically, assert that they "take good care" of Negro citizens.

Recent national studies tell us this:

On the average, a white person will be seen by doctors about $4\frac{1}{2}$ times during the year. But a Negro will be seen by doctors about $3\frac{1}{2}$ times during the year. Also, the white patient will have many more telephone conversations with the doctor than the Negro person.

This disparity is particularly marked among children. During this critical, formative period of life, the white child receives almost twice as much attention from doctors as does the Negro child.

General hospital statistics further illustrate the white-Negro differential. In an average group of 100 white people about 12 will have a short stay in a hospital during the year. In an average group of 100 Negroes about 9 will be a hospital patient. Once in a hospital, however, the Negro, on the average, tends to stay somewhat longer. This may well be due to the result of putting off hospital visits for so long that illnesses become more severe.

Various practices exist in our health services which restrict their availability to Negroes. Some practices are overt, others clandestine.

A recent Urban League survey of a medium-sized midwestern city found:

> "Officials of both hospitals state that beds in their various rooms are available to Negroes. However, a visit to one facility gave first-hand evidence of -- special arrangements made for Negro patients. There is a Negro ward /or/ Negro patients are put in semi-private rooms when there is only one Negro patient in a particular division. One of the local doctors points out that a hardship arises when, in spite of the fact that the hospital is not filled, there are no beds for Negro patients because they are not put in rooms where there are empty beds if the other patients are not Negro."

Such discriminatory practices are easy to carry on today since modern hospital design discourages large wards. In general, rooms accommodate two to six patients. Hospital admitting office clerks assign "compatible" patients to the same room. "Compatibility" frequently means that all patients in a room are either white or Negro. Although the "compatibility" criterion is used out of a supposed solicitude for the feelings of the white patient, the feelings of the ailing Negro are ignored or overlooked. Can he help but wonder if his Jim Crow

care is not the best society has to offer?

As in other racial areas, inconsistency is a hospital hallmark. In some, abandonment of official discriminatory policies appear to have had little effect on entrenched practices. Hospitals often are a crazy-quilt of contradictions. Patients who presumably would balk at being treated by a Negro doctor are ministered to constantly by Negro nurses. But where clandestine or overt racism occur, it is certainly because the medical profession, hospital administrators and the community are not committed to equality of care. That integration can work even in the Deep South, has been shown strikingly by the Veterans Administration, which, for more than a decade, has integrated all its hospitals -- including facilities in Birmingham, Jackson and New Orleans.

At the same time, hospitals and clinics having no Negro patients can be found in Northern and Western cities with significant Negro populations. If such barriers are becoming infrequent on the front line of health services -- the family doctor, the visiting nurse, the health department clinic, and the general hospital -- they are more common among medical specialists, dentists and nursing homes.

The Hill-Burton hospital grant program has played an unfortunate role in this connection, largely on the basis of Congressional direction. The Law, passed in 1947, authorized the Public Health Service to help finance construction of local governmental and private non-profit hospitals and health centers. It specifically permitted grants to facilities which do not admit Negroes provided the community has separate facilities for Negroes of equal quality and equitable size. Under this provision, grants have been made to 104 hospitals and other health facilities having overt racial exclusion policies; of these, 84 are for whites only, and 20 are for Negroes only. Indications are that hundreds of additional hospitals discriminate in subtle ways -- say against Negro doctors -- and the National Urban League has requested that -- under Title VI of the 1964

Civil Rights Act -- the President shut off funds to all offenders. In a recent decision, the United States Supreme Court found that two private non-profit hospitals in Greensboro, North Carolina, (both of which had received Hill-Burton financial aid,) were guilty of racial discrimination. It declared that the "separate but equal" clause of the Hill-Burton Law is unconstitutional -- so there is sound legal basis for funds cutoff.

In many cities, Urban Leagues, civil rights groups, human relations agencies and Negro leaders have worked for the elimination of segregated hospital services. Desegregation has been achieved in hospitals in Chicago, Washington, D.C., Knoxville, San Francisco, and other cities. Some religious-supported hospitals desegregated as the result of orders or recommendations from their sponsors. Others desegregated without specific outside pressure.

Clearly, the health field is undergoing great changes in policies and practices towards Negroes. These changes must be speeded up, for as long as racial barriers exist in the nation's health services, Negroes cannot count on getting good medical care, or bearing their full responsibilities as citizens.

INADEQUATE HEALTH SERVICES

Wiping out racial barriers, however, will not be sufficient to assure good medical care. Even when available without discrimination, health services are not adequate; nor can they be properly used given the circumstances under which many Negroes live.

A case in point is Mr. Smith, an elevator operator, barely able to support his wife and three children. He is a diabetic and like most diabetics frequently needs checkups, lab tests and other medical help. Mr. Smith must overcome several major obstacles to get the care he needs: its cost, its organization and his own ignorance.

Cost: Even people with good incomes have a difficult time managing the high and unpredictable cost of medical care. But Mr. Smith, like many Negroes, has a smaller paycheck and a bigger potential medical bill. He must do without medical care or settle for that which the community provides at nominal or no cost.

Why can't health insurance take care of this problem? Existing health insurance has been of little help to the Negro population. The kinds of jobs many Negroes have usually carry little or no health insurance. A recent study of the amount of hospital insurance protection for short-stay patients was most revealing. Of Negro patients, only 42 per cent had insurance that paid at least some part of the hospital bill; only 30 per cent had insurance that paid three-quarters or more of the bill. For white patients, the figures were 71 per cent and 53 per cent, respectively.

Frequently, Negroes <u>with</u> health insurance have been deprived of its full benefits where services have been closed to them. Often, they found themselves in inferior, segregated, and overcrowded facilities -- where their own doctor was banned from treating them.

Health insurance providing good protection is not widely available and costs considerably more than the prevailing types of health insurance. As there is little prospect of significant change, serious consideration must be given to a nationwide compulsory insurance program which would eliminate the current restrictions on Mr. Smith's insurance protection because of the size of his income, the particular job he holds, and the locality in which he lives. AN IMMEDIATE MINIMAL STEP IN THIS DIRECTION WOULD BE THE PROVISION OF HOSPITAL CARE BENEFITS TO THE AGED UNDER THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM.

Without adequate health insurance or adequate income, Mr. Smith uses clinic and hospital services paid by general taxes and philanthropy. Many people believe that these services provide the Mr. Smiths with excellent medical care. The total cost of public medical care is very high and outstanding medical centers and hospitals provide some public medical services.

These facts may be true, but they don't make public medical care good medical care for the people who must depend on it. Let's see how it works for Mr. Smith.

When he goes into diabetic coma he is rushed to a modern hospital. His life is saved by a team of expert professionals who give him the best that medicine has to offer. But, is this the real goal of modern medicine? Prior to his coma, did Mr. Smith receive the kind of medical supervision that would have prevented his going into a coma?

The public medical clinic available to him would discourage regular attendance from the most health-motivated individual. Since clinic sessions are scheduled during the day, he would have to lose at least a half day's pay to attend.

The number of patients scheduled for a session far exceed the capacity of the space and staff. Hours of waiting are the rule. Doctors and nurses have little or no time to answer questions or take an interest in patients as human

beings. There is no meaningful "doctor-patient" relationship. By chance, Mr. Smith may be seen by a doctor who has seen him before -- but usually not -- and usually an intern.

Follow-up on special diets and family problems are the responsibilities of the nutritionist and the social worker, respectively. These specialists are too busy to talk with the patient as each covers several clinics. At best, Mr. Smith is treated with harassed indifference. At worst, by undisguised contempt, including the crude abuses of racial bigotry. In this atmosphere, preventive care is hardly possible. Mr. Smith received costly, excellent treatment for his coma, but his medical care as a whole was poor.

People with money can buy a kind of medical care having greater personal dignity, but they too will have trouble getting good medical care. Medical care for the rich is also, in the main, an uncoordinated aggregate of the costly, highly-specialized services required at the times of medical crisis. Rich or poor, the patient is at the mercy of doctors who are overworked, undersupervised, and responsive primarily to the diseased or injured portions of the body that they personally can do something about.

The conclusion is inescapable: full use of the health services that are available do not assure good medical care. The nation is short of doctors, dentists, nurses -- of all types of health workers. The nation is short of nursing homes, rehabilitation centers, prenatal and infant care clinics, home nursing programs, psychiatric day hospitals, and many other preventive and therapeutic services.

Practically no community or region has a working plan that will assure the best use of what is available. Such a plan would identify and fill gaps, eliminate duplication, promote excellence of performance and assure each individual of a personal doctor and a comprehensive range of health services. These services

should have continuity, emphasize preventive and prompt care, be family-centered, and respect the dignity of the individual.

The last important obstacle to available medical care is ignorance; in particular, inaccurate and insufficient information about the potential benefits of medical science, about the proper time to go to doctors, dentists, public health nurses, and about the location and "behaviour" of hospitals, clinics and other medical facilities.

Ignorance and disease are old companions. For the Negro, ignorance about health stems in large part from poor grade school and high school education. Racial discrimination in the nation's educational system makes a tragic contribution to preventable disease and premature death among Negro citizens. Quality education is imperative if people are to understand what modern medicine has to offer -- and how to get the most out of it.

For those with poor schooling, special compensatory efforts must be made. Research studies suggest there may be ways to improve the motivation towards good medical care of people with an educational handicap. More has to be learned before practical steps can be taken.

The chaos and shortcomings of the nation's health services reflect today's "system" of unrelated self-centered practitioners and institutions. Their accomplishments under the existing circumstances are far less than their combined potential and far less than the scope and quality of service currently possible. Effectiveness is further decreased when scarce professional and technical time and expensive equipment and buildings are divided between services for different racial groups.

In the scramble to get medical care, those with more money, more education, more access to health services get the most and the best. Negroes with less money, less education, and less access, get the leftovers -- or nothing at all.

The Negro suffers most from the chaos and shortcomings of the nation's health services. Consequently, the Negro has most to gain if these services were organized rationally and without racial bias. Efforts to improve what is available will, in the long run, help more than anything else to improve the health of all Americans.

DOCTOR, DENTIST, HOSPITAL CHIEF ....

Walk through any hospital and it is easy to see that many, if not most of the maids, janitors, and kitchen workers are Negroes. Also obvious in many hospitals are Negro nursing aids and orderlies, and in a goodly number of hospitals, Negro professional nurses as well. But it would require months of walking through hospitals (other than the handful of predominantly Negro hospitals) to find a Negro doctor taking care of a private patient or a Negro heading up a department -- or even working behind the reception desk.

Is this the result of racial discrimination?

It is, but today, it is not necessarily the result of hospitals refusing to accept qualified Negro applicants. This blatant form of racial discrimination no longer exists in many hospitals. Increasingly, official policy is to hire the best qualified applicant regardless of race, creed or color -- and this policy applies even to positions requiring the greatest skills and paying the highest salaries.

Indeed, if one looks hard enough, Negroes can be found in almost every type of hospital position somewhere in the country: in Waltham, Mass., a hospital director; in Louisville, a record librarian; in Kansas City, a chief psychiatric social worker; in San Francisco, a pharmacist; in San Antonio, a supervising professional nurse; in Jersey City, a director of the out-patient department; in Charleston, S.C., an X-ray technician; in Pittsburgh, a dietician; in Denver, a full-time professor of pediatrics; in New York City, a chief of occupational therapy; in Detroit, a chief laboratory technician; and in Atlanta, a member of the city hospital board.

And yet, the number of Negroes in professional and supervisory positions in predominantly white hospitals of the country is conspicuously small. The picture is similar in nursing homes, health departments, visiting nurse agencies and

related medical institutions.

Is this the result of "tokenism" -- that ugly form of racial discrimination so prevalent in schools whereby a few of the large number of Negroes are let through a racial barrier to give the illusion of non-discrimination?

"Tokenism" and other subtle discriminatory practices undoubtedly exist in some of the hospitals and health agencies which officially have a non-discriminatory policy. Yet discrimination of this type would be hard to prove. (Contrasted with the school situation, there is not a large number of Negroes wanting "in".) No group of unemployed Negro health workers is imprisoned behind racial barriers.

Quite the contrary. There is a great shortage of qualified Negro health workers -- and an even greater shortage of qualified white health workers.

Consequently, every qualified Negro health worker today can find a job appropriate to his training and experience, although not always in the institution or city of his choice.

The shortage of health workers is due to several factors: the nation's growing population; the increased scope and complexity of health services; the additional proportion of young and old people with chronic illness; and the greater demands for medical care from a prosperous and better educated people.

For most types of health work educational and training programs have been increased, but not rapidly enough. A good example is the training of doctors.

Despite the building of new medical schools and the expansion of old ones in recent years, the production of doctors has not kept pace with the population growth. Just to maintain our present ratio of doctors-to-people during the next 25 years, at least 20 additional medical schools should be opened.

In the nursing field, the output of new nurses has increased faster than the population, but a severe shortage still exists. One out of every five professional nurse positions in the nation's hospitals is vacant.

What is true for doctors and nurses is also true for health educators, rehabilitation counselors, sanitary inspectors, clinical psychologists, biostatisticians, social workers, radioisotope technicians, opticians -- practically every type of health work. All are in short supply.

The shortage of Negro health workers is enormous. Although Negroes make up more than 10 percent of the population, less than two percent of doctors and dentists are Negro and less than five percent of all professional nurses are Negro. As with white health workers, the output of new personnel is not keeping up with the growth of the population. Moreover, the gap for Negroes is growing faster.

The medical profession illustrates the problem. There are about 5,000 Negro doctors. This means about one out of every 3,700 Negroes is a doctor -- compared to one out of every 640 white persons. For Negroes to catch up, they must graduate 23,000 more doctors!

Even a slight gain is unlikely, for the trend in the production of Negro doctors is in the opposite direction. During recent years, one of the two Negro medical schools expanded its enrollment. But from 1955-56 to 1961-62, the increase in the number of Negroes studying medicine throughout the country was only 10! More startling: during those same six years, the number of Negro students in the predominantly white medical schools had dropped by about 80 -- by more than a third.

Is this the result of racial discrimination against Negro applicants to medical schools? Is the increasing gap in the production of other types of Negro health workers due to discriminatory admission policies in their respective training programs?

In the past, most educational and training programs did exclude Negroes and the vast majority of Negro health workers got their education and training at Negro institutions. Such programs were not numerous and so the number of Negroes who could enter the health field in previous decades was limited.

Today, the picture is quite different. While a few schools continue to exclude Negroes, most have official non-discriminatory policies and many have admitted Negro students for the first time in the last few years. Except for the medical schools, most schools these days don't have enough qualified applicants to fill their classes and even medical schools complain that the number of good applicants has dropped sharply. It is not surprising then, that many educational institutions have expressed disappointment that a larger number of qualified Negroes have not applied. These institutions need to go to the predominantly Negro schools to stimulate recruitment to medical schools.

Under these circumstances, race, of itself, is no longer a barrier to the special preparation for a health career. A qualified Negro can be certain that somewhere in the country he can gain admittance to an accredited school in the speciality of his own choosing.

Why, then, are there so few Negroes entering health careers?

In the first place, few Negroes are qualified, and in the second, even fewer appear interested.

The tragically small number of Negroes qualified to undertake training programs is one of the most pernicious consequences of racial discrimination in this country. The potential of the Negro population has been severely stunted by the grossly inadequate education that has been generally available to them. No significant increase in the supply of Negro health workers is possible until segregated and ghetto schools are abolished, and until the quality of public education at all levels is dramatically improved.

But of the youngsters who are qualified, why aren't more of them interested in one or another of the dozens of health occupations?

The answer is suggested by a casual review of the history of Negroes in medicine. The number of "medical families" is impressive - the Kenneys, the Wrights,

the Wilkinsons, just to mention a few. Three generations of doctors is not uncommon. In such families, general education is valued and encouraged; financial assistance during the many years of higher education may be provided - at least, the youngster is not required to contribute to the family's support from the time he is big enough to run errands or work in the fields -- and lastly, the special rewards of medical practice are unavoidably visible and obviously attainable.

Recent studies of Negro professionals and high school students confirm the impression about "medical families": the choice of a career requiring special education and training is indeed influenced strongly by family income, educational level, and attitudes.

"Enrichment" programs in lower schools and intensive guidance efforts have shown their ability to make up for the lack of career incentives in many families. However, their effectiveness with respect to health careers recruitment among Negro youth is severely handicapped by the absence of effective health career efforts in many localities and on the national level.

Expansion of the occupational goals of today's Negro youth is clearly a crucial essential for increasing the supply of Negro health manpower. But this is still not enough. The younster with higher horizons is increasingly particular about his choice of occupation. The health field, in comparison to others, doesn't always come out on top. This is true with respect to occupations at both the most highly trained and the least highly trained levels. At either extreme, financial considerations undoubtedly play an important role.

For example, among the best college students, medicine has lost in popularity to science as a career choice. Not only does a scientific career seem more glamorous, but the total cost of preparation -- and the length of time required -- are considerably less. Financial help for graduate science students has been more readily available, both in terms of the number of students helped and

the amount of help given.

No wonder that the nation's wealthy families (the 12 percent of the families having incomes of $10,000 or more) supply almost half of the medical students!

A recently-passed Federal program of loans for students in medical and other health professional schools will ease the financial strain on some students. Loans, scholarships and other measures to remove financial barrier to higher education in the health field have long been advocated by most experts.

Occupations in the health field requiring the least amount of training also have difficulty in attracting workers. Money again is the problem, but with these occupations, the cost of preparation is not particularly troublesome. The deterrent is the prevailing low wages.

Low wages for most hospital and other health workers result largely from the fact that their wage level and working rights are unprotected by legislation or by unions or by professional associations actively concerned with their members' welfare. Only a few state nurses associations have accepted collective bargaining responsibilities. Unions have only just begun to organize hospital workers. Moreover, labor legislation has traditionally exempted workers employed by community hospitals and other nonprofit health agencies: these workers are not covered by minimum wage laws (except in New York State) nor by unemployment insurance laws.

Community hospitals perform a vital public service and justifiably boast of the amount of that service made possible by voluntary contributions of well-to-do citizens. They neglect to mention, however, that an even greater amount of their public service is made possible by the substandard wages they pay -- a compulsory contribution from their workers, the group least able to be philanthropic.

The expanded potential of health services can only be realized with more health workers of the established types, as well as new types - homemakers, dental

assistants, resource referral specialists, midwives, and many others.

Occupations paying little and resembling domestic service (such as the orderly) -- the stereotyped notion of "work fittin' for colored folk" -- fall below the line of vision of youngsters with high horizons. Semi-professional and skilled jobs in the health field deserve decent pay and appropriate dignity. Health departments, hospitals, universities and community health councils should analyze the types of work that must be done and the kinds of background and training that would prepare a person for each type of work. New Federal financial assistance for occupational training has hardly been tapped by the health services field.

Without complete elimination of racial prejudice in the personnel policies of hospitals and other health agencies and without major improvements along the lines discussed, the health field will continue to lose out in the competition for manpower, Negro and white.

Even under the most favorable conditions the supply of Negro doctors and other health workers will be relatively small for a long time to come. Negro doctors in the future will continue to provide only one-fourth (if that) of the doctor services received by Negroes. A like situation exists for the other types of Negro health workers.

Consequently, the quality and quantity of the health services received by Negroes will be primarily dependent on the quality and quantity of white doctors and other white health workers. Therefore, measures which will improve the quality and quantity of all health workers will, in the long run, be of greatest benefit to the health of the Negro as well as the white population.

RECOMMENDED ACTION

Basic For National Policy And Program

Immediate desegregation of all hospital and health facilities. Withholding of Federal funds to any operation that does not comply.

Increase in private negotiation, public education and nonviolent protest as appropriate to local situations.

Health insurance for the aged under social security.

Encouragement of more consumer-sponsored, comprehensive, group practice health insurance plans.

Development of a fiscally and socially sound mechanism that would assure to all people, regardless of income, job and place of residence, basic medical care benefits.

Improvement in the financing and administration of public medical care programs.

Development of effective regional health and hospital planning councils.

Massive Federal and state aid to public schools. Desegregation of lower schools, colleges, technical and professional.

Specific For The Urban League In Cooperation With Other Groups

Fact-finding and reporting to the National Urban League any discrimination found in federally aided hospital and health facilities.

Training of Negro community non-medical leaders for effective participation in community health planning and policy-making.

Under the Manpower Development and Training Act, using existing facilities, train new workers, upgrade and retrain present hospital workers in a variety of semi-professional and skilled jobs; i.e., laboratory technicians, licensed practical nurses, x-ray technicians, practical dieticians, operating room technicians, homemakers, etc.

Courses in intergroup relations for staffs of hospitals and other health services.

Attitudinal studies to determine what blocks or deters the use of available medical care by low-income Negroes.

Studies of hospitals that have desegregated patient services in recent years and utilizing findings with hospital administrators who lag behind.

Intensive work with health commissioners in cities where there is a concentration of Negroes to begin the re-structuring of health services that are sensitive to the particular problems and meet the problems of the people who need these services. Urging health departments to experiment with reaching out and influencing slum dwellers to use services. Changing traditional approaches to prenatal care, etc.

Urban League to develop experimental health programs, demonstrate what can be done, gathering, packaging, and sharing experiments that have proved successful.

Development of a comprehensive nationwide health careers program with Federal and state leadership and support.

Addition of scholarships to the program of Federal aid to medical and other health professional education.

Coverage of all hospital and other health workers by the Federal minimum wage law.

Promotion of sound unionism for hospital and other health workers and of job protection programs by the associations of professional and other health workers.

Special efforts to cut the nonwhite infant mortality rates through imaginative child and maternal care demonstration programs, utilizing current HEW resources as well as the anticipated community action programs under the poverty program. Similarly, special programs for health care of the aging in their own homes as well as in other community facilities.

Intensive health education in predominantly Negro schools and communities.

NUL Youth Community traineeship programs with hospitals and other health agencies for part-time or summer employment of young Negroes as aides, clerical workers, etc.

Special health career projects in schools and colleges with predominantly Negro student bodies.

INFORMATION AVAILABLE FOR OUR INTERPRETATION AND YOURS

During the past few years, an impressive amount of information has accumulated on the availability of health services to Negroes and concerning the participation of Negroes in health services.

Many organizations have collected and issued this information, including: the United States Commission on Civil Rights, State Advisory Committees to the Commission, the National Urban League and local Urban Leagues, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the Southern Regional Council, state and local human relations agencies, hospital planning bodies, and professional associations--notably the National Medical Association--several independent professional journals--notably Modern Hospital and Medical Tribine--the staffs of Howard and Meharry Medical schools, and several Members of Congress.

These organizations and individuals have collected the information which was of particular interest to them, frequently with little awareness of what the others had done or were doing. Some of the information is nationwide in character; some is limited to regions, states and cities. Most of it is based on firsthand experience, observations and interviews.

The National Urban League decided that the available information should be systematically assembled and reviewed as a first step towards an expanded, professionally sound program dealing with health services as related to the Negro. The task of collecting and the initial analysis was done by Mrs. Ann Langenberg Riday, National Urban League Research Associate, under the direction of Miss Jeweldean Jones, Associate Director for Health and Welfare, National Urban League.

The second step was to interpret the available information in light of the nation's historic civil rights struggle and of the nation's medical care crisis. The interpretation and action recommendations were drafted by Dr. Walter J. Lear, member of the Subcommittee on Health Needs and Resources, National Urban League, and consultant on community health services. The entire Subcommittee on Health Needs and Resources actively participated in the final formulation of the interpretation under the direction of Mrs. Mary Gay Harm, chairman. In this process, it was fortunate in having the assistance of a number of national experts in the field of public health and medical care.

The interpretation does not necessarily represent the views of each member of the Subcommittee in every respect. However, the Subcommittee believes the interpretation as a whole does constitute a valid basis for action which would eliminate racial discrimination in health services and improve the effectiveness of health services for all Americans.

The action recommended would require resources far beyond those of any one organization. Only the continuing energetic efforts of a wide range of organizations and individuals will move the nation's health services in the direction outlined.

Many of the concerned organizations and individuals will also wish to review the available information. Anticipating this need, an annotated bibliography has been prepared and is available from the National Urban League.

March 25, 1959

MEMO: TO HAROLD FLEMING

FROM LESLIE DUNBAR

C. H. Parrish discussed with me his future role with the Council. I gather that he does not at this time have many concrete suggestions to make. I hope from time to time to be able to call upon him for advice and for help. I would prefer, however, at least at the present time, that suggestions as to a more definite or established role be initiated by him.

I did say to C. H. that in two functions, one specific and one general, he could be of important uses to us. First, in following through on his own proposal of spelling out areas of research which we as an action organization think ought to be undertaken by social scientists. I requested C. H. to begin a dialogue with me and you by defining problems which he regards as inadequately covered in present social science studies. I explicitly did not, however, agree that we would assume the role which he has proposed for us as a broker between researchers and foundations. Instead, I told him that such ideas as he might come up with would be considered by us as we would any other "good ideas"; that is, as projects to be got done according to their own individual requirements.

Secondly, I asked C. H. to be mindful always of the advantage to the Council in forming closer contacts with work in progress on the campuses and with academic people interested in areas with which we are concerned. I asked him always to be alert to opportunities whereby the Council could make liaison with such work or people.

Finally, I encouraged C. H. to get his piece on urban and educational problems done.

May 15, 1959
INTER-OFFICE MEMO

To: HCF

From: LWD

Subject: E. D. Campbell, "Some Data and Speculations on the Matter of Desegregation"

This paper is an advance notice of a study which, because of its sponsorship by University of North Carolina's Institute for Research in Social Science, is sure to attract attention. For this reason it is cause for serious concern. The conclusions which it ventures have already been judged newsworthy by the press, and yet they seem to me to be inadequately supported by the data or analysis.

This is said, however, rather uneasily because in several cases there can be no reservation or surprise about the conclusions. They are further confirmation of widely recognized conditions; nevertheless, they are presented with a flourish which I hope Campbell may discard before the final writing. (However, it is noted that this paper was prepared, not for a lay audience, but for a learned society.) Campbell seems to have a very sanguine picture of the pre-1954 South. This causes him to interpret the responses which he obtained in his 1959 interviews as sharp contrasts. I suspect that most informed observers would see far less, if any, contrast and would therefore be less inclined than Campbell to believe that the 1954-55 decisions had increased prejudice. In this connection, see page 2, 2nd paragraph; page 7, 4th paragraph; page 8, 4th paragraph. (Someone might note, too, that the comparisons are between a "polled" and an "unpolled" period.)

In this same connection Campbell sometimes presents his data with emphasis that can be misleading. For example, on page 6, 2nd paragraph, he states, "The conclusion that adults are more liberal than students emerges also from student answers to queries concerning their parents' values." The figures show only that students believe their mothers, but not their fathers, to be more "liberal" than they. Or, again, one has to read this sentence (page 7, 3rd paragraph) twice before realizing that over one-half of the students believe that Negroes have a legal and moral right to go to school with whites:

> On a comparable question only 13% of Norfolk's students agreed that "Letting white and Negro students go to school together is the right thing to do," while almost one-half of them affirmed that Negroes have neither legal nor moral right to go to school with whites.

Campbell concedes (page 3, 3rd paragraph) the possible bias of his student sample. I would know of only two ways of estimating how severe the bias actually is: by comparison with another sample; by informed judgment. The former is not available. My judgment would be that pronounced bias is sufficiently probable to make the sample highly suspect.

Furthermore, throughout the paper, and especially in regard to page 6, 1st paragraph, Campbell does not discuss the possibility that motives, having nothing to do with prejudice, may account for some of the divergence between adult-student. Undoubtedly, he will do so in the final study. (Also, some of the responses seem on their face, without analysis, to be simply disagreements about facts; e. g. the reply on dating and intermarriage.)

Finally, I would note that there are two findings which seem to justify optimism:

1. Page 7, 3rd paragraph -
   Only 26% of Norfolk's adults prefer segregation strongly enough to keep the schools closed (it will be interesting to discover, in the final report, whether these are spread throughout the population, or concentrated in any social categories.)

2. Page 8, 3rd paragraph -
   "White students become reconciled to attending school with Negroes as they redefine the nature of the educational relationship; specifically, when they view it as being of a secondary rather than a primary nature." (In context, I read this as a predictive statement, not a merely conditional one; if so, and assuming that "relationship" is to be narrowly understood, it affirms about all that realists had hoped for. However, it must be remembered that Campbell's study was confined to a pre-desegregation period, and he cannot document this conclusion.)

file copy

May 12, 1959
Inter-office Memo

TO: HCF

FROM: LWD

The paper by E. O. Campbell of the University of North Carolina, "Some Data and Speculations on the Matter of Desegregation" is, I think, an unsatisfactory piece of work. I say this not because Campbell reaches conclusions which are distasteful, but because the internal structure of the analysis is weak. This paper is an advance notice of a study which, because of its sponsorship, is sure to attract attention; the Campbell paper is cause, therefore, for serious concern.

I think that my ill-opinion of the paper can best be justified by a detailed, rather than a general, criticism. This is because my objection is, essentially, that Campbell does not handle data responsibly.

page 1, 3rd pp. - Here we have sweeping generalizations, each one posing a challenge to widely held ideas. The effect is to suggest that everything usually thought about the South is mistaken. But Campbell is a blithe critic, and most of his shafts don't even reach the target. Surely the 3rd sentence is a non sequitur. And is there any reason why persons of "exemplary adjustment to ....community" should not resist social change? Is the diminished appeal to moral themes (has it really diminished?) at all relevant to whether the problem is or is not basically ethical? (cf. page 7, pp 1, last sentence where Campbell tends to affirm what he here questions.) Can he possibly equate "immoderation" with concern for uninterrupted education?

page 2, 1st pp. - Campbell's thesis here may be true. I believe he ought to consider the rather obvious possibility that the frenzied efforts to indoctrinate are competitive, and are evidence of the continuous exposure of the school child to integrationist views and influences.

page 2, 2nd pp. From, "Overall, it seems fair to say..." to the end of the paragraph seems to me preposterous. It is hard to imagine where he could have acquired his picture of the pre-1954 South.

page 3, 3rd pp. The probable bias of his sample of white youths, which is admitted here, seems to me so great that I am amazed that the Institute would proceed to publicize its findings. Moreover, the suspect nature of the sample does not inhibit Campbell from subsequent thorough generalizing.

Page 6, 1st pp. Several comments occur. In regard to the desirability of schools reopening, what weight does Campbell give to student caprice; to student satisfaction with their present schooling; to the adults' greater awareness of community needs as distinguished from personal interests or desires; to the pinch on the adults' pocketbook? All of these factors could be operative and none of them are significant of prejudice. As to the question on quality of education, students and adults have diverging criteria; it is, besides, a question of fact. (I might, e. g., be inclined to answer that, for the short run at least, integration would be adverse to quality.) How was the question on God and segregation worded? Finally, the question on dating and marriage is a question of fact, and reveals nothing as to prejudice.

page 6, 2nd pp. These figures show only that students believe their mothers, but not their fathers, to be more "liberal" than they. Incidentally, Campbell seems wholly unimpressed by the fact that 45% of his students, all of whom (see page 3) were in school (and many of whom were in a school run by dedicated segregationists), wanted the public schools re-opened even with desegregation.

page 6, 4th pp HDPE "pioneered" by women?

page 7, 3rd pp. Here is a lovely example of polemical use of statistics. Campbell says, "only 15% of Norfolk's adults" prefer desegregation as the right thing to do. Just as properly (and in the present context, more meaningfully) one could say "only 26% of Norfolk's adults prefer segregation strongly enough to keep closed the schools." But much worse: you have to read the next sentence twice before you realize that <u>over half</u> of the <u>students</u> believe that Negroes have a legal and moral right to go to school with whites.

page 7, 4th pp. "race consciousness seems heightened as rarely before"; I suppose the "rarely" allows the exceptions of pre-Civil War and Reconstruction days; of the Jim Crow movement 1890-1910; of the KKK revival of the 20's; etc. (Of course, Campbell is comparing a "polled" period with "unpolled" periods.)

page 8, 3rd pp. Conclusion 2 seems to me of basic importance; curiously, none of the rest of the paper reflect it. But even here, one has to question: the study, as reported in this paper, was confined to a pre-desegregation period; how can Campbell conclude that these results occur?

page 8, 4th pp. When, in the South, has this not been the case? Campbell describes it as "emerging".

page 8, final sentence - Inexplicable and unintelligible in the light of the analysis.

Finally, I note that this is a paper delivered, not to a lay audience, but to a learned society; and that it differs little at all (chiefly, in the acquisition of the ridiculous, meaningless neologism "disconfirm") from the preliminary report.

HF
PR
PA
JC
MM
MA

September 14, 1959

Interview with Attorney Wiley Branton, NAACP
Pine Bluff, Arkansas
September 12, 1959

Regarding Little Rock:

1. He mentioned as significant the lack of cooperation between Gov. Faubus and the Arkansas attorney-general. For instance, Faubus has not asked for legal assistance to which he has right and access as state governor. Mr. Branton said as far as he could see they are both on the same side; they just don't like or trust each other.

2. The NAACP has objected to the present pupil assignment in Little Rock because it violates the school board agreements in setting up districts and as it is a violation of the directive from the federal court.

3. There is harrassment within Central High School. The girl has been subjected only to name-calling and some pushing in the hall. The boy has been subjected to physical violence in the halls between classes, always by the same group of students. Protests have been made to the school principal, and to the school board. There has been no result.

   Mr. Branton showed me a carbon copy of aletter he had written to the attorney for the school board, calling his attention to the facts of the protests and the lack of action by the principal and the board. He said he had hoped the school officials would handle the problem, and that is why he had waited this long, but if no action is taken in relief for his client, Jefferson Thomas, he will begin legal action.

Regarding Pine Bluff:

1. First, he stated rather emphatically that he had nothing to do with the suit in Pine Bluff, and that any comments he made would be those of an interested bystander and citizen, and his knowledge was only general and not specific.

2. He thought the "burning in effigy" (one incident at Dollarway; another at the Pine Bluff High School) was just prank and did not indicate serious trouble brewing. He does not think there will be resistance and violence comparable to Little Rock.

3. He stated that the Negro high school in that area is equal to the white high school; the only reason for the applications is that there is a small group of Negroes living much nearer to the white high school. There will never be, he said, large groups of Negro students clamoring to enter the Dollarway school.

4. His secretary (?) (temporary for that morning, I think) said she teaches in the Negro high school in Pine Bluff, and that is is not comparable to the white school. It also served Negro boys and girls from the county. It is overcrowded; has no facilities for science, home ec, shop training—no typewriters etc. for business training. She said the teachers feel so frustrated because they really cannot teach without equipment. There is NO LIBRARY wahtever. No reference books.

Interview with staff of Pine Bluff Commercial, City Editor Bill Miles; Managing Editor, Mr. Wright.

They thought it most unfortunate that Dollarway school was chosen for beginning of desegregation efforts, and they do expect trouble.

This area is filled with low economic group. There is an active KKK, and anew and active citizens council group.

It is outside the city limits, thus there will be only the county sheriff and his deputies to control any violence. The sheriff has stated that he will maintain order. The editors doubt that he will be able to, with only four deputies available. They think the state guard or state patrol will be called in. They do not know which way their "maintaining" order will go--it will depend on Faubus. They think Faubus is changing, or at least that he is beginning to realize that he is losing support in his resistance stand.

Bill Miles had just returned from a tour of the state, and he said he was surprised to find the extent to which public opinion has shifted in the last few months. "Even people who sincerely believe in segregation are more interested in maintaining law and order, and they are definitely against closing the schools." He thinks that many people did not realize the kind of people they were aligning with in resisting the desegregation of schools. Now that they do see the lengths to which resistance can go, they want no part of it.

He said all over the state opinion of the majority of citizens had shifted--except in Pine Bluff. He thinks this is because in Pine Bluff they are faced with the Dollarway situation; emotions are involved, so they do not think calmly. Both think that if the Dollarway desegregation could be delayed a year, it could be accomplished without violence--it would give people time to realize and to reflect and to accept.

To HCF

From LWD

September 10, 1959

file

With your approval, I would like to develop a couple of ideas. The motives behind them are:

1. to hit again on the voting issue before Congress reconvenes, and to have ready by that time fresh documentation for the Commission's recommendations
2. to pick up McMillan's interest, and I believe, readiness to work with us (the suggestion he makes in the attached letter is not one I can support)
3. to do something from my end to follow up a needle I threw a few days ago at P.R., viz., that the state groups ought to concentrate on exploiting weak spots.

A. Voting

The general story on Negro voting is by now well understood. I still have in mind something on literacy tests, but that can't be done quickly. The other thing that will have impact, I believe, is the specific story - our Vines and Brazeal reports, Bob Baker's forthcoming article. I don't think we would overdo the subject if we brought out 1 or 2 others. I'd like to see if George were interested in doing one - probably selected from our "no Negro registration" list.

A second possibility has a complicated twist in its rationale. I think there is a lot to be said for hammering at Texas: its political and economic importance, the sensitivity of Johnson and Rayburn, its divided nature. There are no "no vote" counties in Texas, but several are low; one of the worst is Williamson (near desegregated Austin). This fellow Dugger might do a good job for us.

B. Richmond County, Georgia

See above, my 3rd motive. I got to thinking about Richmond County the other day and the more I thought the more intrigued I became. I believe that we

could get a tremendous wallop out of a portrait of it; in minature, it can represent nearly all that Bill Peters wrote about, and I would like to propose to George that he tackle it. Richmond County is a place where lots of th things intersect: e.g.

- Fort Gordon: integration on the base; how are its Negro soldierstreated when they go to town?
- Savannah River Plant (across the river): how well does Richmond house and treat its Negro employees? do Richmond Negroes get jobs there at all?
- Paine College: (a Methodist school) quality of Negro academic training
- segregation in bus, train and airline terminals
- Augusta as home of Masters golf and Eisenhower's vacation
- tremendous sums (I spent some of them) of federal money have gone into Richmond's schools; all, of course, segregated
- Augusta's University Hospital (city-owned) received a large Hill-Burton grant: here, as with the schools, the problem of federal assistance to segregated institutions is raised
- the Talmadge Memorial Hospital (the state hospital for indigents): policies; etc. This is also the teaching hospital for the University of Georgia: illustrates absence any comparable facility for Negro physician training
- Davison's department store: owned by Macy's, illustrates northern business's acceptance southern employment practices
- election in, I think, 1952 of Negro to school board; subsequent gerrymandering of city to prevent re-election
- home of Roy Harris, President of Citizens Councils
- origin of first school segregation case (Cummings v. Board of Education, 1899)

- borders Georgia's largest cotton growing county (Burke)
- locale of Tobacco Road
- went for Gowen in 1954 gubernatorial
- went for Eisenhower in both 1952 and 1956

In short, Richmond is interesting not because it is typical, but because it is a place where lots of the issues are revealed, where the discrepancy between policies and practices are made clear, and where forces operative on the South interact.

M E M O R A N D U M

September 8, 1959

TO: Leslie Dunbar

FROM: George McMillan GMcM.

SUBECT: A proposal for creating a new kind of SRC Report.

It appears to me that there is something worth salvaging from the Little Rock idea. I had developed, in thinking about my Little Rock assignment, what I believe to be a format that could be used at other places and other times.

May I suggest that SRC publish -- using me as the author-reporter -- some in-depth reports of significant episodes in the current racial crisis?

The subject matter should be limited only by the word, "significant." The episodes need not necessarily be violent nor even dramatic, on the surface. They need not represent "progress." They might be more interesting occasionally as case studies of reaction and retrogression.

Their purpose and function would be to add a dimension of interpretive understanding to the necessarily disjointed news, "feature" and periodical coverage of what almost always are complexly-motivated events. A newspaperman must assume, by the nature of his format, that the event began on the day he arrives; the purpose in the pamphlets (reports) I am suggesting is to write an account that makes the episode begin where it began and end where it ended.

In style, they reports would be direct, vivid and objective, but not sensational. In length, they would never exceed 10,000 words, and normally would run between 5,000 and 7,500 words.

It is not too much to expect that several of such reports might be collected into a fairly respectable book eventually.

But their immediate purpose would be to give such publications as might interested and the host of individuals who are dissatisfied with what is most often available to them a more perceptive and useful account of the significant chapters in southern racial history.

I would be glad to come to Atlanta and discuss this idea at greater length. But I think the best thing to do, if you're interested, is to try it once. Are you interested? And will you, then, be watching for such episodes? Would you like me to make suggestions?

no date

Williamson Co. Tenn

Birmingham

Richmond Co

Gordon

STP

Rance

Terrell

Golf

fed aid school

Hill Bowter

hog

Talladega Tunnel

Dawson

Clothing -?

Home Rep H

C & Rog Ed

Tenn Valley

October 15, 1959

MEMORANDUM: TO HCF
FROM LWD

Although I hope to be back in the office next week, and to go over these things with you then, it may, in any event, be helpful to give you a quick written summary of where we stand on a few jobs.

1) Walter Spearman's manuscript is in. I have read it once but have made no marks on it. I think any close studying may well be postponed until we decide whether this is generally a finished report or not. My first reaction to it is that publication will do us more good (by way of enhancing our reputation for fair-mindedness) than it will do the "cause". So far as presentation goes, I think that at the very least two things are required: a) an explicit statement somewhere that this report does not deal with editorial treatment; b) some more explicit tying-in of the conclusions on page 10 with the findings on later pages which document them. I shall be interested in your reaction to the report.

2) I have read with care Jane Reif's revised manuscript. I never showed you the first draft because it was so rough and unacceptable. I honestly think she has now turned out a good job, and I recommend publication in accordance with the agreement which Paul Rilling, Dan Bowers and I have. The chief defect of the manuscript is, I think, a certain awkwardness of organization which makes necessary rather more repeititon (or to be exact, re-visits to the same events) than I think is good. It would be extremely difficult for this to be corrected, however, because of the peculiar manner in which the report is conceived. On the whole it is a very readable and interesting piece. It does present, however, a public relations problem. That is, the author has repeated disparagement of Norfolk businessmen. This is altogether deserved, but if it were an SRC publication we would want to think how consistent it was with the approach of our leadership project. In view of the fact that this is to be published over the imprint of the Virginia Council, do we need to consider this?

If, by sad mischance, I am not back Monday, I think Paul Rilling had better call me about next steps in our handling of this.

The manuscript is on my desk if you wish to read it. (note: paper on which page numbers are noted, corresponding checks on pages - these are the questionable paragraphs and statements.)

3) As I told you, McMillan did not feel that he could take the Mississippi assignment. I know no other person to suggest and I am disposed, therefore, to drop the idea. George also has decided that the demands which his publisher has made of him since reading some chapters which George submitted a few weeks ago, make it impossible for him to try again on the Little Rock police story. Goerge has a point, undoubtedly, though I am disappointed.

4) I discussed with Donald Matthews last week the possibility of getting one of his graduate students to work under his supervision with Marge and me on a quick study of literacy tests, as something we might get out before February. The attached letter is self-explanatory. I am about ready to give up this idea of a pre-February job, unless you have another notion.

However, what do you think of our using the remainder of the money in the voting fund for a rather more leisurely study of literacy tests along this same line? Frankly, I think it is the most fruitful way we could employ it. What ~~about~~ I have in mind would be a relationship with Matthews, or some one in another school, whereby a good graduate student would work on this thing in collaboration with us. The student might get a thesis out of it and we could end up with a report. If we did it this way, one advantage would be that the study would not have to be precisely spelled out in advance. Generally, what I would plan would be an examination of the laws of each state and a review of the legislative history of each (in order to document intent and purpose), a collection of as many materials as possible (questionnaires, etc.) and representative information of the administration of the literacy requirements.

5) Ben Muse and I have a thing going. The correspondence so far is attached. I will have some more thought about it later, but want to keep you informed.

6) On the question of Negro crime: attached is some correspondence I have had with C. H. and Lee Coleman. Frankly, Harold, I can't get this thing in focus. My thoughts are barren and my inclination is to let this stagnate for a while.

Note: re medical and health facilities

Les said he will have something for you before you leave on the 28th. ~~Miss Hough~~ Hosman Huff is to call me Monday to see how Les is, and will probably go out to talk with him at his home on Tuesday, if he is not back then (and I don't think he will be). Nothing much can be done until the two of them get together and decide just how inclusive this will be and work out a rough draft of the questionnaire for further discussion, revision, etc.

December 22, 1959

TO: HCF
BM
PR

FROM: LWD

This is a vague and inconclusive query about our program over the next few months.

Quite probably we are to be confronted with crises in Atlanta and New Orleans, possibly in Dallas and Houston. It seems to me not too early to be planning what SRC can usefully do, to be forcasting what SRC will probably be asked to do, next Summer. In other words, would it not be wise for us to begin now - in discussions at lunch, in staff meetings, etc. - to try to visualize what the problems of next Summer will be, and to shape now programs to su suit?

As a move toward this, I have tried below to list favorable and unfavorable factors in the Atlanta situation. I by no means think it is a thorough comparison; perhaps we could discuss these, evaluate them, add others that do not occur to me as of this writing. The same sort of thing could be done for New Orleans. Would this give us the basis for charting our program? For example, if I were a leader of HOPE, this comparison would suggest to me that one thing to do would be to work inventively at creating a climate of opinion which would allow the governor, if he wishes, to get off the hook of his campaign promise that there would be no desegregation during his term: the stor of statement which Dr. McClain included in his broadcast ~~xxx~~ sermon last Sunday seems to me a step toward that.

But what does this mean to SRC? I am not very clear.

Favorable Factors in Atlanta Situation as contrasted to Little Rock 1957, 1958; and Virginia 1958	Unfavorable Factors
1. Experience of Little Rock and Virginia	1. State administration (cf. Ark.) committed to closing
2. Confronted by tougher law	2. Stronger rural domination state politics
3. "Keep schools open" group already in existence; strong League of Women Voters	3. Deep South attitudes
4. Both Atlanta papers (in L.R. - 1 of 2; in Richmond - 0 or 2; in Norfolk - 1 of 2)	4. Opposing political factions composed of those more extreme in views - e. g. Griffin (cf. Va.)
5. City administration both pro (cf. Norfolk) and effective (cf. L.R.)	5. Both Atlanta papers committed generally to support Vandiver (cf. L. R.)
6. Able police force (cf. L. R.)	6. Coincidence of Presidential election ? ?
7. Coincidence of Presidential election ? ?	7. Nearer in time to Civil War centennial and emotions it may arouse

MEMORANDUM: TO HCF JC December 28, 1959
PR PA
MET RHA
JH II MM
CHP MA
BM EW

FROM: LWD

This is a revision of my earlier memorandum outlining the procedure for clipping of periodicals.

I. The following periodicals will be clipped systematically, i.e. will be examined throughout by the Research staff and all items of interest to SRC will be clipped:

The Atlanta Constitution
The Atlanta Journal & Constitution (Sunday)
The Chattanooga Times
The New York Times
Time Magazine
U. S. News and World Report

Our basic clipping file, will, therefore, be built up from these sources.

II. The following periodicals will be examined by the Research staff, and clipped for -

a. editorial and columnist comment
b. stories not reported in the first group of publications
c. Stories reported with noteworthy differences of treatment or length

The Atlanta Daily World
The Norfolk Journal and Guide

II-A. The following periodicals will be clipped for -

a. state and local news
b. editorial and columnist comment
c. noteworthy features

The Atlanta Journal
The Arkansas Gazette
The Houston Post
The Richmond News-Leader
The Washington Post and Times-Herals

III. The following periodicals will be examined by the Research staff. The periodicals marked with an asterisk will not be clipped; inserts for the files will be made noting items of interest and the periodicals kept in SRC's permanent collection. Those unmarked will be clipped, and the clipped issues kept for a year and then discarded.

*The Augusta Courier
*The Carolina Israelite
*The Citizens Council
*Community
*NAACP Newsletter
*The Petal Paper
*The Southern Patriot
*Southern School News
*Interracial Review
The Nation
The New Leader
The New Republic
The Presbyterian Outlook
Progressive
*Southern Newsletter
*Crisis

IV. The following periodicals will not be examined by the Research staff; only as requested by other staff members will items be clipped for the files:

The Black Dispatch
Los Angeles Tribune
The National Guardian
The Open Forum
The Sun Reporter
All the trade-union papers received

V. The learned journals received by SRC will not be clipped and items in them will not be cross-referenced in the files. Indices will be copied annually and filed. The journals will be retained permanently. These are:

The Journal of Negro Education
Phylon
Race Relations Law Reporter

The periodicals listed in this memo include all which SRC is now receiving. As in the past, changed (either additions or deletions) will be made in the list from time to time. I would be most grateful for suggestions from any member of the staff as to periodicals to which we should subscribe or which we should discontinue.

****

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 5, 1960

To: PA

From: MA

Subject: Next December's Crisis re the Council Christmas Card

First, let me say I am prejudiced in that I think that sending out a card that is so "non" it does not say anything is a waste of time and money.

So, I have here a suggested message which could either be printed on a card or in a letter, and is for New Year. It is non-denominational and I believe non-controversal in every way, but it does say something.

W. R. Hunt, from "A Morning Wish" -

The sun is just rising on the morning of another day, the first day of a New Year. What can we wish that this day, this year, may bring? Nothing that shall make the world or others poorer, nothing at the expense of other men; just those few things which in their coming do not stop with us, but touch us rather, as they pass and gather strength:

- A few friends who understand us, and yet remain our friends.
- A work to do which has real value without which the world would feel the poorer.
- Minds unafraid to travel, even though the trail be not blazed.
- A sight of the eternal hills and unresting seas, and of something beautiful the hand of man has made.
- A sense of humor and the power to laugh.
- A little leisure with nothing to do.
- A few moments of quiet, silent meditation, and the sense of the presence of God.

And the patience to wait for the coming of these things, and the wisdom to know them when they come.

****

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SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAdson 2-3764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 5, 1960

To: PA From: MA

Subject: Feb. 13 conference at Morris Brown College

Mrs. Rawley called this afternoon to say that there will be a "get-together" of the participants in the Feb. 13th meeting at 8:30 p. m. on Friday, Feb. 12 at the President's home: Dr. Cunningham, 601 University (campus).

Dr. Benne, Director of the Human Relations Center of Boston University, will be there and wants to meet the participants informally before the workshop on Saturday.

This will not be primarily college students, it seems, the direction has changed to make it more a community workshop. There will be about 45 students, leaders on the campus, plus faculty and representatives from community organizations. Invitations have gone to Emory, Georgia Tech, etc. also.

The meeting is over at 7 p. m. on Saturday, but if you wish you can leave at 5:30. I thought you might like to know this, on account of it being Saturday Night. There is just dinner and the reports from workshops after 5:30. However, they would like you to stay if you can and will.

I still don't know who is going to lead what workshop--but surely to goodness this will be decided at the Friday night meeting.

February 10, 1960

All Hands MA

Human Relations Workshop at Morris Brown College, Saturday, Feb. 13
1 to 7 p. m. in Fountain Hall

conducted by Dr. Kenneth Benne, Director of the Human Relations Center of Boston University

Topic: Social Change

Workshops, afternoon: I. Individual Change
II. Institutional Change
III. Community Change

Mrs. M. V. Rowley, of the Social Studies Department of the college, said that she would be happy to have anyone at SRC who is interested attend the meeting as "resource" for the workshops.

Those going: Albright, Waters, Anthony

NOTE: Paul Anthony is to conduct one of the workshops. If he still had the flu and is unable to go, ANY VOLUNTEERS?

SRC is sort of obligated to supply one workshop.

February 10, 1960

Staff

Leslie W. Dunbar

new book

LWD wishes to announce:

That we have purchased the University of Chicago Manual of Style and this will be THE authority for usage in all SRC research publications.

Anyone wanting to consult the manual may find it in my office.

July 25, 1960

HCF, BM, JJB, PR, JC LWD

reprinting: If the Schools Are Closed

With concurrence of HCF and JC we are ordering an additional 3,000 copies of the Green-Causerie, If the Schools Are Closed... This gives us an opportunity for another large mailing, and I suggest that proposals for distribution be forwarded to JC.

PR, BM, and JJB might want to consider planning a heavy coverage of New Orleans, Houston, and Dallas.

MEMORANDUM

August 31, 1960

To: Paul Rilling
L. W. Dunbar
Paul Anthony
Benjamin Muse
J. J. Brewbaker

From: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

As some of you know, we have had useful cooperation from Edwin Randall in the Louisiana crisis.

Ed would like very much to have our advice and suggestions about ways in which his radio service can be geared in to program needs in the South as we see them. For example, he would like to have known further in advance about the mounting crisis in New Orleans and ways in which radio material could have been used over a period of months in helping the educational job.

I am enclosing a memo that describes briefly the way in which Ed's program works. You will note that many of his listings have nothing to do with race relations, but deal with international problems and the like. This diversity is essential to his getting good race relations material used by Souther n stations.

I hope that all of you can bear Ed's program in mind as we carry on our work in the region. This is an easy way, without expense to us, to have some influence on public opinion.

THE NEWS ABOUT THE

FRIENDLY WORLD BROADCASTERS

WE BELIEVE THAT PEOPLE WHO HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY on the radio are under an even greater obligation to make their vehicle attractive, entertaining, and audience-building than are the people who use radio to sell something. It is our objective, therefore, to provide material equal in quality and broadcast value to the best commercial program material. We don't always hit the bull's eye, but we don't often completely miss the target, either.

SHORT (5 - 7 minute) SPOTS OF CONVERSATION make up most of our material. We also provide a fifteen minute program weekly called "This is a Friendly World."

WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO SAY is that people are people wherever you find them and that if we understood each other better we could find ways of getting along. If we don't find ways of living together we'll all of us just have to quit living.

WE HAVE BEEN EXPANDING. It is our purpose rather to provide a service for organizations working for world understanding than to become a kind of voice on our own, so we have made recordings recently for the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament, The American Association for the United Nations, The U.S. Committee for UNICEF, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the American Friends Service Committee, The Southern Regional Council, World Federalists, and several similar groups. We hope to continue to widen this kind of coverage so as to provide for radio stations the very most interesting people.

OUR SHORT SPOTS usually come five to the tape with one significant person. Sometimes for some special reason there is an odd number and occasionally when circumstances seem to justify it we make two tapes with the same person. There is no charge whatever for the use of this, or any of our material, and no cost except for return postage. We have a list of three hundred stations, all of which have used some of our material relatively recently, but limitations of budget are probably going to require us to cut this to around two hundred. We expect to offer these lists of six to eight tapes every two or three months.

WE ALSO PROVIDE a weekly series called "This is a Friendly World," now used on sixty to seventy-five stations (educational and commercial). If a bicycling plan we have in mind works out we may be able to increase this to a hundred, since we have many requests.

WE HAVE GIVEN UP THE EFFORT to distinguish between "educational" and "commercial" programs. The short spots were originally intended for commercial stations and the fifteen minute programs for educational stations. But people on both sides of the fence kept disregarding the distinction and I would say that both types are now used indiscriminately. This I like, because I think good education ought to say something and good commercial copy ought to be more than just to hold the customer still until the commercial comes.

(OVER)

WE WELCOME HELP in securing better people to record and in improving our service in every possible way. Because of limitations in budget and personnel, we are unable to provide a wider range of material. We have many requests for shorter spots -- 3 to 5 minutes. But we have tried to do what meets the widest acceptance with the most economical use of our time and energy. You are at liberty to shorten our spots, or take off heads and tails and make your own fifteen minutes out of any of them. We sometimes use the short material as part of the "Friendly World," and have had no complaint on this up to now.

WE ARE ACCEPTED as a project by the Jane Addams Peace Association, which makes contributions made to this work through the Association tax exempt. We are hopeful through this contact of enlarging our field and will be glad for suggestions about wider usefulness.

I AM ON WCAU with three programs daily, Monday thru Friday, which is doubtless a help in understanding what makes good copy for commercial broadcasters. It also helps us to keep the operation "operating" in other ways. I believe also it has helped me to understand the range of material that is acceptable. We occasionally use people who might be considered in fields outside the usual radio programming. Of course we are more concerned than any radio station not to stir up the animals with controversy. But I think there are ways of treating the listener like a mature human being without being offensive. We consider that this is an important part of our audience-building usefulness. We do not attempt to disturb people with argument but to present to them interesting and intriguing personalities. Incidentally, I never offer anybody else an idea I haven't already tried out myself, for reaction.

WE HAVE PLANS for working with people representing the organizations with which we work in various parts of the U.S. These people will, I believe, be useful to encourage listeners to our programs and have notices of them published in letters, bulletins, etc. We hope this would improve our service to stations.

WE HAVE BEEN WORKING this year under a grant-in-aid from the Educational Television and Radio Center which enabled us to collect considerable excellent material from all around the world. We are expanding this type of source very hopefully, finding a growing number of agencies making material available to us, establishing regular sources at important overseas spots. The future looks bright.

OF COURSE WE DO NOT NEED to remark upon the importance we attach to the development of better understanding across all the barriers which now divide the world and threaten its destruction. We appreciate more than it would be possible to say the opportunity to work with radio people in such an enterprise.

Edwin T. Randall
Friendly World Broadcasters
122 North Providence Road
Wallingford, Pennsylvania.

RADIO PROGRAMS AVAILABLE ON TAPE
5 to 7 minute conversations
(Each number 5 spots)

1959 --- List N

N 1 ATLANTA SCHOOL STORY
Overwhelmed by the wide acceptance of our on-the-spot recording of the Norfolk School Story, we have been gratified by testimony that events proved it to be a most accurate picture of the actual situation. Accuracy is difficult to achieve in a situation so fraught with emotion, but certainly to be desired by everyone of whatever persuasion. So we have attempted the same kind of recording of the even more important city of Atlanta. The time is too short to give every point of view, but we have tried to provide a carefully balanced picture, probing below the surface as carefully as possible. It seems to me as important for the north as for the south to understand this very disturbing problem.
This also we have provided not only in five short spots, but
N 1XX Same material in one show 29:30, highly recommended if you have time.

N 2 BROOKS HAYS of Arkansas, President of the Southern Baptist Convention
Author of a just published book, "A Southern Moderate Speaks," he has a deeply felt and very interesting story to tell about his recent experiences and his life-long convictions. It seems to me especially exciting to listen to a man who so strangely combines the characteristics of a political leader and a top-level churchman. His message is not regional but for the whole country.

N 3 SECRETARY ARTHUR S. FLEMING, Dep't. Health, Education, & Welfare
At this time of greatly aroused interest in education, here is a man with broad understanding, great responsibility, and wise words of comment on the present, and counsel for the future. As one-time president of Ohio Wesleyan University, he speaks with knowledge and conviction of the religious and moral essentials of education. (This tape was made in cooperation with the Commission on Christian Education of the National Council of Churches, whose emphasis is on Christian Education Week, April 13th.)

N 4 FRAU IRMGARD SCHUCHARDT, of Berlin
At this time of anxiety and crisis we are happy to offer a discerning and vocal resident of Berlin through two World Wars, who is now devoting herself to work for peace and who brings a message of hopefulness for the future from this center of fear. She isn't just talking about peace, but describes the actual work she has been doing for reconciliation between people on both sides of the Iron Curtain. She seems to be an intensely practical person.

N 5 JUDGE CURTIS BOK, Pennsylvania Supreme Court
He brings to bear on the baffling problems of crime and crime prevention years of experience as practicing attorney and more than twenty years on the bench. He has some exciting suggestions to make about the treatment of offenders and the danger of the attitude of vengeance, not only upon the criminals but upon society at large. He deals also with the baffling problem of capital punishment from the standpoint of a judge who not only has had long and intimate experience, but who has thought deeply and studied the problem carefully. Many of these ideas are also expressed in Judge Bok's recently published book, "Star Wormwood."

(OVER)

RADIO PROGRAMS AVAILABLE ON TAPE
5 to 7 minute conversations
(Each number 5 spots)

1958 --- List M

M 1 HARRY GOLDEN
This amazing American, editor of the Carolina Israelite, author of #1 Best Seller, "Only in America," beloved and highly honored citizen of Charlotte, North Carolina, and of the world is the "once-in-a-lifetime" kind of person absolutely everybody wants to know. I can't imagine any American - in fact anybody who understands the American language - who wouldn't enjoy listening to him. He talks about himself and what he believes in.

M 2 NORFOLK SCHOOLS
This is an on-the-spot recording of people personally involved in the present school situation. Clergymen, school people, children and young people, and parents help the rest of us to see the deplorable situation as they see it themselves. After all, this is a problem that confronts not only the people of Norfolk but of the entire country - in fact, of the world. This is an experiment with us, in response to requests. We'd like to know what you think of it, whether you use it or not.

M 3 DR. GAYLORD P. HARNWELL
President of the University of Pennsylvania, one of the nation's leading educators, sent by the State Department to study higher education in Russia, makes a highly interesting report of what he saw and some of his thoughts in consequence. He had himself some really intriguing experiences.

M 4 CLARENCE PICKETT
We have never recorded anybody else with the steady popularity of this Emeritus Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee. He has his say on foreign problems, work camping in Alaska, integration, with calmness and transparent good will for everybody involved. His spots have actually been repeated on a number of stations.

M 5 JAMES McBRIDE DABBS
Now he's written a book ("The Southern Heritage") which has been widely acclaimed, particularly by Southern literary critics and authorities on the social scene. He speaks again as a three century plantation southerner of things very close to his heart. His interpretations of current situations will be heard with interest both by those who agree with him and those who do not.

M 6 A. J. MUSTE
Clergyman, world traveller, worker for peace, careful student for many years and shrewd analyst of the Communist situation, he has just returned from a trip to Russia and speaks with clear-eyed discernment and in a way which is not only of fascinating interest but helpful in understanding the threat we face and how to meet it. He was one of the founders of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

~~(OVER)~~

September 28, 1960

Harold Fleming Leslie Dunbar

Brann memorandum

While I am sure that studies along the lines proposed by Brann would be valuable, I would like to note some general reservations. Basically, my dissent from Brann's approach rests on the belief that if the Twentieth Century Fund enters this field, its money and the energies and talents which it may enlist ought to be put to other and, I think, better objectives.

As briefly as possible I shall note below only my general reservations. There are a number of specific points in Brann's memorandum which I would question, but shall not here.

At the outset, I would like to note that the eight questions set down on pages 10-11 of the memorandum seem to me useful, and that Study #2 proposed on pages 21-22 seems to me excellent: more on that later.

1. Brann recommends research aimed at business leaders. This is done on the premise that research should be "action-oriented," that to be so requires that it be directed at the effective leadership group within the South's "power structure," and that business and industrial leaders are that group. Of course the whole notion of "power structure" and its centrality to change is itself a very big assumption with which one can legitimately dispute, but I am principally concerned here with the accuracy of the belief that business leaders <u>are</u> the group who determine broad economic changes. It would seem to me that the whole history of the last 50 years or so gives another answer, and indicates clearly that government, labor unions, d pressure groups, and public opinion generally have been at least as decisive as business men in setting economic policies and practices. I am, in short, dubious of the

scientific worth or lasting use of studies slanted to this audience, guided by the social theory implied, or carried out under the counsel of an advisory committee composed of business (presumably) leaders. Moreover, I would say candidly, and I believe truthfully, that studies conceived in this way would attract the participation of what might be called the business administration type economists, but would not be interesting to more detached, and better regarded, economists. Brann seems to anticipate this when he recommends recruiting economists who are "practitioners" rather than "academic" (page 17).

2. I am vaguely uneasy about the emphasis on Negro upgrading. I can agree that a positive approach is preferable to a bare assessment of the costs of discrimination and segregation, though I find it hard to see how any positive program can be charted without computing the disadvantages of the present situation (Brann seems, in fact, to recognize this). But to launch a large investigation which does not meet "head on" the social problems seems to me curiously unrealistic. I would hope, on the contrary, that any work undertaken would, while faithful always to its economic concern, be carried out in explicit, imaginative awareness of the profundity of social change. It bothers me that Brann is suspicious of controversy, that he puts "facts, documentation, and understanding" in contrast with "publicity, pressures, and controversy" as if they were always antithetical. I would very firmly suggest that any study in this field undertaken with the intention of being non-controversial had better be left undone.

   (Moreover, though a minor point, Brann recognized on page 23 that in fact many of the business leaders of the South are not southerners at all, that they are instead the managers of national businesses. Yet elsewhere in the memorandum I get the impression he overlooks this fact. Controversy may inhibit southern businessmen; the absentee managers may react differently.)

3. I wish there were not so much emphasis on case studies. The NPA case studies on employment were done as well, probably, as would be anything forthcoming from these present plans, yet they have not inspired notable changes. My own supposition (it is no more than that) is that, if "action" is the goal, case studies are almost the most ineffective tool, and that hard, quantitative, generalized analysis and projection is far more serviceable. Furthermore there is here the same matter I remarked on above: if case studies are emphasized, the project will interest a different and less impressive type of economist.

4. Finally, I would like to suggest that the sort of model-building proposed by Brann on pages 21-22 (minus the limitation implied in the concluding paragraph) is exactly what is needed. I would hope the Twentieth Century Fund might take off from there and explore with front rank economists their interest in pursuing such research. My only suggested change would be one of tone; the focus should not be on the Negro, but on the region and all its people.

****

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
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File

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
UNIVERSITY 3-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date September 29, 1960

To: LWD From: HCF

Subject: Executive Committee Meeting of 9/27/60

This is merely a pro forma reminder that we agreed to implement Marion Wright's suggestion that each response to a request of a state civil rights advisory committee would be shared with the other Southern committees.

I'm not sure just how the mechanics of this would work, but I didn't press MAW for details lest we find ourselves bound by red-tape. If you feel the need to discuss this, I'll be glad to do so.

Parenthetically, I suggested to MAW that he might want to do an article for New South on the proper role and functions of the Southern advisory committees to the Civil Rights Commission. He was interested. JC has been informed and will follow up with him.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: WF October 27, 1960

FROM: LWD

At your convenience, please give me approximate count of the nimber of copies in stock of each of the following:

L-Reports	1	11
	2	12
	3	13
	4	14
	5	15
	6	16
	7	17
	8	18
	9	19
	10	

Special Reports

Waiting Room Practices in 21 Southern Cities

Housing for Negroes in Atlanta

Background Report on School Desegregation, 1959-60

Toward a Solution of the Sit-in Controversy (Prime)

Lunch Counter Desegregation in .....Texas (Morland)

The Student Protest Movement, Winter 1960

A Report on School Desegregation, 1960=61

(continued)

Publications--

ACCA, A Second Look at Atlanta

Racial Crisis and the Press

The Church in Areas of Racial Tension

School Desegregation: the first six years

The South and the Nation (Collins)

If the Schools Are Closed...

The Negro and the Ballot in the South

Mimeographed: A Man Had Two Sons (Campbell)

INTEROFFICE MEMO

October 27, 1960

TO: BM

FROM: LWD

I am enclosing two copies of our L-Report on mediating committees; you will be getting your usual number in the regular course of things.

We have begun work on a report on Negro achievement and recognition. I hope we can come up with something good.

Mrs. Goodman missed you when in Virginia studying the private schools. I had a long talk with her on her way back to Texas, and was altogether pleased with the way she has gone about the assignment. Now it remains to be seen what she puts on paper. She expects to have her report in between the first and the middle of November.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

From: LWD October 27, 1960

To: HCF and JC

I would like to suggest that The Negro and the Ballot in the South be sent, after the election, to every newly elected member of Congress. Accompanying note might state that, though the figures are a bit old, the situation is still basically as described.

1. What did the Supreme Court rule in Brown v. Topeka? b (page 3)

2. Is this ruling the "law of the land" ?

3. Was the Court decision a sharp break with the past ? b, c

4. What other points of law have been decided since 1954 ?

5. What about the "states rights" argument against the desegregation decision ?

6. Does desegregation violate the freedom of association ?

* * *

7. What progress has been made toward desegregation of schools ? c

8. What is the prospect for schools not yet desegregated ?

9. Can Segregated schools be continued by turning them over to private groups ? a

10. Are private schools a realistic substitute for public schools ?

11. Who loses when the schools are closed to avoid desegregation ?

12. How successful have "save our schools" committees been ?

13. What are some of the desegregation plans that localities have adopted ?

14. Is "token desegregation" a wise policy for a community to adopt ?

15. What is the "Collins" plan ?

* * *

16. Why do Negroes want desegregated schools? a, c

17. Will desegregation lower academic standards ? c

18. Are there differences in intelligence between the Caucasian and Negro races ? c (Page 7)

19. Will Negro teachers lose their jobs when schools are desegregated ? a, b, c

20. Is it reasonable to delay desegregation because Negroes have a higher crime and disease rate? c

21. Will desegregated schools cause juvenile delinquency to increase ?

22. Do desegregated schools lead to interracial marriages ? b, c

23. Do recent population trends have a meaning for school integration ? b

24. Will desegregation cause an exodus of white people to the suburbs ?

* * *

25. What is wrong with segregation ? a

26. Did the decision "set back" race relations ? c

27. Is there a "solid South" ? b, (page 9), c

28. What have church groups said ? b c

29. What have other groups of civic leaders said ? [redacted]

30. Who are the "extremists" ? c

31. Does the action of southern peoples on this issue affect the international relations of the United States ?

* * *

32. What can we do in our communities to help effect harmonious social change ? b (pages 15-1
c (pages 9-11

a - same question in Questions and Answers

b - " " Answers for Action

c - " " Next Steps in the South

SUGGESTIONS FOR ALABAMA PROFILE

Object would be to portray the visage of the state as it presents itself now. Do this by a straightforward selection of items from the press or other quotable sources which when combined deliniate the features of the important powers of the state: the items could be presented in simple chronological listing, or in narrative form. Successive sections of the report could deal with:

1. Legislature: enactments, public utterances of members, committee activities
2. Governor Patterson: campaign statements, public acts and statements
3. Judiciary: acts and statements of Wallace, etc.
4. Leading cities: acts (governmental and judicial), "climate" (including editorial slant of newspapers) - Birmingham, Montgomery, Bessemer - others?
5. Rural areas - ditto - Macon County, other?
6. Posture of private interests
   a. Citizens Council - activities, to what extent supported or led by leading persons
   b. Business leaders - silent or vocal, and how
   c. Churches - giving leadership? Embatled?
   d. In general, what is experience any individuals or groups who even slightly dissent?
7. Conclusions: can it be said that all this adds up to the thorough conquest of a state by racists, and an incipient reigh of terror?

If done in this way, the intention would be to use Alabama as a sort of horrible example (is this fair?) of the results of moderate retreat, public apathy, and bitter-ender leadership; a "It Can Happen Here" study.

Accordingly, I think the circulation should be altogether southern, and should emphasize:

1. Church leadership
2. Newspapers
3. Chambers of Commerce
4. Inter-group organizations
5. League of Women Voters

MEMORANDUM

TO: HCF

CC TO MET

FROM: LWD

Start → Mrs. Tilly has discussed with me a problem which she believes deserves SRC's early and serious attention. It is that of the hardships of families displaced from the farms by technology or by the workings of agricultural policies of the federal government. I agree with Mrs. Tilly's estimate of the importance of the subject.

OMIT

As you know from our several conversations, I have given a great deal of thought to how SRC research and publications could be effective. I have also been mindful of the costs of an effective study. I believe that a useful contribution, consistent with SRC's purposes and program, could be made along the lines set forth in the rest of this memorandum. However, the Research budget is not large enough to carry all or even most of ~~the~~ its costs; if the project is undertaken, I hope that other SRC funds, or new funds, might be brought in.

Briefly, it seems to me that a good study might include two large parts:

1. a presentation of the extent and nature of the plight of rural Negroes displaced from the farms and struggling to adapt to urban conditions;

2. a survey of state and federal laws and agencies, designed to show the adequacy or inadequacy of the public concern and effort for these people.

These two parts might be dealt with in the following manner:

1. The aim would be to show how difficult it is for rural Negroes to accommodate themselves (occupationally, socially, morally) to urban life, when suddenly thrust into it. Two valid methods of study would be:

    a. Commissioning of a sociologist or instructor of social work to interview social workers in several southern cities, to examine case files, and to write up the findings. Whitney Young or someone recommended by him would be a possibility;

    b. Commissioning of a professional writer to interview in one city a dozen or so families recently moved in from the country, selected for us by a welfare agency (public or private), and to

write up the interview in an impressionistic, human interest fashion. Margaret Long or Wilma Dykeman might be possibilities.

Either approach would accomplish the same end: i. e., a description of how poorly prepared for city life are the great numbers of Negroes migrating from southern farms.

2. The second part would involve a study of federal and state laws and programs dealing with:

   a. financial assistance to marginal farmers

   b. vocational training in rural areas

   c. guidance and counselling in re-settling
   d. welfare assistance to displaced farm families

For this, we would have to obtain, through the best advice I could get, the services of someone already a student of agricultural policies and conditions; he could be a social scientist on one of the campuses or a staff member of an agency. This assignment could be carried out principally in libraries or through correspondence, but some travel might be required.

End

For part 1, a fee of $250 - 350, and travel expenses of about the same, would be in order. For part 2, a similar fee and expenses of perhaps $100 - 200 would seem approximately right. If both parts were printed in the same pamphlet, and if each ran about 7,500 words, a printing charge of about $1,800 for 5,000 copies might be expected. The total estimate would then be $2,650 - 3,050; with allowance for possibly more wordage and miscellaneous expenses, a budget of $3,500 would seem needed.

If you approve, there might be some advantage of my corresponding with Mrs. Nishi, of the National Council of Churches, to ascertain if there is any interest there in joining into the study. The American Friends Service Committee or the Urban League are other possibilities.

I believe Post is of more value than some of the others we are getting. Would suggest continuing. JC

INTER-OFFICE MEMO

FROM: LWD

TO: HCF ✓
JC ✓
PR ✓
PA ✓
MM ✓

renew LWD 10/6/59

Our subscription to the Washington Post will soon have to be renewed. The Post is always an interesting paper, and I would like to get your opinions as to the practical value of continuing to receive it. Every paper received, of course, adds to the reading, clipping and filing time. You might want to think of this in terms of (a) continuing the whole subscription, (b) continuing the subscription for the Sunday paper only, (c) discontinuing.

LWD -- I believe we should continue to get it. Apart from its past value to us, Bob Baker will soon be giving full time to the South -- possibly will locate here. We, of course, will be working with him on some pretty strategic matters and should see what is printed.

HCF

Essential for news of Va. and the South — indispensible

PR

Let's keep Post & get rid of Norfolk & Miami papers — PA

LWD — Harold's note on Baker makes me agree that its worthwhile to continue the whole subscription and limited clipping. Don't suppose Paul Rilling would like to mark it, thereby keeping himself up with Va. + the South, and cutting down on clipping time — PMM

This is an interim report on the work of the Research staff of the Southern Regional Council from February through September, 1959.

I. Personnel

The staff has been stable throughout the period. Miss Manderson has been the Research Assistant, and continues to handle most of the factual digging and compilations for the office. In addition, she frequently prepares the "Highlights" page for New South. Mrs. Albright acts as secretary, answers most information requests, and assists the Director in many ways. In addition, she acts as the Council's receptionist, and has done a variety of other things, including public speaking, for the Council. Mrs. Cooper has been the file clerk, and has occasionally assisted with typing; she has resigned effective October 9, and will be replaced by Miss Elizabeth Waters. During the Summer months, Mr. Andre Hammonds was a member of the staff.

In an operation of our type, and with a staff of this size, the constant obligation of the Director is to build flexibility into the duties of staff members. I look forward to a time when there will be more overlap of function and more opportunities for individual versatility.

II. Housekeeping

The Southern School News microfilm library was purchased, along with a microfilm viewer. The clipping and filing procedures were somewhat, and helpfully, modified. Book purchases have been considerably enlarged.

III. Activities

A. Information service

As a newcomer, I have been mildly astonished at the volumn of our work in answering information requests from all sorts of sources.

Conservatively, I believe that one-fourth to one-third of our time is given to this function. Although I often resent the hindrance this is to program activities, I am fully agreed that this is perhaps as important as any service we perform.

B. Contacts

In a limited way, I have sought to strengthen Council contacts with academic and other persons engaged in research. I hope in the future to further this effort, and believe the results to date have been healthy for us and a service to outside research people.

C. State summaries

A rather large amount of labor went into a project which was intended to put our knowledge of conditions in the various states on a more systematic basis. The project has not been completed, and the intended role of these summaries has not yet been realized in practice.

D. Voting

The staff assisted with the completion of the 1958 voting survey. On the whole, we hope we were helpful. In one respect, we were (or, I was) not: the arrangement with Mr. John Gauntlett for material on the Negro vote in South Carolina proved a miserable dud.

E. Schools

1. Green and Gauerke, <u>If the Schools Are Closed...</u>
2. <u>A Background Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60</u>, Special Report, August 1959
3. The staff assisted with the completion of the pamphlet, ~~Violence~~ <u>Intimidation, and Violence, Reprisal</u>, which may be listed in this context or that of law and order.

4. In cooperation with the Virginia Council on Human Relations, Jane Reif was commissioned to do a pamphlet on the Norfolk experience of 1958-59. When the revised manuscript is received, a decision can be made as to publication.

F. News Reporting

Walter Spearman was commissioned to do a pamphlet on the handling of racial news by the southern press since 1954. The manuscript is promised for early October.

G. Facilities and Accommodations

With the cooperation of several of the state groups, a survey of waiting room practices was completed and issued as a Special Report. Miss Norma Huff is doing exploratory work on a survey of health services; this shows signs of having interesting ramifications.

H. L Reports

In close collaboration with Ben Muse, we have put out the series of L Reports.

I. New South

We have a responsibility to contribute to New South occasionally. It is my hope that we shall maintain with John Constable at all times a small back-log of articles that he may use as he sees fit. A chronology of court cases and an essay on southern population movements have been completed. An essay on civil liberties in the South is in process, and other studies are planned.

At the same time, it is my hope that John Constable will never feel the creation of a separate Research staff in any way precludes him from preparing studies of his own for New South.

J. Opinion

A revision of Next Steps in the South is in process and should be completed during October.

K. Economic Studies

1. Donald Dewey was commissioned to do a pamphlet on the implications of segregation for the southern industrial manpower supply. Completion is expected by Spring 1960.

2. We have ambitions to do a pamphlet, before January 1960, on the effects of the schools controversy on the southern business climate.

L. Sociological Studies

C. H. Parrish is engaged in a study of the urban problems of segregation, especially as they affect the development of talent by the schools.

M. Housing

We need some time to get a handle on this all-important field; we have not yet done so. We did issue as a Special Report Bob Thompson's fine statement before the Commission on Civil Rights, dealing with Atlanta housing.

file

To: HCF

From: LWD

Here are some outline notes which may indicate the approach a Board statement could take:

Guidelines out of the present school crisis

I. Communities (and states) need to stop thinking in terms of "how to limit desegregation" and to think instead of "how to desegregate successfully." This is not mere exhortatory verbiage: to alter semantics of the issue is probably an indispensable prelude to changed policies which extricate South from its dilemma.

a. In this connection, necessary to think about pupil placement

1. Note with favor/sympathy those educational principles which advise assignment of children to schools and classrooms on basis of individual attainments, capacities and needs

a. No objection, therefore, to placement when inspired by professional concern and criteria

b. So used, could be, as a matter of fact, a means toward successful desegregation, as well as better schools (e.g. Washington four-track plan is a form of pupil placement)

2. Condemn pupil placement, however, when:

a. used merely as a device for token compliance with law, by assigning one or two or even a few Negroes to a white school. This smacks of punishment, not justice; converts Negro students into objects of curiosity, isolating them from healthy companionship of classmates; consigns white students to continuous abnormality

b. the burden of action toward desegregation is put upon the child and his parents, not upon the responsible school officials. This is the case in, e.g., North Carolina and Virginia. The Nashville procedure, whatever its other shortcomings, is superior at this point, for assignments are made administratively, without regard to race

c. criteria for Negro students seeking admission to a school, or being considered for assignment to a school, are more severe than for white children; note Hamm v. Arlington County

II. An urgent objective should be to get the problem out of the courts

a. State leadership most desirable method; at present, seems hopeless in some, if not all, states

b. But local leadership has been available in some places (list all places which desegregated without court order. exclude non-SRC states, western Texas, Oklahoma, ~~Kentucky~~ - give them a general reference); to mobilize it in others is first order of business for concerned persons

c. Southern leadership has wasted its best resource; viz. opportunity to plan with local Negro leadership

Leadership of the essence - L'ville v. Little Rock; law enforcement in L.R. 1957 + 1959.

I.

What is right for the South to do, has become what is practically urgent for the South to do. During the five years that have intervened since the Supreme Court's decision in the School Segregation Cases, vast transformations have occurred throughout the world. One has only to call to mind the advent of space explorations; the fearsome development of military weapons; the incredible and almost inhuman industrialization of China; the growing economic power of the Soviet Union; or the amazing increase of the earth's populations. All of this has been part of what has surely been one of the most eventful half-decades in human history.

During these same years, the South has straddled the realities of the twentieth century. Its economic progress has kept pace with the challenge of the times. Its political leadership, in shameful evasion of the Constitution, has seceded from reality. Not for long can this schizophrenia be kept from tearing down the South's economic chance, its moral vigor, and the remnants of its once great capacity to supply statesmen for the country. The harsh shouts of the Citizens Councils have little sense or relevance under the silent arc of man-made satellites; the filibuster, the electoral purge, the closed school are equally useless in meeting the challenge of an alien system to our nation and the cause of human freedom which it represents.

Whatever Chairman Khrushchev's visit may have meant to Americans at large, to southerners it had added significance. It symbolized how deep and fast have been the currents of world change, while state governments in the South have, for five years, dissipated their energies over the issue of school attendance. Unless the phobias can be outgorwn, the myths discarded, the tantrums controlled, the ignoble rebelliousness suppressed, the devious trickery despised, the South will be a

liability to the nation and the cause which it has believed itself to love. The Soviets, at the head of the enormous and disciplined ranks of the world-wide Communist camp, have challenged the democracies to a strange, new sort of warfare. They propose to outdistance us in science and technology; will the South close its schools? They announce that they shall out-produce us, and in time capture our markets; will the South under-educate its economic manpower? They solicit unceasingly and shrewdly the good-will of the African and Asiatic peoples; will southern states appropriate tax-payers money for another investigation of the N.A.A.C.P.?

II.

Five years ago, the Supreme Court affirmed the Constitutional right of all children to equal educational opportunities. Since then, southern political leadership has sought ways to evade the law, or, at the least, ways to limit desegregation. Our communities need to redefine their problem: instead of "how few Negroes must we admit," they need to address themselves to the question, "how best can we desegregate."

This is not mere exhortation. By the change in question, one moves from a political to a professional problem, to be solved not by politicians but by educators: and that is as it should be. To alter the semantics is probably the indispensable prelude to the changed policies which are required to extricate the South from its present confusion.

In this framework - of ways toward successful desegregation - we have considered the so-called pupil placement laws.

We take note of those educational theories which advise the assignment of children to schools and classrooms on the basis of individual attainments, capacities, and needs. When placement is inspired and guided by professional concern and criteria it is a legitimate educational method.

So used, placement could be, in fact, a means toward successful desegregation, as well as superior schools. This has been the objective, and seemingly the achievement, of the Washington (D.C.) four-track plan, which is a form of pupil placement.

The Southern Regional Council condemns, however, the use of pupil placement as a device for perpetuating racial distinction. Specifically, we urge southern communities to think whether it is not morally wrong and practically foolish to adopt the following policies:

1. The assignment of one, or a very small number of Negro children to a predominantly white school for no reason other than token compliance with the law. We recognize that the same result may conceivably occur through honest assignment on a territorial or scholastic basis. We recognize also that in some ~~localities~~ areas the policy of token compliance may seem to persons of good will to be a necessary path to firm community acceptance of desegregation. We question, nevertheless, how valid this caution is in many of the localities where it has been expressed and practiced.

   To place one or two Negro children in a school with scores or hundreds of white children, and to do so with deliberate intent to purchase thereby continued segregation of all other children, is an act of punishment. It converts children into objects of curiosity and occasionally/it makes of them scapegoats for the failure of laws and political policies It, moreover, consigns the white students to continuously abnormal school conditions.

2. The transfer of the responsibility for desegregation from the school ~~desegregation~~ officials to the Negro child and parents. This is the ~~practical~~ effect of those schemes, as in North Carolina and Virginia, which in practice require the Negro child to petition into a predominantly white school. The Nashville procedure, whatever its other shortcomings, is more

just and humane - and more responsible -, for initial assignments are made administratively without regard to race. In the present climate, there may be merit in plans which permit both colored and white students relatively easy transfer out of desegregated schools. This freedom of choice for parents is far different from a plan which thrusts upon the Negro parents the psychological and social burden of initiating the desegregation process.

In this connection, although the constitutionality of pupil placement laws has so far been upheld, the United States Commission on Civil Rights has observed that:

> ...the fundamental constitutional question of whether the right to apply for transfer validates the initial assignment by race has not yet had a judicial hearing on its merits. /1

3. The establishment of criteria for Negro children seeking admission to a particular school which are more severe than the admissions criteria for white children. On this matter, the law has already been sufficiently indicated when, in ordering a review of the rejected applications of Arlington County (Va.) Negro students, an appellate court stated:

> We find evidence in the record that their applications for transfer were subject to tests that were not applied to the applications of white students asking transfers. /2

1. Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, page 303.

2. Hamm v. County School Board of Arlington County, 264 F 2d. 945, March 19, 1959.

III.

An urgent objective should be to get the problem of school desegregation out of the courts.

The American legal system assumes that when the law has been declared in a case, all persons in similar situations will comply, even though not parties to the case. Neither American constitutionalism nor the Common Law contemplates an endless web of litigation for the spreading of every legal concept. Nor is an adversary proceeding the means for coming to grips with desegregation as a rewarding adventure in human relations.

The irresponsibility of southern political leadership has decreed this ordeal of litigation, and, for the present at least, seems incompetent in some, if not all, states to undo the obstruction it has caused.

But local leadership has been available in certain cities and towns of the South; to mobilize it in others is the first order of business for concerned persons. There is a growing understanding that school closings, violence, demagoguery and the other products of defiance come with a price tag. The South has moved too far in recent years toward reclaiming its economic equality with the rest of the country; only the mad or the self-serving would want to destroy that progress.

We have listed at the end of this statement southern communities which have desegregated without court order. These places give witness to the fact that where leadership has been firm, desegregation can be handled by southerners without the coercion of federal courts; they have shown that the South can avoid a second Reconstruction by reconstructing itself.

The truth becomes ever more clear, that the South can solve its internal problem only when its people shed their preoccupation with race, and begin to think in terms of human relations. Here is a multitude of individuals, white and colored, united by regional affection; no group of them can exclusively claim to be "the South." The Negro southerner has just as much interest in, and responsibility for, the region and the direction of its growth as has his white neighbor. The communities of the South belong to all who live within them; they will prosper in goods, and they will reach out toward the good life, as all of their people prosper, and as their characters are enlarged.

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est. mimeo cost (25pp)	284.75	721.82
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3,000 copies (40 p.)		590.90
Student Protest Movement, ~~Winter~~ 1960		601.86
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NM file

State of Georgia
Milledgeville State Hospital
Milledgeville, Georgia

JOHN H. VENABLE, M. D., DIRECTOR GEORGIA DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH IRVILLE H. MacKINNON, M. D., SUPERINTENDENT OF THE HOSPITAL

October 19, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to The Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Let me thank you for your letter of October 15, 1964 and for the enclosed statistics that you used in your talk at Milledgeville on Sunday Morning, October 11, 1964. You gave an excellent address and I have heard many favorable comments since you were here. It was nice meeting with your wife and with the Cohens. I am glad that you made a visit to the hospital and I wish that you could have spent more time here. Our operation here is a huge one and I only scratch the surface in my briefing you on our operation.

I joined the hospital staff on December 1, 1963, and from the point of view of my work, I could not like it better. I came here from Washington, D. C., where I was engaged in the Clinical Chaplaincy but in a different setting, a detention home for juvenile girls and boys. This was the first position as Pastoral Psychiatrist, in a mental hospital setting, open to a Negro in the country and the "price was right," so I accepted immediately and took off for Georgia. The work here is both interesting and challenging, and I could not like it better. The Milledgeville State Hospital, as you may know, is the second largest mental hospital in the world (second only to New York's Pilgrim State). We have more than 15,000 patients at the hospital; 12,000 resident patients and another 3,000 on convalescence leave. The hospital is also fast becoming one of the finest and most unique treatment centers in the country. Here the departments of Psychiatry, psychiatric social work, psychiatric nursing, and clinical chaplaincy combine their specialized experiences and resources, working together as a team to bring to the patients the best treatment that is ascertained in mental health. The Department of Religious Services is headed by Chief Chaplain Douglas C. Turley, Jr., former Chief Clinical Chaplain at Longview Hospital in Cincinnati. Six (6) senior clinical chaplains, two (2) part-time chaplains -- a Jewish Rabbi and a Catholic Priest, eight (8) chaplain interns who are on the state's payroll and under contract for a year of clinical training and eighteen (18) trainees who are seminarians. These seminarians come from Emory University in Atlanta and Columbia Theological Seminary. They spend one full day per week here at the hospital for which they receive five (5) hours credit at the seminary. I am fortunate to have come on the staff as one of the six (6) senior clinical chaplains at the hospital. The hospital

is divided into units, with each unit operating as an independent psychiatric hospital yet governed by a central system. The clinical chaplaincy in each unit is headed by a senior clinical chaplain, and I am in charge of Unit II.

The Milledgeville State Hospital is located on 10,000 acres of Georgia's rolling hillsides, and it is almost self-sufficient. Our department, The Department of Religious Services, has recently moved into it's new facilities. These new facilities make the department second to none in the nation, with the most modern and most adequate facilities in the country. These facilities are located in five (5) different chapels placed in strategic locations throughout the hospital grounds, thus bringing each patient within walking distance of a chapel. There are, within these facilities, forty-one (41) office spaces, a library, six (6) conference rooms, and an assembly hall.

I should like to congratulate you on your position with the Southern Regional Council. This demanding position, along with your law practice, staggers the imagination but you are both young and capable and I know that you are doing a good job. Thank you for the invitation to call you whenever I am in Atlanta and I shall certainly take advantage of this invitation.

Again, I should like to thank you for the valuable statistics that you sent me, and I am looking forward to a copy of the address that you delivered as soon as you get them edited.

Sincerely,

Charlie Alston

Charlie Alston
Senior Clinical Chaplain

CA:rva

October 15, 1964

Reverend Charles Alston
Clinical Chaplain
Milledgegille State Hospital
Milledgeville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Alston:

In compliance with your request, I am enclosing the statistics I used in my talk there on last Sunday morning, about Milledgeville. I hope they will be helpful to you. As soon as I can get my remarks edited and in some kind of form, I will forward them to you.

My wife Shirley, and our traveling companions, the Cohens, asked that I express to you their sincere appreciation for the tour of the inter-faith chapel, and the visitation to the wards. It was the first time any of us had ever confronted mental illness directly. We found in interesting, yet disturbing. We were all impressed with the work you are doing and wish your continued success in your endeavors.

If you are ever in Atlanta, give us a call.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

January 13, 1965

The Honorable James P. Wesberry, Jr.
211 Masonic Temple Building
Decatur, Georgia

My dear Senator Wesberry:

Our research department is very much in need of the report of the Governor's Commission for efficient and improvement in government, generally referred to as the Bowdoin Commission, as it relates to Georgia's mental health facilities, specifically at Milledgeville State Hospital. Is it possible that you can be of some assistance to us by getting these reports for our use?

We also understand that the National Institute of Mental Health made a report of its investigation of facilities at Milledgeville, if at all possible, we would like that report also.

We are certain that your schedule is a busy one, now that the Legislature is in session, but we would appreciate very much your efforts in getting these materials for us.

It was good to have become better acquainted with you at Jesse Hill's home last Saturday evening. I hope that we will have such an opportunity, at sometime in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

January 13, 1965

The Honorable Horace Ward
859½ Hunter Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Horace:

Our research department is very much in need of the report of the Governor's Commission for efficient and improvement in government, generally referred to as the Bowdoin Commission, as it relates to Georgia's mental health facilities, Specifically at Milledgeville State Hospital. Is it possible that you can be of some assistance to us by getting these reports for our use?

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Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

January 14, 1965

Mrs. Albert M. Davis
President
Atlanta Medical Association
Women's Auxiliary
592 Waterford Road
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Davis:

Pursuant to your request in behalf of the Women's Auxiliary of the Atlanta Medical Association, I am enclosing a thumbnail sketch of Georgia's mental health facilities as prepared by Mrs. Barbara Patterson of our research staff. You will find that our research is current -- up to the governor's state-of-the-state address on Tuesday, wherein he mentioned certain budgetary items for Georgia's mental institutions.

It is our hope that we have provided you with sufficient information to assist your organization in successfully raising the issues as to discriminatory practices in this area.

If we may be of further service, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

Memo from **BARBARA PATTERSON**

1/12/65

Here's for your Atlanta Medical Assn. Ladies Auxiliary.

Vernon, this whole subject gets quite fascinating. Please get from Sen. Leroy Johnson the report of the Governor's Commission for Efficiency and Improvement in Government which was made up of seven businessmen (and who are they?) and headed by William R. Bowdoin.

it is my understanding that the Bowdoin report, in addressing itself to Milledgeville, drew heavily on a concurrent report of the National Institute of Mental Health, and I wonder how we can get this?

It was a chap reporting for this latter study whom I heard on TV about a month ago being specific about racial inequalities. Try, will you?

Dave

WM. R. BOWDOIN
CHAIRMAN
ATLANTA

ROBERT J. MARSHBURN
VICE CHAIRMAN
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MORRIS W. H. COLLINS, JR.
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MACON

January 19, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

At the request of Senator Ward, we are sending you one copy each of the Commission's report Treatment Programs for the Mentally Ill and Mentally Retarded in Georgia, and the report of the National Institute of Mental Health team, Treatment Services for the Mentally Ill and Mentally Retarded in Georgia.

These materials are being sent under separate cover and should reach you within the next few days.

Very truly yours,

Elizabeth Langmuir

Elizabeth Langmuir
Administrative Secretary

EL/lt

JAMES P. WESBERRY, JR.
THIRTY-SEVENTH DISTRICT
BOX 8087
ATLANTA, GA.

MEMBER COMMITTEES:

BANKING & FINANCE
COUNTY & MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT
EDUCATIONAL MATTERS
HEALTH & WELFARE

The State Senate

Senate Chamber
Atlanta

January 28, 1965.

Honorable Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

Please forgive me for taking so long to reply to your letter of January 13th. As you know, I have been rather snowed under but this is no excuse.

I am glad to know of your interest in mental health and I am having copies of the two reports you requested mailed to you separately.

Again forgive the poor service.

I, too, am looking forward to getting to know you better and hope we will have the chance to get together for lunch sometime soon.

Yours truly,

James P. Wesberry, Jr.
State Senator, 37th District

JPW:eh

March 4, 1965

Mrs. A, M. Davis
592 Waterford Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Davis:

Mr. Jordan has requested that I forward to you the below listed and enclosed information and letter, respectively, for your use and information. He suggested that carbon copies should be mailed to the following:

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Secretary
Georgia State Advisory Committee
to The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. F. Peter Libassi
Assistant Staff Director
U. S. Commissionoon Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Governor Carl Sanders
State Capitol Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. John Doar
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division-Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Jordan further suggested that you send <u>blind carbon copies</u> to the following:

Mr. Jack Greenberg
Director - Counsel
Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Mr. Benjamin Brown
Executive Secretary
Atlanta Branch, NAACP
859½ Hunter Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
Regional Secretary
Southeast Regional Office
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
859½ Hunter Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

If you have any questions, and you feel that I can be of help, please call me.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Secretary to Mr. Jordan

/nm
Enclosures

Points that may be included in letter on Georgia's Mental Health Program.

Dear Mr. Cerafici:

Interest in mental health program in Georgia stems from a concerted effort by the Woman's Auxiliary to the National Medical Association (Atlanta Medical Auxiliary is an affiliate) to improve the mental health facilities in each state where a member group resides.

~~Although~~ Although mental health projects in many states and Georgia is no exception, still leave much to be desired, we feel that the one problem in Georgia which is seldom discussed and never challenged is that of racial inequalities in our entire program. The Bowdoin Commission vaguely makes mention of the fact that inequalities exists but no concrete recommendations are made to alleviate the situation. Not only are there gross differences in the physical facilities of Negro + White patients, but marked differences in occupational + recreational activities. It is also very apparent that many Negro patients confined at Milledgeville receive little or no psychiatric care.

Increased budget for 1965 adds nearly a million dollars to the sum in excess of $2,000,000 already spent in the state for Mental Health. This sum does not not include huge subsidies made by the Federal government to supplement the program. The Bowdoin Commission recommendations to improve mental health facilities in Georgia point the way to make use of still more federal funds.

In accordance with title VI of the Civil Rights Law, it is now mandatory that all facilities receiving federal aid be made available to all people without discrimination. As we understand it, ~~this~~ a pledge to do this has been signed by the State Department of Health which has under its jurisdiction the Mental Health Program

~~4. Transfer of over 1,000~~

Transfer of over 1,000 elderly, non-mental patients from Milledgeville to private nursing homes financed almost entirely by federal goverment (90%) is also covered by Title Six of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

5. Some immediate plan should be made to ~~equalize the~~ integrate facilities if the Mental Health program is to improve on a friendly equalizing plan

Sincerely Yours,

No Signature

194-1829

November 20, 1959

Mr. Sylvan Meyer, Editor
Gainesville Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Meyer:

A thermafax of Walter Spearman's manuscript is enclosed. As you will see, it is still rough, though I believe Walter regards it as basically finished. We shall have a couple of editorial suggestions to make to Walter regarding it.

I can't tell you how pleased we are that you have consented to make a contribution to this "symposium." As I said to you on the phone, our thought would be that your essay could appropriately be keyed to Walter's tenth conclusion (page 10 of the first section of his manuscript), the general objective of the essay could be an evaluation of the southern press since 1954 in terms of some such factors as the following:

- has it clearly indicated realistic alternatives on the school question?

- has it sought to calm the climate of opinion, or has it helped inflame it?

- has it performed the press' historic role of a critic of public policy and policy makers?

I suspect and hope that you will want to take a handle on this in some fashion of your own. These questions are not, therefore, meant to be binding on you but only to suggest the kind of thing we have in mind. You are not limited to discussing the same papers or the same stories that Walter has

covered .

If you feel any need to refresh your recollections, we have clipping files as well as Southern School News library on microfilm. If you want at some stage to kick this around with us, please come down.

With best regards, and please call (collect) if you have any questions.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosure: thermafax copy
Spearman manuscript

Social Crisis + the Press

January 26, 1960

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
The Gainesville Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan:

Here is a clipping from the Knoxville Journal of January 14. As you can see, the story had nothing to do with race; to make doubly sure we confirmed that with the assistant postmaster in Knoxville. The headline writer saw the word "integration" and jumped to his conclusion -- a good example of preoccupation with racial issues. We might use this as a peg for our foreword, but you might like to use it yourself. If so, go ahead.

Best wishes, and
Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosure: thermafax of news clip

UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

International headquarters: 9 PARK STREET, BOSTON 8, MASS.
CApitol 7-3660 *Cable address:* UNSERCOM BOSTON

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M. L. WILSON
MRS. R. CRARY YOUNG

HON. J. RAY SHUTE
National Campaign Chairman

New York Office:
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, N. Y.
Oxford 7-0248

January 25, 1960

file

Mr. Les Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Enclosed is a copy of the article I mentioned from the January 14, Knoxville Journal.

I had occasion to ask the assistant postmaster about the release and he said it definitely had nothing to do with race. He said he read the article and headline three times and laughed more each time. As you probably know, the Knoxville Journal has editorially supported desegregation although they haven't hesitated to smear Fred Routh, the Southern Regional Council, and Highlander Folk School.

Sincerely,

Galen

Galen A. Martin
Field Representative

Programs and financial statements filed under Registration Number VFA-010 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Aid of the International Cooperation Admin.

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

STAFF DIRECTOR

HF
MA

March 9, 1960

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
Chairman, State Advisory Committee
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan:

With regard to your suggestion that the Commission invite a representative of the Southern Regional Council to attend the Gatlinburg Conference. I would like to explain that the invitations have been confined strictly to educators, except for members of our own State Advisory Committees.

This policy was adopted last year in order to assure that the general tone of the meeting we wished to achieve would be realized. Last year a good many human rights organizations sought representation which was denied. This year we have not had this difficulty, in view of our firm position last year.

I feel we cannot make an exception from the established policy for the Southern Regional Council, even though we recognize their qualifications on conditions in the deep South. We do rely heavily on their publications.

Thanks for your suggestion.

Cordially yours,

Gordon

Gordon M. Tiffany

Yes and there are you making progress and much better — piece sounds thanks! Sylvan

March 21, 1960

RHA LWD

check: Sylvan Meyer

Please make check to Sylvan Meyer, Gainesville Times, Gainesville, Ga. for $250.00, (writing fee) and $10,75 for having manuscript typed.

MA

April 7, 1960

Dear Mr. Meyer,

We want to use four or five lines of biographical data about you on the back of the title page of your section, The Press and the Schools, like so:

"Sylvan Meyer is Editor of the Gainesville (Georgia) Daily Times. He was a Nieman Fellow in 195_ (?), and is Chairman of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights."

Would you please check the enclosed card so we may have the right date, and if there is any honor you would like added, please note it.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

May 6, 1960

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
Daily Times
Gainesville, Ga.

Dear Sylvan:

I read the first half of this the same week-end you gave it to me. After that, things got rather frantic; I seemed to have time only for left fielders, end men, crusaders, and bitter enders -- none for "the middle man."

Now that I have finished the manuscript, it isn't easy to know how to write. Finally, I have decided that when you asked me to read it you must have wanted me to comment honestly; so here it is.

I would not regard this as a publishable piece. First, because of its awkward length: too long for almost any magazine, even the quarterlies; too short for hard covers; suited in length only for a pamphlet -- but pamphlets are published by organizations which select them as parts of a planned program. Second, because it rambles and sometimes gets thin. I mean this particularly about the first 23 pages. I almost think they could be chucked entirely: it is in pages 24-46 that you say your say.

And, I may add, damned thoughtfully and well. For that matter, throughout the whole thing there are sharp points and keen Meyerisms that should not be lost. My complaint is that they are lying about at random.

Why don't you either decide to write a book -- in which case you'll need more illustrative material --, or decide to whack 20 pages out of this and make a magazine piece of it?

There is so much good stuff here -- though I won't claim to agree with every bit of it -- that I hate to react to this in any way that might discourage you from going on with it. But I have had the experience myself of over-kind friends sending me off unwarned to the editor: it's no favor.

Your task is harder than most. Simply as a matter of rhetoric, it is easier for an "equalitarian" or a "segregationist" to define his position than it is for you who want to be neither. The middle position is always a difficult one to tie into place; you don't have much control over it, because it is the boys on the ends who are deciding what you are going to be in the middle of. At the same time, you have to make clear whether you are in the middle just because, as a matter of principle, you believe in the "middle road" in every, or almost every, controversy; or because there is in fact a third position you respect more than either of the others. I don't, for example, call myself "a moderate;" I say I'm comfortably in camp with the SRC and NAACP and that "Jim Crow Must Go." On the other hand, I agree with you in practically everything you say. Maybe you would say that means I'm really a "middle man;" I say it means you ought to come on over and recognize your kinship. We'll welcome you, with all your values intact; Roy Harris never would.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. Should have page proof early next week.

May 10, 1960

Western-Perry Printing Company
196 Marietta Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs: (Attention Mr. Young)

Please print 5,000 copies of Racial Crisis and the Press, by Spearman and Meyer, in accordance with corrected galley proofs returned to you last week and our several conversations. We will be grateful for your prompt handling of this order.

Enclosed is the type-script of the Foreword, to be inserted at the front of the pamphlet.

The Union Label is to be affixed on the outside back cover.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

File

Research for us

June 20, 1960

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
Gainesville Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Meyer:

Mr. Dunbar is on vacation; he will be back in the office July 5. I am mailing you today two more copies of Racial Crisis and the Press, and a copy to Mr. Lyons. I will check with John Constable re the other name and your Nieman Group. Mr. Dunbar had told me to write you this week to ask if you would like to send us a list of names to receive the pamphlet. We will be very glad to mail them out. If you wish any more copies for personal use, please let us know.

sent 6/20

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

sent 4 copies Thursday 6/16
mailed sent 8 Friday 6/17
sent 2 6/20
cc this letter to Sylvan

The Daily Times
Press-Radio Center, Telephone LEnox 2-6211
Gainesville, Georgia

file

Les,

Thanks for the check. It arrived in the nick.

I trust the draft is ok?

I think it is urgent , after my Gatlingburg experience, that we insert another paragraph in the final section of the article. It is enclosed.

Best,

Sylva

The Daily Times
Press-Radio Center, Telephone LEnox 2-6211
Gainesville, Georgia

Saturday

Dear Les,

Here it is. I like it much better. Thanks for your editing counsel. I am prepared to go over it again or do whatever you fell can improve it. You'll note the new organization, dividing principal ideas in each category with asterisks, makes it easier to cut. We--or you--can eliminate entire sections that you consider less important if necessary.

Despite the bulk of this thing, it is a good ten typewritten pages shorter than the other version. You'll see that the CGR stuff is barely mentioned.

Let me know what you think. I did have to have it typed. The rate quoted here was 25 cents a page. I engaged in nepotism and had my wife do it since she is saving to go to Washington with me next month.

Thank Paul for sending the names of possible GAC members. I appreciate the suggestions and can use more in case these won't accept. I especially like the Gowen idea.

Pls return the manifesto when you are through with it.

Best,

Sylvan

H 3
22
2/5
86
+0 75

The Daily Times
Press-Radio Center, Telephone LEnox 2-6211
Gainesville, Georgia

Friday

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn NE
Atlanta3, Ga.

Dear Les,

Thanks for the pamphlets. The print job looks good and I've spotted not a single typo. I like the colored cover,too.

There are several people whom I would like to send copies. I presume you have sent one to the various newspapers, but I wanted to be sure that Dwight Sergeant, EEP, NY Herald-Trib, received one, as well as other members of my Nieman Group; I also want Louis Lyons at the Nieman Foundation , 44 Holyoke House, Cambridge 38, Mass. to see it and perhaps have a couple of copies for his office library.

Chances are these are all in your normal distribution pattern, anyway.

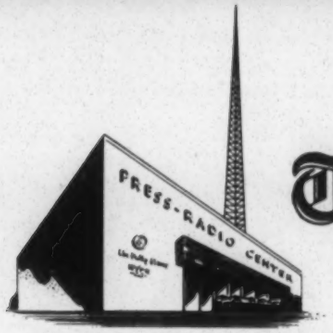
Could you send me about 10 more copies for family, etc?

Meant to tell you last week how much I appreciated your comments on my "manifesto." Your ideas make a lot of sense to me. I've been so darn busy haven't had a chance to really study them, but I know that such a thorough analysis as you made took you a lot of time. The frank word was very much needed. I hope we can get together again soon and discuss the thing further.

Best,

Sylvan

file



The Daily Times

Press-Radio Center, Telephone LEnox 2-6211
Gainesville, Georgia

June 22-60

Dear Mrs. Albright,

Thanks for your offer to mail copies of the pamphlet.

I'm enclosing a list of addresses and, if it is not an imposition, would appreciate your mailing one to each. If the Congo address is an unfair request, I'll mail one to him.

Best,

Sylvan Meyer

Mailed out: 6-24-60
MA

To receive Speaker's Pamphlet

George C. Stoney
322 East 44th St
New York 17, N.Y.

Hoyt Bowen
Englisahs Dept.
Pfeiffer College
Meisenheimer, N.C.

Louis Harris
Louis Harris Associates
~~Rockefeller Center~~ Empire St. Bldg.
New York, 1, N.Y.

Robert L. Hoke
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N.Y.

Morris Rosenberg
c/o Latin American Desk
Associated Press
New York, N.Y.

~~George Porter~~
~~Don Mendonsa~~

George Porter
c/o U.S.Embassy
APO
Manila, P.I.

A.A.Mendonsa
Chatham-Savannah Planning Commission
Savannah, Ga.

Robert E. Kennedy
~~Editorial~~
Chief Editorial Writer
Chicago Sun-Times
Chicago, Ill.

Al Friendly
Managing Editor
The Post and Times-Herald
Washington, D.C.

18201 Ernest Frankel
~~[illegible]~~ Rancho st.
Tarzana, Calif.

Frank Hoag Jr.
The Star Journal and Chieftain
Pueblo, Colo.

Creed Black
Executive Editor
The News-Journal
Wilmington, Del.

~~[illegible]~~

A. Howard White
The Daily Times-News
Burlington, N.C.

Richard Adler
130 East 67Th St.
New York 21, N.Y.

Stephen Schuerer
TV Key
28 East 56th St.
New York, 22, N.Y.

Allen Wallis
The White House
Washington, D.C.

M. Max J.J.Arnold
Press Africaine
Bukavu, Belgian Congo

July 11, 1960

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
The Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Meyer:

We have mailed out copies of Racial Crisis and the Press to the list of Southern Nieman Fellows and to the second list you sent, with a tag, "compliments of Mr. Sylvan Meyer." I do have two questions, however: 1) Mr. Thomas Sancton, New Orleans, La.--you have marked through "The Item" -- do you have a new address for him? New Orleans is a large city. 2) We do not know Morton at Atlantic--do you have his initials and address? Because he did not get a copy.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Sylvan Meyer mailing list
Racial Crisis & the Press

also:

Tom Tanner
SNPA Box 1569
Chattanooga 1, Tenn

Coleman Harwell
Cookeville, Tenn.

Mr. Abel Banov
110 Overlook Terrace
Roslyn Heights, L.I., N.Y.

~~Mrzzizzkx Bleibtreu~~
Mr. Jack Bleibtreu
262 Central Park W.
New York, N.Y.

Mrs. George Beattie
857 Woodley Drive NW
Atlanta 18, Ga.

Mr. Richard Adler
130 East 67 St.
New York 21, N.Y.

Prof. John Beer
417 South Lincoln
Stillwater, Okla.

Mr. Hayden Carruth
61 Sunnyside Ave.
Pleasantville, N.Y.

Mr. Bob Eddy
1064 Mary Lane
St. Paul 13, Minn.

Mr. Odom Fanning
7745 Reeds Road
Prairie Village 15, Kans.

Dr. Arthur Golby
2800 Ontario Rd.
Apt. 205
Washington 9, D.C.

Mr. Charles Gilmore
Editor, Toledo Blade
Toledo, O.

Mr. Walter Klein
Route 2
Kuykendall Rd.
Matthews, N.C.

Mr. W.J.Lederer
353 Kirkbride Ave.
Pearl City
Oahu, Hawaii

Mr. Ed Marshall
12 Colonial Drive
Chelmsford, Mass.

Mr. Jay Mann
Cleveland, Miss.

Mr. Bill Swann
Quogue, N.Y.

Dr. and Mrs. I. Tempkin
24 Torringford West
Torrington, Conn.

Nieman Fellows from the South...alphabetical list, August 1, 1957

Ashmore, Harry; 1942; ~~executive editor, Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, Ark.~~ SANTA BARBARA, CALIF Fund for the Republic, Inc. Box 4068
Batal, James; 1946; 525 Coral Way, Apt. 4, Coral Gables, Fla.
Caldwell, Nathan; 1941; reporter, The Tennessean, Nashville, Tenn.
Campbell, Robert; 1957; editorial writer, Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel, Winston-Salem, N.C.
Carter, Hodding; 1940; publisher, Delta Democrat Times, Greenville, Miss.
Chaplin, George; 1941; editor, ~~The Item, New Orleans, La.~~ THE Advertiser, Honolulu
Clay, Grady E., Jr.; 1949, reporter, Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky.
Davis, Neil O.; 1942; Lee County Bulletin, Auburn, Ala.
Dilliard, Irving; 1939; Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Mo; Home:505 East Church St., Collinsville, Ill.
Edstrom, Edward; 1945; home:2500 Wisconsin Ave, NW, Washington, D.C.
Etheridge, James; 1943; Fla. Educational TV Commission; home: ~~3611 San Juan, Tampa, Fla. (9)~~ Mail Ret.
Evans, Paul; 1947; Director, Information Service, TVA, Knoxville, Tenn. home: 55 Dogwood, Norris, Tenn.
Foxhall, Mrs. Lewis; 1948; home:Box 901, Clarendon, Texas
Freehoff, William F.; 1952; Kingsport News, Kingsport, Tenn. P.O. Box 293, U.S.I.S. Enugu Nigeria West Africa
Gordon, William; ~~Atlanta Daily World, Atlanta, Ga.; home: 92 Burbank Drive, SW, Atlanta, Ga.~~ You have
Grant, Donald S. ; 1942; St. Louis Post Dispatch; home:430 Dielman Road, St. Louis
Harwood, Richard; 1956; Louisville Times; home: 325 South Hubbard Lane, St. Matthews, Ky.
Holland, E.L., Jr., Birmingham News, Birmingham, Ala.
Hornsby, Henry; 1947; Lexington Leader; home: 1719 West Arcadia Park, Lexington Ky.
Ivey, A.G.; 1952; Public Relations Director, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, N.C.
James, Weldon; 1940; Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky
Johnson, Carlton; 1955; Columbus Ledger, Columbus, Ga.
Karsell, Thomas; 1955; Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky.
Kieckhefer, Erwin; 1943; Farm Editor, Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky.
Lasch, Robert; 1942; St. Louis Post Dispatch, St. Louis, Mo.
Lasseter, Robert; 1944; Cannon Advertising Co.; Murfreesboro, Tenn.
Meyer, Sylvan; 1951; editor, The Daily Times, Gainesville, Ga.; home: ~~633 W. Ridgewood, Gainesville, Ga.~~
Morris, Hugh; 1951; Chief, Frankfort Bureau, Louisville Courier Journal, Frankfort, Ky.
O'Dell, Jay; 1947; free lance; PO Box767, Venice, Fla.
Paxton, Ed; 1939; WSPD-TV, Paducah, Ky.
Porteous, Clark; 1947; Memphis Press Scimitar; home:1669 Forest, Memphis, Tenn
Robertson, Cary; 1946; Sunday Editor, Courier Journal, Louisville, Ky.
Sancton, Thomas; 1942; reporter, ~~The Item~~, New Orleans, La.
Seney, Edgar F., Jr.; 1956; publisher, Town and Country Reporter, 6801 SW 81st Street, South Miami, 43, Fla.
Stewart, Gilbert; 1947; TVA, Knoxville, Tenn.
Townes, William; 1945; Miami Herald, Miami,Fla.
Trewhitt, Hank; 1954; Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Wall, Marvin; 1957; ~~Columbus Ledger, Columbus, Ga.; home:4104 Althea Dr.~~ SERS - NASHVILLE P.O. Box 6156 Ackley Station Nashville
Whitt, Wayne;1954; Tennessean, Nashville, Tenn.
Willis, Delbert; 1949; Fort Worth Press; home:1515 Oakland, Fort Worth, Tex.
Wright, Lawson; 1957;Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Va
Wyatt, Edward; 1940; editor, Progress-Index, Petersburg, Va.

...members Southern Association of Nieman Fellows

July 15, 1960

Mr. Sam Ragan
The News and Observer
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Mr. Ragan:

We are forwarding you under separate cover the copy of the Spearman and Meyer pamphlet. We appreciate your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 5, 1960

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
The Daily Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Sylvan:

Let me have, please, the necessary information about the Sigma Delta Chi contest.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 14, 1960

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
Th e Daily Times
Gainesville, Ga.

Dear Mr. Meyer:

In order to complete the Nomination Form for submitting Racial Crisis and the Press for the 1961 Sigma Delta Chi Awards, we need a small photograph of each author. May we have yours? And is there anything you would like added to the biographical sketch you gave us in the Spring--anything you have done since then?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

March 3, 1961

Professor Thomas F. Pettigrew
Department of Psychology
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Tom:

Here are some names. In each city there is school desegregation and other desegregation. I shall see next what notes we can put together for you--short of digging through the clip files--on each place. In the meantime, these names may be a start.

Arkansas

Fayetteville - Mrs. Kyle Engler, 836 N. Highland
Little Rock - Nat Griswold, Director, Arkansas Council on Human Relations, 1220 West Capitol

Florida

Miami - The Rev. Wm. K. Williams, Director, Florida Council on Human Relations, 4241 S.W. 109th Court

Kentucky -

Lexington - Dr. and Mrs. Albert Lott, 617 Freeman Drive, or University of Kentucky
Frankfort - The Rev. Galen Martin, Executive Director, Kentucky Commission on Human Relations, 311 Capitol Bldg.
Louisville - Dr. C. H. Parrish, Chairman, Dept. of Sociology, University of Louisville

North Carolina

Charlotte - The Rev. Harry Jones, Director, North Carolina Council on Human Relations, 121 E. Third St.
Greensboro - Mr. McNeill Smith, Chairman, North Carolina Advisory Committee to CCR, Smith, Moore, Smith, Schell & Hunter, 700 Jefferson Standard Bldg.
Winston-Salem - Clarence H. Patrick, Chairman, Dept. of Sociology, Wake Forest University
Durham - Mr. John H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham (Chm. Exec. Committee, SRC)
Chapel Hill - Rev. Charles Jones, Community Church,

Raleigh - Miss Vivian Irving, 615 South East Street

Oklahoma

Oklahoma City - James E. Stewart, SRC Board, 548 N.E. Fourth Street

Tennessee

Knoxville - Mrs. John Hitch, Director, Knoxville Area Human Relations Council, P.O. Box 1011, Knoxville
Oak Ridge - Washington Butler, member of City Council
Nashville - Rev. Will Campbell, P. O. Box 1083

Texas

Austin - Rev. Robert Breihan, 2434 Guadalupe
Houston - Mr. Irwin Glatstein, Jewish Community Council, 2020 Herman Drive

Virginia

Alexandria - Rabbi Emmet Frank, 3820 Seminary Road
Charlottesville - Thomas Hammond, Dept. of History, University of Virginia
Fairfax County - Bert Seidman, 1617 Poplar Drive, Falls Church
Norfolk - Mr. Thomas Young, Journal & Guide,
Richmond - Rev. Daniel Bowers, Virginia Council on Human Relations, 3-B Broad-Grace Arcade Bldg.
Roanoke - Dr. Harry T. Penn, 36 Center Avenue N.W.

Good luck.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 15, 1961

Dr. Thomas Pettigrew
Department of Social Relations
Harvard University
Emerson Hall
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Dear Tom:

Enclosed are a few notes regarding desegregation in places listed in my last letter. I hope they can be of some help. Your letter of March 6 put me to work. I do have a better opinion of Mary Ellen Goodman's report than you have, so your letter forced me to read it over. I think I would still have some mild dissent from your criticisms. For example, she seems to me to question as you do that the "pro-segregation intensity" will continue; see top of page 20 to middle or page 21 and page 27. Also, though she does not by any means speak as plainly as you do, I did think and still do that her report makes the point which your letter does--that these schools can either become upper class academies or facades to save face while the public schools integrate. Mary Ellen, on page 26 indicates her doubts that the "elite" will give the schools the support they need for the first alternative.

Mary Ellen wrote this in a very low key and this, as I told you, caused us some problems here. I was hoping, however, that the criticisms would come through clearly enough. You might be interested to know that Leon Duer was maddened by the report to the point of writing a long, pseudo-philosophical letter; he thought she did not understand the profundity of "freedom of association." (No one does except him.) We have had also very complimentary and unsolicited letters from public school people both from Front Royal and Prince Edward, plus a glowing note--this I shall file next to your letter--from Sarah Patton Boyle.

But I was a lonely defender at SRC for so long of Mary Ellen Goodman's report that I have learned full well that not everyone read it as I did, and for the title I am to blame.

Thank you for the clarification, which I should not have needed, about the mountain vote for Faugus in 1956. Assuming the other "mountain boy" got his support from the mountains, your point certainly is valid.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: report

1. Fayetteville, Ark.

   (a) Public Schools - 1954
   (b) University of Arkansas - 1948

2. Little Rock

   (a) Public Schools - 1957-58
   (b) Philander Smith (previously all Negro) - Date?
   (c) Buses - Date?
   (d) Libraries - (Do not serve children, however, according to 1954 survey.)

3. Miami

   (a) Public Schools - 1959-60
   (b) University of Miami - announced Winter, 1961
       Dade County Junior College - 1960
   (c) Buses - Date?
   (d) Libraries - Date? (Prior to 1954)
   (e) Municipal golf courses - 1958
   (f) Lunch counters in 4 chains of stores - Aug. 1, 1960

4. Lexington

   (a) Public Schools - 1955-56
   (b) College of the Bible - Date?
       University of Kentucky - 1949 Graduate level;
       ? Undergraduate level
   (c) Library - Date? (Prior to 1954)
   (d) Lunch Counters - 1960

5. Frankfort

   (a) Public Schools - 1956-57
   (b) Kentucky State College (Previously all-Negro) - Date?
   (c) Lunch counters - 1960

6. Louisville

   (a) Public Schools - 1956-57
   (b) Bellarmine College - Date?
       Nazarette College "
       Southern Baptist Theological Seminary - Date?
       University of Louisville - Date?
       Ursuline College - Date?
   (c) Buses - Date?
   (d) Libraries - Date? (Prior to 1954)
   (e) Municipal golf courses - 1955

7. Charlotte
   (a) Public Schools - 1957-58
   (b) Johnson C. Smith University (Previously all-Negro) - Date?
   (c) Buses - Date?
   (d) Three city swimming pools, 1960
       City Golf courses - 1957
   (e) Lunch counters - July 9, 1960

8. Greensboro
   (a) Public schools - 1957-58
   (b) Women College of UNC - Date?
       A & T (previously all-Negro) - Date?
       Bennett College (previously all-Negro) - Date?
   (c) Buses - Date?
   (d) Libraries (limited service) - Date (Prior to 1954)
   (e) Lunch counters - July 25, 1960

9. Winston-Salem
   (a) Public schools - 1957-58
   (b) Buses - Date?
   (c) City golf courses - 1956
   (d) Lunch counters - May 25, 1960

10. Durham
   (a) Public schools - 1957-58
   (b) Buses - Date?
   (c) Lunch counters - August 1, 1960

11. Chapel Hill
   (a) Public schools - 1960-61
   (b) University of North Carolina - 1951
   (c) Lunch counters - 1960

12. Raleigh
   (a) Public schools - 1960-61
   (b) North Carolina State College - Date?
       Shaw University (previously all-Negro) - Date?
   (c) Buses - Date?
   (d) Lunch Counters - August 18, 1960

13. Oklahoma City
   (a) Public schools - 1955
   (b) Oklahoma City University - Date?
   (c) Libraries - Date?
   (d) Lunch counters and restaurants - 1958
   (e) Additional lunch counters - 1960

14. Knoxville
   (a) Public schools - 1960-61
   (b) University of Tennessee - 1952, Graduate level
       1960, Undergraduate level
   (c) Buses - Date?
   (d) Libraries (adults only in 1954) - Date? (Prior to 1954)
   (e) Three parks: Tyson, Chilhowee, and Cowan - 1955
   (f) Lunch Counters - July 18, 1961

15. Oak Ridge
    (a) Public schools - 1955-56
    (b) Swimming pool and other municipal facilities - Date?
    (c) "Playhouse," Chamber Music and Concert Series - Date?
    (d) Lunch Counters - 1960

16. Nashville
    (a) Public schools - 1957-58
    (b) Parochial schools - 1954 (fall)
    (c) Scarritt College for Christian Workers - Date?
        Vanderbilt University "
        Fisk University (previously all-Negro) "
        Peabody College "
        Meharry Medical College (previously all-Negro) Date?
    (d) Buses - Date?
    (e) Libraries (adults only at time of 1954 survey) Date? (Prior to 1954)
    (f) Municipal golf courses - 1956
    (g) Lunch counters - May 10, 1960

17. Austin
    (a) Public schools - 1955
    (b) Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary - Date?
        Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest "
        Lutheran Concordia College "
        St. Edwardo University "
        University of Texas "
    (c) Libraries - Date? (prior to 1954)
    (d) All public recreation facilities - 1956
    (e) Lunch counters - 1960

18. Houston
    (a) Public Schools - 1960-61
    (b) Texas Southern University (previously all-Negro) - Date?
    (c) Municipal golf courses - 1954
    (d) Lunch counters - 1960

19. Alexandria
    (a) Public schools - February, 1959
    (b) Lunch counters - 1960

20. Charlottesville
    (a) Public schools - 1959-60
    (b) Buses - Date?
    (c) Lunch counters - 1960

21. Fairfax County
    (a) Public schools - 1960-61
    (b) Lunch counters - June, 1960
    (c) Buses - Date?

22. Norfolk
    (a) Public schools - February, 1959
    (b) Norfolk Division, College of William & Mary - Date?
    (c) Buses - Date?
    (d) Libraries - Date? (prior to 1954)
    (e) Lunch counters - July 25, 1960
    (f) Department store dining rooms - February 4, 1961

23. Richmond
    (a) Public schools - 1960-61
    (b) Medical College of Virginia - Date?
        Presbyterian School of Christian Education- Dates?
        Richmond Professional Institute, College of William & Mary - Date?
        Union Theological Seminary - Date?
        Virginia Union University (previously all-Negro) - Date?
    (c) Buses - Date?
    (d) Lunch counters - August 30, 1960
    (e) Department store dining rooms - February 20, 1961

24. Roanoke
    (a) Public schools - 1960-61
    (b) Buses - Date?
    (c) Libraries - Date? (Prior to 1954)
    (d) Lunch counters - 1960

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

EMERSON HALL
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

March 6, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

It was good to have had the opportunity of seeing you again recently and hearing your comments of the "passing scene." I have read the piece on the private schools in Virginia and, in all honesty, can rate it as only a fair job. I have followed these phenomena rather closely since their beginnings, even have a relative tied up in one of them (Farmville) and an old acquaintance in another (Norfolk). And on the basis of my own observations, I'd say Mary Ellen missed the principal ethos of these places. That is, that they are sociological freaks, built on hate and the incorrect assumption that the pro-segregation intensity would continue once public schools were opened on an integrated basis. So I object in particular to two things in her paper: (1) the title and (2) the implication that they are now well on their way to becoming "good schools." As to the title, these schools have about as much to do with Virginian tradition as Joe Stalin! As for the "good school" idea, she came close to spelling out the truth but then did not bring her insight into line with her predictions of the future. That is, these schools are at best lower-middle class phenomena (excluding Farmville, of course) without firm financial bases. They have only two directions to go: (1) they can work to become upper class private academies of higher quality than the public schools. This they are not likely to do - though Mary Ellen seems to have inhaled deeply the pipedreams of a few of their administrators - simply because this would go in the face of their very reason to be. (2) They can struggle on for a few more years putting forward as best they can a brave front until they have graduated a decade or so worth of the youth whose parents were most deeply committed (publicly) originally against desegregation of the public schools. They can then have saved face and the schools will quietly vanish together with their generally aged teaching staffs. This seems the very likely, almost certain, outcome, and I'm sorry she didn't spell it out flatly.

Thanks, too, for your comments on the Faubus paper; the reason for the decline in the mountain vote for Faubus in 1956 is covered in footnote 6. Namely, another "mountain boy" ran in the race in 1956- but not in 1958 - making the 1958 drop the more significant still. I hope getting together the names of southern informants doesn't cause too much trouble; my student is poised to start work whenever you have a chance to send them along. Thanks again for everything; see you soon.

Sincerely,

Tom

Tom Pettigrew

March 21, 1960

Mrs. Francis Pickens Miller
Box 3665
University Station
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Miller:

I am having a little trouble getting the figures to come out right, and not as much time as I would like to have to worry with it. I wanted you to know, however, that I have not forgotten the promise to send you quickly a summary of involvement of northern industrial companies in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 24, 1960

Mrs. Francis Pickens Miller
Box 3665
University Station
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Miller:

Attached are some figures. Now let me qualify them.

I believe they are reasonably accurate, though this is of course our first compilation. You will notice that I am not yet able to give the number of subsidiaries and plants in the South of non-Southern firms. To arrive at them would not take long, however, and if you want them let me know.

The only inaccuracies I know of definitely are the numbers of Southern directors. We have approximately 100 names whose residences we have not yet been able to establish; undoubtedly some of these are Southerners, and will add a few to the totals in items 3 and 4; they will not affect the number in item 1 which is fully checked out. I would suggest, with reasonable confidence, that you say "approximately 150 Southerners" are directors of non-Southern corporations with plants in the South; and "approximately 245 Southerners" are directors of Southern corporations.

In another, more basic way the South gets short-changed in this presentation, and this you may wish to point out. In classifying on the basis of headquarters location, a few strange results occur: Coca Cola, e. g., becomes a northern corporation. Of the principal tobacco companies, only R. J. Reynolds has its main office in the South.

We are in a position to do, rather quickly if you would need it, a similar analysis of the fifty largest insurance companies, banks, utilities, transportation companies, and merchandising firms.

The "South" means, in these tabulations, the eleven states of the old Confederacy. All data is based on Moody's Industrial, 1959.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

CC: Robert Thompson
Ben Muse

1. Of the 500 largest industrial corporations (source: Fortune, August, 1959), 32 have their headquarters in the South, 468 outside the South.

2. Of the non-Southern corporations, 121 had no plants or other properties in the South. They had 1,311 Directors, of whom 7 or .05% reside in the South. They had sales of $20,801,000,000, assets of $15,552,000,000, net profits of $1,666,000,000.

3. The remaining 347 non-Southern corporations had:

   _____ subsidiaries in the South;

   _____ plants or other properties in the South;

   4,394 Directors of whom 145 or 3% reside in the South;

   sales of $150,109,000,000, assets of $133,500,000,000, net profits of $7,581,000,000.

4. The 32 Southern corporations had:

   66 subsidiaries in the South;

   284 subsidiaries in the non-South;

   609 plants or other properties in the South;

   196 plant or other properties in the non-South;

   396 Directors, of whom 234 or 59% reside in the South;

   sales of $5,922,000,000, assets of $5,329,000,000, net profits of $334,000,000.

5. Southern directors reside in:

	Directors of Southern corps.	Directors of Non-Southern corps.	Directors of corporations without Southern plants
Alabama	12	16	-
Arkansas	0	2	-
Florida	5	26	3
Georgia	27	25	-
Louisiana	7	5	1
Mississippi	1	0	-
North Carolina	57	14	1

South Carolina	1	12	-
Tennessee	12	9	-
Texas	70	21	2
Virginia	42	15	-
	234	145	7

April 13, 1960

Mr. John Chapman
Harvard Business Review
Soldiers Field
Boston 38, Mass.

Dear Mr. Chapman:

At the request of Mrs. Helen Hill Miller, we are forwarding address tapes for southerners who are directors of industrial corporations in the Fortune list of 500. This is not by any means a complete compilation of all southern directors of these corporations. The tapes include those for whom we have mailing addresses. Mrs. Miller also asked that we give you a list of corporations with interests in the south. After some thought, it seemed to us that the easiest way of doing this would be to mark on the Fortune list of 500 those which have no plants in the south (according to Moodys, 1959). This we have done by circling the 1958 rank number on the enclosed verifax copy of the Fortune list.

For your possible interest, I am enclosing a copy of a paper by Governor Collins which we are distributing this week.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures: verifax of list
Governor Collins' speech

tape

July8, 1960

Mr. John F. Chapman
Associate Editor
Harvard Business Review
Soldiers Field
Boston, Mass.

Dear Mr. Chapman:

We wish to order 300 copies of your reprint of Helen Hill Miller's "Private Business and Public Education in the South."

First hundred	$39.70
Add'l 200 @ $20 each	40.00
	$79.70

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

MRS. HELEN HILL MILLER
BOX 3665, UNIVERSITY STATION
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

Dear Harold,----

The Economist has asked me to do a piece for them on Southern education, especially higher education, with a view to its adequacy for all Southern students in preparation for the region's development under modern circumstances.

I have just written Dr. Folger, to see when Colgate Darden's commission is expected to report, and to find out about the scope of its study,aand I'm covering the NEA and the Office of Education here, but of course this only gives me some figures.

Are there things I ought to read for insight ? Does the SRC have any materials, in whatever category ? Are there a couple of people, besides Colgate, to whom I should definitely talk ?

Interestedly,

Feb. 14, '61 Helen

February 23, 1961

Mrs. Helen Hill Miller
Box 3665, University Station
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Miller:

Harold has asked me to reply to your letter of February 14. Folger and Darden ought to be your best informants, as you indicate. I have found also that Woodrow Wilson representatives, especially if they have been on the job long, good for information and insights. The representative in this area is Dean Charles Hounshell, College of Arts and Sciences, Emory University. I checked with him for the name of the representative in the Virginia area, who I thought might be more conveniently located for you. It turns out to be Professor Richard Bardolph, Box 5095, Woman's College, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, N. C. Bardolph, incidentally, published last year a book which got rather considerable attention, titled The Negro Vanguard.

For Negro schools two persons whose information and opinions I have found of high quality are Stephen Wright, president of Fisk, and Horace Mann Bond, Professor of Education, Atlanta University. The Journal of Negro Education always has things to read. They did special issues on Negro colleges in the Summer of 1958 and the Summer of 1960; in the former, which I once read with some care, I found articles by Stephen Wright and Guy Johnson to be good; the latter, which I once scanned, seemed pretty deadly throughout. There is a good, clear summary article by Robert Weaver in the Spring, 1960 issue: "Private Negro Colleges and Universities--An Appraisal." Finally, I am presuming to enclose a copy of a speech I once gave.

A couple of other things are enclosed also. We will be interested in seeing your piece.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures:
"Excellence in the Affairs of Higher Education"
New South, Feb. 1955, "New Ways on the Campus," by Guy B. Johnson
Report L-23

HF ✓
MA-file

MRS. HELEN HILL MILLER • BOX 3665 • CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

Dear Mr. Dunbar,----

Your letter with the figures couldn't have come at a better time. I have today finished up a draft version of my piece, which I am s ending up to John Chapman for comment. I expect to get it back from him when I am in Boston next week, and if I may I will take the liberty of sending a copy of the proposed finished version down to you for your comment as soon as that draft is done.

Again my thanks. Harold certainly got nice coverage on his recent speech in Washington.

Best to you all,

Sunday

Hels.

Rocky Mount, Va.

John H. Teeter (34), vicar of Trinity Episcopal Church, announced his resignation Sunday, less than 3 days after the vestry had instructed the church's delegate to a diocesan convention to vote against racial integration at Hemlock Haven, a church camp and conference center. It was the vicar's contention that the delegate to the convention in Lynchburg should be left free to vote "as his conscience and prayers direct him." The vestry-law members who govern the church disagreed.

Washington Post--April 14, 1959

Dr. Thomas Albert Fry, Jr. (40), pastor of Atlanta's Druid Hills Presbyterian Church, accepted the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church in Dalls, Texas,, after his church voted to set aside a pew for Negroes who wish to attend public worship services. The policy was a compromise between two extreme views of the church. When asked if his decision to leave Atlanta had anything to do with his outspoken views against segregation Dr. Fry emphatically said, "No." Atl. Journal 6-29-59

Robert B. McNeill, Presbyterian, Columbus, Ga., pastor of First Presbyterian Church, was dismissed because of his liberal views on race relations. His article in Look magazine, 1957, "The Answer is Neither Integration Nor Segregation" made clear his moderate views. June, 1959.

Robert S. Graetz, pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church (all Negro) Montgomery, Ala., endured all kinds of threats and violent acts because of his pastorship of the all Negro church. Forced to leave. 1956-58.

Dr. A. S. Turnipseed, Methodist, Mobile, Ala., was ousted from his post as superintendent of the Mobile Methodist district by the Association of Members of Methodist Churches in Mobile District for his endorsement of a petition to the Mobile City Commission asking elimination of segregation on city buses. 1958.

John Lyles, Presbyterian, Marion, S.C., was dismissed from his church because of his sponsorship of South Carolinians Speak, a book on race relations. 1958.

Macy, Willard P. (44), a native of New Orleans, La., because of his views on racial integration was dismissed in 1956 from the Weaver Memorial Baptist Church in Louisville, KY. (Jan. 1960, appointed to all-Negro Baptist Church in Detroit, Mich.) Journal & Guide 1-23-60

Gresham, Philip, former associate rector of St. James Episcopal Church in Richmond, Va., resigned May 6, 1960 from Christ Episcopal Church in Martinsville, Va., because of a disagreement with the vestry over an integrated service scheduled for Sunday at Roanoke. According to Mr. Gresham a Roanoke convocation mite box presentation is scheduled at that time in Roanoke's St. John's Church. The service is to be integrated, and each parish and mission in that convocation of the Diocese of Southwestern Virginia is to send a delegation. The dispute arose with the vestry because it protested against the integrated wroship service. His resignation was effective immediately. (Similar integrated services were held in the other three convocations of the diocese of Southwest Virginia. In 1958 Mr. Gresham disagreed with the vestry over whether denominational youth conferences should be integrated.

Richmond News Leader, May 6, 1960

A ministerial student who spoke against what he called "propoganda" circulated at a Methodist layman's union here last week has been fired as minister of a Shelby County (Ala.) church. Thomas Reeves, a senior at Birmingham-Southern College, said he was dismissed Saturday during a meeting of the official board of th Blue Springs Methodist Church near Columbiana, Ala. Reeves opposed parts of a booklet distributed at the meeting; the booklet opposed efforts aimed at integrating the Methodist Church in the South. Chattanooga Times 3-23-59

Dr. Fred Manthey, Jr., Plymouth Congregational Church, Levittown, Pa. who spoke out for Levitttown's first Negro family said outside pressures forced him to resign. 30 of the 150 church members walked out in a rift over the ad and over the welcome the church extended to Mr. and Mrs. William Myers, a Negro couple. Washington Post -- 2-25-59

Robert Hughes, Methodist minister, Birmingham, Ala., was executive director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Attacked bitterly on his view by the Methodist Layman's Union. He organized biracial ministerial association in 1957. After several years of threats and attacks, the Methodist Bishop last year gave him the choice of losing his ministerial standing or accepting a church appointment: there was some justification in church law for this action. Hughes declined to resign his position and was accordingly dropped by his jurisdictional conference. At almost the same day, an opportunity, which Hughes had long sought, came to be an African missionary. He was reinstated by his conference, and accepted.

Mr. Hughes is now in Boston preparing for missionary work in Rhodesia

CONFIDENTIAL: PLEASE DO NOT USE THESE NAMES

Emory Burton, (Methodist) was ~~xxxxx~~ dismissed from his pulpit in Birmingham, Ala. after four days. As a student some years ago he wrote fine letter to editor of Birmingham News. When he was assigned to church in September Klansmen dug up the letter and circulated it to official board of his church. He refused to compromise his stated position. Now pastor in Huntsville, Ala., Highlands Methodist Church. (1959-60)

Dallam Simpson, Post Neches, Texas, was minister of a church which split over the question of an open fellowship. Mr. Simpson went with the group voting for open membership and formed a new congregation: College Heights Baptist Church, now affiliated with the American Baptist Convention.

Paul Turner was beaten by the mob in Clinton, Tenn. when he walked to school with the Negro children. He is now on Nashville, Tenn. workin with the Negro Seminary.

Odie Gregg, Beverton, Ala. Preached vigorous sermon on racial understanding at Calera where Klan very active; lost pulpit within days amid strong community and church reaction. 1958.

Nelson Gutherie Jr., Birmingham, Ala., while pastor at OHatchee consistently attacked segregation in servmons arousing congregation and local white citizens council eventually resulting in his forced transfer.

Preston Hughes, Winston-Salem, N.C.--while at Montevallo preached on integration to congregation and student groups despite vigorous church and community oppositon; helped lay ground work for Ecumenical Student Conference; organized and served as chairman of a twelve-county Alabama Council on Human Relations organization; eventually lost pulpit directly because of stands and activities.

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Levittown, Pa

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Presidential Address before the
Southern Historical Association
Asheville, North Carolina
7:00 P. M., November 7, 1963

NOT FOR RELEASE OR QUOTATION
BEFORE TIME OF DELIVERY

MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY

by
James W. Silver
University of Mississippi

In less than a decade after the latter depression years, three Mississippi professors, Rainwater, Bettersworth, and Wharton, published scholarly volumes which laid great stress on poverty stricken Mississippi leadership in secession, Civil War, and Reconstruction to 1890. It is quite likely that, if these studies were put on the market

today, their authors would be run out of the state.

The search for historical truth has become a casualty in embattled Mississippi where neither the governor nor the legislature, in their hot pursuit of interposition, indicates any awareness that Mississippians were Americans before they were southerners, nor that Magnolia State politicians once stood firm against nullification and secession. Present day exploiters of federal munificence should, however, applaud the cleverness of their ancestors in the 1850's who interpreted state rights as requiring the use of national power to destroy local self-government in the territories and to thwart northern state nullification of the fugitive slave law.

The striking parallel between people and events of the 1850's and the 1950's brings home the consciousness that Mississippi has been on the defensive against inevitable social change for more than a century, and that for some years before the Civil War it had developed a closed society with an orthodoxy accepted by nearly everybody in the state. The all-pervading doctrine then and now has been white supremacy, whether achieved through slavery or segregation, rationalized by a professed adherence to state rights and bolstered by religious fundamentalism. In such a society a never ceasing propagation of the "true faith" must and has gone on relentlessly with a constantly reiterated demand for loyalty to the united front, a demand that non-conformists be hushed, silenced with a vengeance, or in crisis situations driven from the community. Violence and

the threat of violence have reinforced the presumption of unanimity.

By 1861 Mississippians had been thoroughly prepared for secession by their short-sighted politicians, their chauvinistic press, their political preachers, and their blind philosophers, all operating within the authoritarian society. Even to the present generation the people have been paying for and eulogizing their most unwise decision of all time. In fact the romanticism associated with the Old South, the glorification of the Confederacy, and the bitter remembrances of Reconstruction have played their witless and powerful role in preserving a social order based on neither fact nor reason. According to Citizens Council literature Mississippi is now the innocent victim of a second vicious Reconstruction from which its stalwart citizenry, demonstrating ancestral courage, will emerge triumphant as it did in 1875.

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One of today's little sophistries asserts that equality must be earned, can never be achieved by force or law. The forgotten truth is that between 1875 and 1890 inequality was effected by force and regularized by law. By the end of the century Negroes had long since learned that Mississippi freedom included neither political nor any other kind of equality. The caste system had once and apparently for all been substituted for slavery, the Negro was in his place, and the society was once more closed and sacrosanct.

No meaningful challenge to the caste system in any of its manifestations was possible in Mississippi in the first half of the twentieth century. In public life no white man, demagogue or patrician, proposed to do anything constructive about the Negro. Preferring corrupt and inefficient government to participation by the black man, the whites got a one-party system without competition between recognizable groups, with no continuity of existence even of factions, and no means of checking the wildeyed - in sum, a series of Bilbonic plagues and Barnett blights. Whether The Man Bilbo was just the "slick little bastard" described by his admirers, or represented "nothing save passion, prejudice, and hatred," as claimed by Fred Sullens, is of small importance compared with his career as symptomatic of the chaos and bankruptcy of Mississippi politics and its social order. In such a demoralized wasteland the sharp-eyed Snopeses have grasped their petty gains, to the greater glory of laissez-faire, which ironically has in turn produced the much damned transfer of state functions to the federal government and diminution of state sovereignty.

Today the totalitarian society of Mississippi imposes on all its people acceptance of an obedience to an official orthodoxy almost identical with the pro-slavery philosophy, this in the teeth of the nearly universal dissipation of whatever intellectual sanction white supremacy had among the enlightened at the turn of this century. Every Mississippi politician not only denies the validity of the 14th amendment but in his heart hungers for the negative

days of the Articles of Confederation. Governor Barnett, whose personal constitution stops with the 10th amendment, is conveniently ignorant of the incompatibility of state rights and modern industrialization.

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"If we start off with the self-evident proposition," Barnett says, "that the whites and colored are different, we will not experience any difficulty in reaching the conclusion that they are not and never can be equal." It was his appointee to the Mississippi Supreme Court, Judge Tom Brady, who became for awhile the metaphysician of the master racists with the publication of the hastily written and scholastically barren Black Monday. In turn this was outmoded by Race and Reason by Carleton Putnam, Roosevelt biographer and successful airlines executive, become, by his own admission, expert theologian, psychologist, and anthropologist within a two year period. To the enchantment of Mississippians, Putnam exposed the Franz Boas conspiracy which, he asserted, had held the scientific world in a climate of terror and fear of persecution for half a century. For those unconcerned with the spectacle of academic buffoonery, what more could be asked than the endorsement of Race and Reason by the Memphis Commercial-Appeal, the Charleston News and Courier, and the Jackson Daily News? Mississippians did not read the book (they just sent it to their friends, as instructed by the Citizens Council), else they would have discovered that, even by Putnam's illogic, the white race was

already doomed inasmuch as more than half the country's Negroes lived in integrated situations. But who would argue with the new messiah? With a flourish of trumpets he was brought to Jackson on October 26, 1961 (proclaimed by the governor as "Race and Reason Day") and feted at a $25 a plate dinner attended by five hundred patriots.

There was no Dickens to point out that there never had been another such day in Mississippi. It could, Barnett believed, "mark the turning point in the South's struggle to preserve the integrity of the white race." Putnam had indeed provided an Article of Faith Mississippians could live by. Denouncing the "left-wing pseudo-scientists" for creating the fallacy that "has gained complete possession of the Northern and Western mind," he designated Mississippi as "the heartland of the struggle for racial integrity," and in his best Bryan manner exclaimed: "You don't crucify the South on a cross of equalitarian propaganda." Calling on the South to produce more Barnetts, Putnam identified equalitarianism with Communism and segregation with Christianity, which of course Barnett had been doing long before he ever heard of the word anthropology.

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At the very time when the Negro was in the lengthy process of becoming a civilized being, he appeared to be and demonstrably was a cultural inferior, carefully trained for that status by every controllable factor in his environment. Faulkner has the Mississippian say: "We got to make

him a nigger first. He's got to admit he's a nigger." From birth to death the Negro was exposed to an irresistible pressure for deferential behavior and when he failed to conform he was driven out or even killed. By and large he played the role of Sambo well, giving little indication of any hope or desire to share in the white man's privileges.

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In the twentieth century never as much as ten percent and normally less than five percent of the Negro voting population has been allowed to register. Governor Barnett has repeatedly claimed that Negroes in Mississippi just don't want to vote, that they could if they so desired. Since 1954, Mississippi law, Barnett to the contrary, has required the voter applicant to read and write and interpret any section of the state constitution and since 1960 to be of good moral character and to have his name and address published in a local newspaper for two weeks. At the moment a substantial Negro vote would embarrass any white candidate in Mississippi. But the future is also plain. As Senator Bilbo once reminded an organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers: "Son, when you can show me that you can control any sizeable number of voters in Mississippi, I'll be the damndest champion you've ever had."

Gradual improvement of white schools has until very recently been shared by the Negroes only to a slight degree. But, as Vardaman had understood, any Negro education spelled the eventual doom of the caste system. There may have been rumblings before, but the summer of 1954 brought a shock from

which the Old Guard will never recover. Having checked with his retinue of Uncle Toms, Governor Hugh White called in a hundred Negroes to get their anticipated endorsement for "separate but equal" school facilities. A few young radicals arranged for a caucus the night before the big meeting and after a heated debate carried the timid along with them.

Speaker Walter Sillers opened the momentous conference. Governor White spoke of the amicable race relations of the past. As planned, when the preliminaries were over, Charlie Banks got the floor, argued for the abolition of segregation. Five or six other Negroes followed suit. A conservative Negro publisher made a last stand for the old regime but was roundly denounced by a woman delegate as being a classic example of the effects of segregation. In desperation, Sillers called on another known friend of the white man, the Reverend H. H. Humes. As he walked to the front of the room the old minister was the center of all attention. "Gentlemen," he began, "you all should not be mad at us. Those were nine white men that rendered that decision. Not one colored man had anything to do with it. The real trouble is that you have given us schools too long in which we could study the earth through the floor and the stars through the roof." At this point, Governor White, mumbling that you couldn't trust Negroes any more, called the meeting to an end. It was also the end of an era. As one of the untrustworthy related almost a decade later: "For the first time I was really proud to be a Negro in Mississippi."

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So strongly is the Establishment entrenched that without the help of external forces (channeled through the federal government), Mississippi Negro leadership is for the short run in a helpless position. For, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, the makers of the orthodoxy - the press, the pulpit, the politicians, the philosophers, and the patriots - have since the Brown decision rushed to the successful defense of their way of life.

Moderation is expressed in the daily papers of Greenville, Tupelo, and McComb, and in an occasional weekly; nevertheless, the Mississippi press as a whole mounts vigilant guard upon the closed society. Happy with what a news director of a Jackson television station called "their home grown version of news management," the Hederman family papers in Jackson manipulate information with little regard for accuracy or integrity. Negro crime and immorality in the North, Negro complicity in Communism, even Negro support for Barnett are given the headlines day after day. Shotgun blasts fired into a Negro homebecome a NAACP plot, the assassination of Medgar Evers is turned into a sacrificial offering to rekindle racial unrest, Mississippi is victimized by hate peddlers jealous of the state's economic progress. The Clarion-Ledger makes a revealing historical comparison with: "Never was Hitler, nor Mussolini, nor the Mikado, nor even Kaiser Wilhelm attacked so venomously" as Mississippi - which invariably represents the South, with the South always

a solid and unfaltering unit. This leading state newspaper will find it difficult to approach ever again the imagination of its most famous headline, inspired by the arrest of Byron de La Beckwith, scion of an old Delta family, born on the Pacific coast but having lived in Mississippi for thirty-eight years: CALIFORNIAN IS CHARGED WITH MURDER OF MEDGAR EVERS.

To heavy-handed Hederman hatchet men the Fifth Circuit Court becomes "the nine judicial baboons in New Orleans," President Kennedy "regards himself as a Jesus whose infinite wisdom represents mankind's only real hope of salvation," and Ross Barnett is twisted into a modern combination David, Horatius, and Leonidas. Tougaloo College, a center of integrationist activity, is rechristened "Cancer College," with a new summer course in "Rapid Hate," and the slanderous Rebel Underground, having recommended the assassination of the President of the United States, emerges as "an innocuous handbill." By March 1963, the Jackson Daily News adds up the "price tag" on the federal invasion of Mississippi as coming to $14 million because of 130 bonus accidental deaths on the state's highways attributed to "a frame of mind, an atmosphere of anger, a period of bayonet-point frustration" which lowered the morale of the highway patrol. For the University faculty members who had the temerity to treat James Meredith as a human being, Editor Jimmy Ward predicts crushed spirits, bitterness, even self-imposed tragedy.

In times of trial the Jackson papers lose all semblance of perspective. For example, on the day that Judge Sidney Mize ordered Meredith enrolled in the University, the Daily News front page carried these headlines:

ROSS RISKS JAIL TO HALT MIXING
Note Bares Negro Plan to Agitate
Hattiesburg Agitation Order (photostat)
We Support Gov. Barnett (editorial)
Negroes Purchased Shot, Says Mayor
President Deplores Shooting in State
Judge Mize Issues Permanent Injunctions (bulletin)
Meredith Effigy Hanged at Oxford
Barnett During and After Broadcast (pictures)
Moses' Automobile (picture)
Editor's Column: Barnett: "All Loyal Mississippians Support Him."

There was still room for a small cartoon about a Mississippi College football game and the index.

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In the desegregation emergency after 1954 the course of the church has been difficult to assess, in view of a general call by the Mississippi Diocese of the Episcopal Church for support of the Supreme Court's decision and eventual integration. In the past year many preachers and a few ministerial groups have made courageous stands, but the church as a whole has placed its banner with the status quo. Ministers who led most of the discussion about segregation were for it, prompted no doubt by "an echo from the pew." Not long after the Oxford insurrection, the Mississippi Baptist Convention refused to endorse a series of resolutions reaffirming "our intelligent good will toward all men" and calling upon Christians to pray "that we may live consistent

Christian citizenship." A Baptist missionary, second cousin of Governor Barnett, wrote from Nigeria that Mississippians were making her work extremely difficult: "You send us out here to preach that Christ died for all men. Then you make a travesty of our message by refusing to associate with some of them because of the color of their skin. You are supposed to be holding the lifelines for us, and you are twisting them into a noose of racism to strangle our message. Communists do not need to work against the preaching of the Gospel here; you are doing it quite adequately," The missionary's mother expressed regret: "Antonina doesn't understand that Ross has been doing the best he can."

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The conservative men of large property holdings considered secession a doubtful though perfectly legal remedy for their troubles; it was a much larger group of active, restless lawyer-politicians, petty planters, and small-town editors, successful enterprisers on the make, who took Mississippi out of the Union in 1861. After World War II another crowd of "new men," bold entrepreneurs enamored as their forefathers had been of the prevailing social order, too busy making money to think deeply about changes bound to accompany progress, pleased with the "right-to-work" principle embedded in the constitution and with a colossal program of state-socialism to entice

the Yankee carpetbagger industrialist, sat by quietly and acquiesced in the building of the Citizens Council juggernaut.

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There seems to be some confusion in the minds of the state's lawyers and jurists as to whether Mississippians must obey the law of the land as interpreted by the federal courts. Dean Robert J. Farley of the Ole Miss Law School repeatedly warned in public that lawyers were acting irresponsibly in permitting by their silence the Citizens Council and irreconcilable politicians to interpret the law for them. The chief dereliction came in allowing the people of Mississippi to believe that they could get away with an outright defiance of the courts. "We as Mississippians," declared Judge Brady in 1959, "will not bow down to a court of nine old men whose hearts are as black as their robes." Brady castigated Governor Coleman, who had frowned upon interposition as so much "legal poppycock," as a moderate, "a man who is going to let a little sewage under the door." But the classic statement regarding law and order came from the very top of Mount Olympus. Indignant over the "sickening" conduct of Negro parents and ministers in Birmingham in permitting boys and girls to run "afoul" of the law by "using these children for ignoble and loathesome ends and deliberately and contemptuously inciting them to become juvenile delinquents," Governor Barnett declared in a burst of indignation: "What do these degenerates know

of freedom? True freedom consists of and is founded upon the observance of law and the power of law to make those who would break the law, conform to it. History tells us that freedom can exist only under the protection of constitutional law. These agitators seek to defy constitutional law under the name of freedom." Once again Ross was doing the best he could.

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The new legislature convening in January 1962 was met by a request from the governor to (1) outlaw the Communist party (years before, the FBI had found one Communist in Mississippi); (2) pass "an enforceable sedition act;" and (3) compel state employees to take an oath of allegiance to the United States and to Mississippi. (Barnett didn't explain whether this could be accomplished in a single oath.) In any case, when Mississippi legislators get together their herd instinct drives them to resolving the fate of the world. If they hate Hodding Carter or the Kennedys, or love Elvis Presley, Dizzy Dean, the Mississippi State basketball team, or South Africa, or feel that a former Miss America is an accomplished actress, they are not inhibited from saying so. Senator Hugh Bailey, who had ridden a bull from Canton to Jackson to fulfill a campaign promise, offered a resolution urging the United States to substitute turnip seed for cash in the foreign aid program. Such action, he asserted, "would relieve pressure in this country's economy and give the world's population necessary vitamins, minerals,

and bulk." A mere handful of the seed would feed a hundred people and could be mailed overseas for planting.

Legislators spend much of their time devising legal subterfuges to keep the Negro in his place. When it appeared that "smart alecks calling white ladies" on the telephone had reached "epidemic stages," the House voted a $10,000 fine and five years imprisonment for cursing into that instrument. Objection to such stiff punishment brought the assurance that judges would know how to use the law. The House unanimously called for a constitutional amendment barring from voting persons guilty of vagrancy, perjury, and child desertion, and concurred in the addition of adultery, fornication, larcency, gambling, and crimes committed with a deadly weapon. A still further addition of habitual drunkenness was defeated when a member suggested that "might even get some of us." There was some objection, also, to the inclusion of adultery. Reprisal legislation is common, as in the case of a bill which the committee chairman stated was "concerned with a woman editor who has been writing things which don't go along with the feelings in the community," and another condemning land belonging to Campbell College after Representative McClellan explained, "Jackson has had a cancer in its midst long enough." The cancer will be removed to Mound Bayou in 1964.

One legislator was sorely impressed with the power of the Citizens Council:

> It's hard for us sometimes to consider a bill on its merits if there is any way Bill Simmons* can attach an integration tag. For instance, a resolution was introduced in the House to urge a boycott of Memphis stores because some of them have desegregated. I knew it was ridiculous and would merely amuse North Mississippians who habitually shop in Memphis. The resolution came in the same week that four Negroes were fined in court for boycotting Clarksdale stores. Yet the hot eyes of Bill Simmons were watching. If we had voted against the resolution he would have branded us. So there we were, approving a boycott while a Mississippi court was convicting Negroes for doing what we lawmakers were advocating. It just didn't make sense.

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The state Daughters of the American Revolution have time and again gone directly to the legislature, predictably with the encouragement of the governor who comes down hard for cleaning up the books "so that children can be truly informed of the southern way of life." The Daily News was acutely disturbed by such "oblique propaganda as 'gives evidence that Negro people have done much to develop themselves.'" The DAR is understandably unhappy when first graders are no longer exposed to "the story of the squirrel storing nuts [which] helped to make America a great nation populated by men and women steadfast in their ability to put into effect their early training for adult life." All but the headiest fans of Lord Keynes may look upon such a lament with sympathy. But listen to what the Citizens

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*The principal official of the Citizens Council.

Council officially suggests for the third and fourth grades:

> God wanted the white people to live alone. And He wanted colored people to live alone. The white men built America for you. White men built America so they could make the rules. George Washington was a brave and honest white man. The white men cut away big forests. The white man has always been kind to the Negro. We do not believe that God wants us to live together. Negro people like to live by themselves. Negroes use their own bathrooms. They do not use white people's bathrooms. The Negro has his own part of town to live in. This is called our Southern Way of Life. Do you know that some people want the Negroes to live with white people? These people want us to be unhappy. They say we must go to school together. They say we must swim together and use the bathroom together. God has made us different. And God knows best. Did you know that our country will grow weak if we mix the races? White men worked hard to build our country. We want to keep it strong and free.

And some recommendations for the fifth and sixth grades:

> The Southern white man has always helped the Negro whenever he could. Southerners were always their best friends. The South went to war to prevent the races from race-mixing. If God had wanted all men to be one color and to be alike, He would not have made the different races. One of the main lessons in the Old Testament of our Bible is that your race should be kept pure. God made different races and put them in different lands. He was satisfied with pure races so man should keep the races pure and be satisfied. BIRDS DO NOT MIX. CHICKENS DO NOT MIX. A friend had 100 white chickens and 100 reds. All the white chickens got to one side of the house, and all the red chickens got on the other side of the house. You probably feel the same way these chickens did whenever you are with people of a different race. God meant it to be that way.

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With the makers of the ideology in control and economic opportunity at a minimum, it is not strange that large numbers

of the most ambitious Mississippians, the ablest, and the most adaptable to change, have left the state year after year. Such constant attrition of potential leadership (proven by the eminence achieved by Mississippi exiles) must be a major reason for the people's unwillingness to discard their ancient folkways. One can't help speculating as to what degree Mississippi's story would have been more heartening if a sizeable proportion of those thousands of bright, perceptive natural leaders among the men and women who have left state had in some miraculous way found it possible to remain.

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Mississippi is deservedly famous for some aspects of its justice and for an incredible past of police brutality, and for the harassment, even to death, of those who defy the code. The state retains a good deal of the frontier recklessness toward human life found by William Howard Russell who noted that casual Mississippi conversations had "a smack of manslaughter about them." In the year after the Brown decision, four Negroes were openly slain, with no conviction for any crime; it would almost seem as though these atrocities having served their purpose, murder as an instrument of policy was then put in cold storage for a time.

On March 31, 1963 the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council released a chronological list of sixty-four acts of violence and intimidation against Negroes

since January 1961. The thirty page indictment of man's inhumanity to man, with its accusations of whippings, shootings, murder, and outrageous debasement of the courts, admittedly comes from an interested party but it is characterized by understatement.

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The Mississippi Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights made, in January 1963 a report on the administration of justice within the state. In a period of fourteen months it had held six open meetings in which a hundred or so Mississippians had testified, though "actively opposed by agents and instrumentalities of the State Government." The legislature in 1960 "passed an act," the Committee stated, "to intimidate persons who might wish to assert their rights as citizens by altering the requirement of proof for prosecution of perjury solely in cases where the defendant has testified before this Committee."

In its published findings, the Committee declared that "in all important areas of citizenship, a Negro in Mississippi receives substantially less than his due consideration as an American and as a Mississippian." "We do believe that a pattern exists in our State that leads to the denial of Constitutional rights and, in some instances, to brutality and terror. From the moment a Negro adult is hailed as 'boy' or 'girl' by a police officer, through his arrest, detention,

trial -- during which his Negro lawyer is treated with contemptuous familiarity by the judge and other officers of the court -- and eventual imprisonment, he is treated with a pernicious difference. This difference is incompatible with Christian ideals about the dignity of man and with principles of Anglo-Saxon criminal law." "Justice under law is not guaranteed for the Negro in Mississippi in the way that it is for the white man." "42.3% of the citizens of this State must either accept an inferior station in life and an attitude of servility or endanger themselves and their families by protesting. We find that terror hangs over the Negro in Mississippi and is an expectancy for those who refuse to accept their color as a badge of inferiority; and terrorism has no proper place in the American form of government." "In general the press is failing to meet its obligation to our society. The people of Mississippi are largely unaware of the extent of illegal official violence and the press is partly to blame." "When a State disregards a large segment of its population, the Federal Government is compelled to intervene in behalf of the victims."

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Feeling that they had "a particular obligation to speak," 28 young Methodist ministers issued by way of the Mississippi Methodist Advocate of January, 1963 a "Born of Conviction" statement which still has the state and the church in an uproar. They affirmed their belief in the freedom of the pulpit, the brotherhood of man,

an unalterable opposition to the closing of the public schools, and an unflinching antagonism toward Communism. Within two weeks the Mississippi Association of Methodist Ministers and Laymen, displaying more churchmanship than religion, had repudiated the "Born of Conviction" pastors, submitted their own "declaration of conscience on racial matters" (drawn up by Medford Evans, Citizens Council consultant, and published in the January issue of The Citizen), and called for a secret referendum on whether or not Methodists wanted their church integrated. Later these conservatives declared integration a "crime against God." The lament of one of the young ministers, that "The power clique which dominates the conference has aligned itself with the Methodist Ministers and Laymen and with the Citizens Council," was corroborated by subsequent events.

The closed society battered the outspoken young preachers upon the anvil of public opinion. By summer ten had left the state, and at least half a dozen more were shifted to urban pulpits. At least half volunteered the feeling that they had not been sufficiently supported by their superintendents and their bishop. Methodists in general, with professional assistance, were reflecting an opinion that had driven from

Mississippi sixty-eight of their seminary trained men since 1954. Dr. W. B. Selah, for 18 years pastor of the largest Methodist congregation in the state, who had supported the "Born of Conviction" statement and had declared "there can be no color bar in a Christian church," resigned in protest when five Negroes were refused admission to his church.

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The University of Mississippi has had its moments of greatness, its faculty and administrators of integrity and virtue, and a long history of genteel poverty. In the presidency of Alfred B. Butts (1935-1946) Ole Miss began a precarious climb from the depths of depression, despair and the shame of the Bilbo spoliation. For at least a decade after World War II, under the leadership of Chancellor John D. Williams, the University seemed on the verge of living up to the dreams and hopes of its founders and directors of exactly a century before. A tremendous building program on the already beautiful, wooded campus, an expansion of libraries and laboratories, the addition of new departments, and, most exciting of all, the gathering together of an excellent faculty dedicated to good teaching and fruitful research, all of these developments and more were taking place. The new chancellor was adept not only at selling the University to the people, but in making it an integral part of many schemes designed to raise the horizons of a long submerged society.

It was increasingly evident in the middle fifties, however, that changes were taking place in the state that would adversely

affect the University. In a series of crises from Kershaw (1955) to Kerciu (1963), the administration became more and more appeasement minded, more and more involved (like a woman constantly professing her virtue) in presenting the Ole Miss story to the state as if it were a bar of soap.

More serious was a 1955 edict of the Board of Trustees requiring the screening of all speakers brought to the campus, a ruling steadfastly opposed by the chancellor at its inception but stoutly defended some years later when he refused even to pass along to the Board a petition of the AAUP calling for an end to the screening. A clergyman, Mr. Kershaw, was turned away from Religious Emphasis Week when it became known that he had contributed to the NAACP, and the incoming president of the Southern Historical Association was paid his full fee for not delivering a history lecture after the shocking disclosure that his wife had written in the Saturday Evening Post of her teaching experiences with Negro students in Atlanta.

The handling of absurd charges of apostasy and subversion against fourteen members of the University community in 1958 was brought off expeditiously and with a flair for public relations. Faculty members involved in this tempest, which was kept going in the press for almost a year, were asked to remain silent (which most of them did) while the chancellor affirmed his belief in the Bible, an omnipotent God, immortality of the soul, state sovereignty, segregation, and the right of private property. In August, 1959, the Board dismissed the allegations against the chancellor and the faculty and stated its policy

that "there should prevail at our universities and colleges an atmosphere of freedom in their research, teaching programs and services and that there should be no political or subversive propagandizing in the academic program."

Almost exactly eighteen months after he had first written to the registrar, James Howard Meredith, the "man with a mission and with a nervous stomach," was on June 26, 1962, ordered admitted to the University of Mississippi. Speaking for the Fifth Circuit Court in New Orleans Judge John Minor Wisdom announced that "A full review of the record leads the Court inescapably to the conclusion that from the moment the defendants discovered Meredith was a Negro they engaged in a carefully calculated campaign of delay, harassment, and masterly inactivity. It was a defense designed to discourage and defeat by evasion tactics which would have been a credit to Quints Fabius Maximus."

Tartly reprimanding Judge Sidney Mize of the U. S. District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi for "continuances of doubtful propriety and unreasonably long delays," Judge Wisdom viewed the case as one "tried below and argued here in the eerie atmosphere of never-never land." He might have added, "of the closed society." The contention of the Board of Trustees and of University officials, accepted as a fact by Judge Mize, "that the University is not a racially segregated institution," and that "the state has no policy of segregation," "defies," said Judge Widsom, "history and common knowledge." There was nothing in the case "reaching the dignity of proof" to make the court think

otherwise. "We find that James Meredith's application for transfer to the University of Mississippi was turned down solely because he was a Negro."

From September 13 when Mississippi's long court battle against Meredith reached "the end of the road" in Judge Mize's sweeping injunction and Governor Barnett read his antiquarian interposition proclamation, it was evident to all that the showdown was imminent. In those last hectic days the "power structure" of the state made a rather impressive attempt to control the Barnett juggernaut but it was too late, and the people were largely unaware of the effort. Moderate statements by Oxford ministers appeared in the Memphis but not the Jackson papers which thundered about taking note "of those who stand with courage in an hour of crisis." The closed society was operating efficiently and almost automatically, as it does in times of great stress, as if directed by some malicious Frankenstein.

On the Ole Miss campus was circulated a broadside, The Liberty Bulletin, urging students to "Place yourself under the direction of Gov. Barnett. Do not engage yourself in force or violence unless he calls for it." Columnist Hills reported that "the governor will watch with a jaundiced eye any attempt to apply punitive action against Mississippi's patriots. College presidents are standing ready to fight alongside the governor, or else."

In the upper house on September 25, Senator E. K. Collins arose to remark: "We must win this fight regardless of the cost

in time, effort, money and in human lives." Senator Hayden Campbell thought "they would have to open the doors to murder and rape." Senator Hilbun barked that "these are the same people who won't let our children pray in school." In Washington, Senator Eastland was sure that the next few days would "determine whether a judicial tyranny as black and hideous as any in history exists in the United States."

On Thursday, the 27th, the Clarion-Ledger carried a sensational headline to the effect that a "gunbattle" was prossible at the University. Representative Walter Hester told the UPI it was "likely" that state officials would attempt to fight off the marshals if they tried to enroll Meredith, but he did not prophesy an all-out insurrection. The situation was "extremely tense and there are some people who don't mind dying for an honorable cause." Either Senator McLaurin or Senator Yarbrough told Senator Lambert that "they were going to provoke the Kennedys into sending troops into Mississippi." Months later, Attorney General Patterson called McLaurin and the "CC & Co." "a little band of would-be ruthless dictators seeking to promote all-out riot and bloodshed on the campus by encouraging the people of Mississippi to pick up their rifles, shotguns and slingshots and go to fight it out with the armed forces of the United States." This could result only in "bloodshed, death, destruction and heartaches."

Barnett talked about jailing any federal officer attempting to arrest a state official. The Daily News was accused by the

campus paper, the Mississippian, of distortion, fabrication, "screaming and sensational stories." On the day of the football game the hysteria whipped up in Jackson was unbelievable. The press and radio added their bluster to the normal uproar of a conference game. At the half-time ceremonies that night, when he still might have turned the populace aside from its madness, the governor achieved his greatest triumph of oratorical lunacy: "I love Mississippi! I love her people! I love her customs!" Understandably, the man was overcome by his own hoarse eloquence and the reasonless, incoherent, delirious response. He could not go on. The people were bewildered. Television carried the infection statewide and General Walker was on his way to Oxford.

The propaganda machine never faltered. The next day, the Sunday that began so peacefully, a joint legislative committee pronounced nine frivolous reasons for denying Meredith admission and cunningly announced that his registration would jeopardize the accreditation of the University to the point of expulsion from the Southern Association. In the afternoon and early evening, fatigued students were driving back to the campus, listening to their blaring radios tuned to the appeals of the Citizens Council to "form a human wall around the mansion" to protect the governor from arrest by federal marshals. Thousands of citizens swarmed the streets of Jackson. Few knew that the governor, called by an Episcopal priest the "living symbol of lawlessness," had already sold out his closest advisers. Word came that plane loads of marshals had been flown out of Memphis. For some time their destination was in doubt. Unknown to most

Mississippians, Meredith was, before supper, unpacking his bag in his room in Baxter Hall on the Ole Miss campus.

* * * * *

When Mississippi officials blocked by physical might on four separate occasions the court-ordered enrollment of Meredith in the University, and the Fifth Circuit Court wearily acknowledged that it had come to the end of its resources, the President was faced with the alternative of acceptance of the breakdown of law or the employment of force. The admission of Meredith was not negotiable. Kennedy performed his constitutional obligation in the same spirit George Washington had exhibited in the Whiskey Rebellion. Having apparently learned the lesson of Little Rock, he insisted upon the use of civilian federal marshals rather than paratroopers. Certainly there had been no stated objection to marshals accompanying Meredith on those expeditions when they had been overcome by superior state power. Whatever "deals" he may have made with the governor behind the scenes, the President gently and eloquently appealed to the patriotism and sense of sportsmanship of Mississippi citizens in asking them to obey unpopular court decrees. But General Walker having called for 10,000 volunteers to go to the aid of Barnett, and it being general knowledge that hundreds and perhaps thousands were coverging on Oxford, there would have been a serious evasion of responsibility had the Army high command not prepared for the emergency. Troops were moved to Memphis. The United States Army was not ordered to the University of Mississippi until it became evident that the marshals were

fighting for their lives, and the Army's first contingent arrived just in time to prevent a disaster.

From the arrival of the marshals at the Lyceum Building shortly before five o'clock until the firing of the tear gas at eight, it became increasingly apparent that there was a serious lack of liaison between federal and state officials on the scene. At six the chancellor (at this time not much more than a spectator himself) believed the deal had been made and the game would have to be played out, and the gathering students and faculty were so informed. By seven all observers knew that for whatever reason, the Mississippi Highway Patrol had abandoned its enforcement of law and order and was in fact in some cases encouraging the restless crowd to demonstrate against the marshals. Twice these agents of the federal government donned their masks as the crowd closed in. The campus chief of police and four highway patrolmen had moved back part of the surly crowd (which promptly surged forward again when the officers left that part of the scene) and were achieving some little success in front of the Lyceum Building when the marshals opened fire with gas and drove what almost instantly became a howling mob back to the Confederate monument. Whether Chief Marshal McShane was justified in giving the order to fire at precisely the moment he did is a question for the professionals to answer. It is relevant, however, that two score of faculty members and their wives later testified that the marshals had undergone for at least an hour a constant harassment of obscene language and a minute-by-minute heavier barrage of

lighted cigarette butts, stones, bottles, pieces of pipe, and even acid. It is a small matter whether the gas should have come fifteen minutes earlier or later, but rather ironic that a full scale insurrection should get underway at the exact moment that the President was appealing to Mississippians for fair play in the name of Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar.

* * * * *

Before the work was done that night the Army brought more troops to Mississippi than General Sherman had had in the environs of Oxford exactly one hundred years before. Several hundred reporters concentrated on the Mississippi campus to ferret out the facts about what actually had taken place and to inquire into the background for the state's turmoil. By and large the reportage was accurate and the interpretation sound and temperate. Those who have wished to know have had spread before them a reasonably trustworthy record of events.

This is true for all the world except Mississippi. With its long history of being on the defensive against outside criticism and a predisposition to believe their own leaders can do no wrong, the people have been almost completely sold on a palpable and cynical hoax. The closed society immediately projected (in fact, it had foreshadowed) the orthodox version that the insurrection resulted from federal encroachment, deliberately planned by the Kennedys and callously incited by McShane when he called for tear gas. What did happen in front of the Lyceum Building in that crucial hour before eight o'clock on the night of September 30? Truth cries out that the orthodox Mississippi

view is false, that cleverness in shifting the culpability for defiance of law from those creating the violence to those enforcing the law could only succeed among a people suffering from a touch of paranoia.

The genesis of the deception which shifted the blame for the insurrection from Mississippians to federal officials came from the University administration. A singularly inaccurate story blaming the "trigger-happy, amateurish, incompetent" marshals, and suggesting examples of diabolical brutality toward male and female students, was in the hands of Barnett and Eastland within an hour or so of the firing of the gas. These opportunists took up and grossly exaggerated the cry and called for state and federal investigations. By October 2 David Lawrence was to devote his syndicated column to the "official" view of the University. Long after it was made abundantly clear that many faculty members had witnessed the inception of the riot and knew for a certainty about the fraud against the federal government, the administration did not deviate from its original position but, on the contrary, continued to search for evidence condemning the marshals.

On the morning of October 1, Governor Barnett ordered the Mississippi flag at half mast because "there had been an invasion of our state resulting in blood." The riot, he said, had been touched off by those "inexperienced, nervous and trigger-happy" marshals who had "deliberately inflamed" the people "in order that the resulting resistance can be cited as justification for military force against a sovereign state."

Next day the Clarion-Ledger headline, "Eastland, Others Charge [3/8 inch] MARSHALS SET OFF OLE MISS RIOTING [7/8 inch]," was serenity itself compared to a featured column which elaborated the official view: "Our state is labeled insurrectionist because it does not care to be negroid in totality." Hills did admit a temporary defeat: "So watch the peace-lovers come to the fore, grab a nigger-neck and start bellowing brother love."

In the months after the insurrection, people engaged in the pleasant pastime of guessing whether the governor was at the moment taking instructions from the "resistance to the death" counselors (the White Muslim clique in the Citizens Council) or from the more cautious who, as one observer put it, had planned only a little riot, who didn't really want to see anybody killed. The Council sent up trial ballons suggesting the closing of the University, called upon faculty moderates (to Simmons, "gutless liberals") to accept segregation or resign, and conducted a postcard campaign directing the Board to fire "quislings and scalawags [who] betray our state and our people in the time of crisis." Whether the Council was more than covertly responsible for open defiance of University authorities by extremist students who returned from week ends at home with suitcases filled with cherry bombs and minds filled with rebellion is still an open question. The Oxford council, whose leaders were dedicated if not brilliant, distributed a mimeographed list of faculty members who were to be harassed with anonymous telephone calls - which did cause some inconvenience because the sleeping habits of the daring dialers did not mesh with those of their victims.

The legislative investigating committee took six months to put together from the sworn statements of more than ninety witnesses its masterpiece of sententious fiction. For reasons never explained, faculty witnesses and even legislators who had been at Ole Miss with the federalized national guard had not been called upon to testify. There was no minority report. How scores upon scores of the world's crack reporters had been kept from seeing the blundering and the repeated brutalities and "planned physical torture" of the marshals, the women students hit by projectiles fired at point-blank range, the deliberate gassing of seven dormitories, the "torture slab," the army truck set on fire by "a folded paper airplane," and dozens of other Alice-in-Wonderland concoctions will remain one of the mysteries of 20th century journalism. It was the sad commentary of an eye-witness that the "young gentlemen of the New Confederacy," who were able to glorify insurrectionist conduct as "freedom fighters" in the "Brick and Bottle Brigade - attacking the armed forces of their own country - would have small compunction about lying to a legislative investigating committee, especially one that made perfectly clear what it wanted to hear.

The legislative report was "verified" in advance by a documentary film, "Oxford, U. S. A.," depicting "how the federal government violated the constitution in the invasion of Mississippi last fall." Just before he sold three copies to the Sovereignty Commission for almost $7,000, the producer asserted the picture was "based strictly on the Constitution,"

and had been endorsed by Governors Barnett and Wallace. According to billboard advertising, it EXPOSES FEDERAL ATROCITIES. Actually, about half of the fifty-minute extravaganza is taken up with poorly filmed statements from Barnett, Johnson, Attorney General Patterson, Chief of the Highway Patrol Birdsong, and a legislator who makes some disparaging and untrue remarks about the University and Meredith. The opening action shot shows motorized troops moving into Oxford, which they did, about eight hours after the beginning of the insurrection. By implication the viewer gets the impression that marshals had fired shotguns (which they didn't have) at innocent students and even that they had killed the French reporter. Altogether the film is a shabbily put together conglomeration of falsehood, distortion and political dissemblance unlikely to convince the fair-minded who may be left in the membership of the Citizens Council.

The people of Mississippi have thus once again been victimized, this time by a gigantic hoax perpetrated on them by their own time-serving leaders whose sense of loyalty is only to the false orthodoxy of the closed society.

* * * * *

The closed society is never the absolute society. There always have been and there always will be the dissenters, the doubters who point to the road not taken. In the past year more than fifty professors have departed from the University of Mississippi, many of them literally driven from the state. The best of them, particularly the native Mississippians, would

have remained if there had been any prospect of an atmosphere of freedom or a decent chance to fight for one.

No, the closed society is not absolute. In Mississippi there are legislators, editors, lawyers, labor leaders, educators and ordinary citizens who sometimes protest against the prevailing orthodoxy. The day that Barnett let loose his interposition blast, Ira Harkey pointed out in the Pascagoula Chronicle that it wasn't the Kennedys but "the United States of America, democracy itself, the whole of humanity" that was making demands upon Mississippi. In a series of five short, magnificently logical articles, Representative Karl Wiesenburg demonstrated conclusively that Barnett's course was "the road to riot," that the governor had violated his oath of office, that the bloodshed on September 30 was the "price of defiance," and that states have responsibilities as well as rights. The Mississippi Methodist Advocate accepted for the church part of the guilt for the riot.

Three days after the insurrection, the Ole Miss chapter of the American Association of University Professors adopted a ringing statement protesting the fraud against the marshals. Without a campaign in its favor more than seventy faculty members signed the document as their way of "standing up to be counted." A professor of anthropology made his protest by putting into writing the conclusions of those in his profession concerning the validity of Putnam's Race and Reason, and this was serialized in the Pascagoula Chronicle. The exemplary conduct of more than three thousand federalized Mississippi nationa

guardsman is worth the scrutiny and praise of all Americans. General W. P. Wilson said: "There were absolutely no incidents of any individual wilfully refusing to report for mobilization." George Fielding Eliot paid high tribute to the state guard, "In its ranks are men who, as citizens, share some of the views and even the prejudices of their fellow Mississippians. But when the call to duty came, they laid all else aside. After that they were soldiers of the United States, summoned by the President to aid in enforcing the laws of the Union, as the Constitution provides." One guardsman who had suffered rough treatment at the hands of the hoodlums, went right to the heart of the matter: "It was just the matter of an oath I took."

* * * * *

There are many thousands of "men of good will" in Mississippi, mild-mannered people for the most part, who in their day-to-day affairs do what they can to ameliorate the difficult conditions imposed upon their fellow men by the closed society. But because of a strong desire to live in peace or because of one kind or another of fear, these men will not openly protest what they know in their hearts are gross evils all about them. These are the individuals who when one of their own number speaks out or in some little way defies the orthodoxy and is pilloried as a result, shrug their shoulders and say, "Well, he asked for it."

Men of good will are not enough. In his article in the Saturday Evening Post after the riot, John Faulkner professed surprise at a plea to return to law and order, "this to us, the

responsible people of Oxford, who raised no finger against any man." In high indignation he refused to see the need for penitence: "If all the sin I have to answer for is my part in bringing on what happened here Sunday and Monday, then I relinquish my place to someone more needful of forgiveness than I." Perhaps Mr. Faulkner said more than he intended, perhaps he was speaking for all the good men who to whatever degree had abandoned the feeling of accountability for the condition of things in Mississippi. These same men were shocked to learn, probably at Leslie's drug store, the price of defiance as well as the fact that some of their neighbors were throwing rocks at neighbors in the uniform of the United States government. But they were not moved by the riot - they were solidified. They had forgotten, if they had ever known, that it was not Gavin Stevens who had prevented the lynching of Lucas Beauchamp, but Miss Habersham, Chick Mallison, and Aleck Sander.

* * * * *

The more embattled the closed society becomes, the more monolithic, the more corrupt, and the more willing to engage in double-think and double talk. There is Mississippi's institutionalized hypocrisy that the Negro can freely vote and freely attend the university of his choice. There is the casuistry of Governor Barnett that he is preserving law and order and upholding the Constitution by physically obstructing the execution of an explicit directive of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States. There is the legislature shamefully passing laws which the judges "will know how to

handle," or for the purpose of "getting" certain individuals. The idea that this is a nation of laws and not of men, constantly reiterated within the state, has a hollow ring in Mississippi. How few of its leaders can come into court with clean hands!

Hostility to authority and disrespect for law are commonplace in Mississippi. How could it be otherwise in a state which tolerates the cynical disregard of prohibition and collects the black market tax? How can anything else be expected when the state itself brazenly tells the world it has achieved "separate but equal" school facilities, when in 1959-60 local school expenditures were $81.86 for the white child as against $21.77 for the Negro. Or when, as in 1951, the county superintendents of education, looking greedily toward the allocation of equalization funds, reported 895,779 children of educable age (6-20) while the United States Census of 1950 listed the number of children from 5 to 19 as only 651,600? What respect can there be for the legal process when one standard of justice prevails when a Negro commits a crime against a Negro, another when a Negro commits a crime against a white, still another when a white commits a crime against a white, and a fourth when a white commits a crime against a Negro?

What about the morality of a social order that sends a teen-age Negro girl to a long sentence in an institution for delinquents because she disobeys a court order forbidding her to walk to the courthouse? And, when questioned, justified

the exorbitant penalty on the basis of previous abortions -- which up to the time of her sentence the society had ignored? Which is immoral, the girl or the society?

In spite of the closed society the Negro has made some gains since his emancipation a century ago. In the same period, the white man, determined to defend his way of life at all costs, has compromised his old virtues, his integrity, his once unassailable character. He has so corrupted the language itself that he says one thing while meaning another. He no longer has freedom of choice in the realm of ideas because they must first be harmonized with the orthodoxy. New currents of thought he automatically distrusts and if they clash with the prevailing wisdom, he ruthlessly rules them out. He cannot allow himself the luxury of thinking about a problem on its merits. In spite of what he claims, the white Mississippian is not even conservative, - he is merely negative. He grows up being against most things other men at least have the pleasure of arguing about. All his life he spends on the defensive. The most he can hope for is to put up a good fight before losing. This is the Mississippi way, this is the Mississippi heritage. It will ever be thus as the closed society endures.

Although there have been moments of enlightenment, the spiritual secession of Mississippi from history has never ended. For more than a century Mississippians have refused to be bound by the national will. Perhaps this recalcitrance could be borne with in the past, as have many other excesses of

democracy. But with the sanctuary provided by the oceans gone, the national interest, the instinct for survival, demand discipline. They demand also that attitudes or "principles" growing out of racial situations not be allowed to intrude themselves into the country's policy making decisions. Since Reconstruction Mississippians have had no real reason to believe that they were not free to handle the race question as they wished, without meaningful interference from the federal government; and when they now discover that all their bluster and subterfuge and intransigence will avail them nothing, they have little to fall back on except blind rage and fierce hatred.

In committing itself to the defense of the bi-racial system, Mississippi has erected a totalitarian society which to the present moment has eliminated the ordinary processes by which change may be channeled. Through its police power coercion and force prevail, instead of accommodation, and the result is social paralysis. Thus, the Mississippian who prides himself on his individuality in reality lives in a climate where nonconformity is forbidden, where the white man is not free, where he does not dare to express a deviating opinion without looking over his shoulder. Not only is the black man not allowed to forget that he is a "nigger," but the white moderate must distinctly understand that he is a "nigger-lover."

Mississippi has long been a hyper-orthodox social order in which the individual has no option except to be loyal to the will of the white majority. And the white majority has subscribed to an inflexible philosophy which is not based on fact,

logic, or reason. Non-white Mississippians and all others are outlanders. Close contiguity with a large repressed population and fear of what these "inferior" people might do have held the society near the point of unanimity. Especially in times of stress the orthodoxy becomes more rigid, more removed from reality, and the conformity demanded to it more extreme. Today the advocacy or even the recognition of the inevitability of change becomes a social felony, or worse. Mississippi is the way it is not because of its views on the Negro - here it is simply "the South exaggerated" - but because of its closed society, its refusal to allow freedom of inquiry or to tolerate "error of opinion." The social order that refuses to conform to national standards insists upon strict conformity at home. While complaining of its own persecuted minority station in the United States, it rarely considers the Negro minority as having rights in Mississippi.

Perhaps the greatest tragedy of the closed society is the refusal of its citizens to believe that there is any view other than the orthodox. In recent years there has been a hardening attitude among college students who do not want to hear the other side. In such a twilight of non-dicsussion, minds not only grow tough, they do not grow at all. Intelligent men with ideas are isolated from the rest of the community, and what little interracial communication existed in the past is now destroyed. One reason the Ole Miss faculty failed to protest an ugly situation before the insurrection was that through one means or another freedom of speech had long since been curtailed.

This was at least a partial cause for from eight to ten members of the history department leaving in the two years before the troubles of last year. The jolt of the violence on the campus and the obvious fraud against the federal government initiated a spurt of resistance to ignorance, stupidity, and conformity. For the moment many of the faculty developed a healthy scorn for expediency and security. In the light of Mississippi's history it was probably already too late to expect anything more than an occasional stand, such as that put up by the ministers who were willing to count the cost and pay the price. With the great silence from the men of good will, and the disposition of the good people to let things run their course, there can be little hope for anything constructive in Mississippi in the next decade.

It can be argued that in the history of the United States democracy has produced great leaders in great crises. Sad as it may be, the opposite has been true in Mississippi. As yet there is little evidence that the society of the closed mind will ever possess the moral resources to reform itself, or the capacity for self-examination, or even the tolerance of self-examination. Inasmuch as a nation marching swiftly in the direction of the fulfillment of the promise of the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation is at the same time fighting for survival against Communism, it will not much longer indulge the frustration of its will. Nevertheless, it would seem that for the foreseeable future the people of Mississippi will plod along the troubled road of resistance,

violence, anguish, and injustice, moving slowly until engulfed in the predictable cataclysm.

And yet, in spite of all that has been presented in this paper, it seems inescapable that Mississippians one day will drop the mockery of the late Confederacy and resume their obligations as Americans. There is small reason to believe that they will somehow develop the capability to do it themselves, to do it, as Faulkner says, in time. If not, the closed society will become the open society with the massive aid of the country as a whole, backed by the power and authority of the federal government.

Done

Appendix

TABLE I

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH
1954, 1959, 1961, 1969

City	1954	1959	1961	1969
Abbeville, La				NR
Abbeville, S.C.				6
Abilene, Tex.				3
Ahoskie, NC.	1	2	NR	NR
Albany, Tex.				0
Alexandria, La.				NR
Alexandria, Va.				NR
Amarillo, Tex.	2	0	0	1
Americus, Ga.				NR
Appomattox, Va.				NR
Arcadia, Fla.				NR
Arlington, Va.				2
Asheville, N.C.	3	3	5	NR
Athens, Ga.				NR
Atlanta, Ga.	16	31	40	124
Anderson, S.C.				NR
Anniston, Ala.				NR
Augusta, Ga.	7	7	8	NR
Austin, Tex.	6	9	NR	NR
Bassier City, La.				NR
Baton Rouge, La.				NR
Bateville, Ark.				0
Beaufort, S.C.	2	1	NR	NR
Beaumont, Tex.	2	5	NR	2
Belzoni, Miss				NR
Bessemer, Ala.				NR
Birmingham, Ala.				11

TABLE A Continued

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH
1954, 1959, 1961, 1969

City	1954	1959	1961	1969
Bluefield, Va.				0
Blytheville, Ark.				5
Bradenton, Fla.				2
Bristol, Tenn.				NR
Bristol, Va.				2
Buena Vista, Va.				0
Caddo Parish, La.				NR
Cape Charles, La.				NR
Carrollton, Ga.				NR
Chapel Hill, N.C.	2	3	2	5
Charleston, S.C.	9	12	15	NR
Charlotte, N.C.	~~8~~	~~10~~	~~NR~~	~~NR~~
Charlottesville, Va.				5
Chattanooga, Tenn	8	10	NR	NR
Chipley, Fla.				NR
Clarksville, Ark.				0
Clarksville, Tenn				10
Clarksville, Va.				NR
Clearwater, Fla.	3	3	3	2
Cleveland, Tenn				NR
Cocoa, Fla.	2	2	2	NR
Columbus, Miss	~~A~~			NR
Columbia, N.C.				0
Columbia SC	4	4	4	13
Columbia, Tenn				NR
Columbus, Ga.	4	0	0	47
Concord, N.C.				NR

TABLE A Continued

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH
1954, 1959, 1961, 1969

City	1954	1959	1961	1969
Conway, S.C.	2	2	NR	NR
Coral Gables, Fla.	1	1	1	1
Corpus Christie, Tex.	1	3	3	12
Dade City, Fla.				2
Dallas, Tex.	4	6	10	20
Dalton, Ga.	2	2	NR	NR
Dania, Fla.	1	2	3	NR
Danville, Va.	~~2~~	~~1~~		NR
Daytona Beach, Fla.	7	7	3	7
Decatur, Ala.				NR
Decatur, Ga.				8
Deland, Fla.	1	0	NR	NR
Dillon, S.C.	1	0	NR	NR
Dothan, Ala.	1	2	NR	NR
Dublin, Ga.				NR
Ducktown, Tenn.				NR
Durham, N.C.	12	11	15	42
Dyersburg, Tenn.	~~1~~	~~0~~		4
East Point, Ga.	1	0	NR	NR
El Paso, Tex.	4	2	6	NR
Fayetteville, N.C.	4	4	3	NR
Florence, S.C.				
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.				
Fort Myers, Fla.				
Fort Smith, Ark.				
Fort Valley, Ga.				
Fort Walton Beach, Fla.				
Fort Worth, Tex.				
Fayetteville, Tenn.				

TABLE A Continued Page 4

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH

1954, 1959, 1961 and 1969

City	1954	1959	1961	1969
Fredericksburg, Va.				6
Gainesville, Fla.	2	2	2	6
Galveston, Tex.	15	16	14	13
Gadsden, Ala.				NR
Gastonia, N.C.	5	5	5	12
Green Cove Springs, Fla.				2
Greensboro, N.C.	9	8	NR	37
Greenville, Ala.				40[a]
Greenville, Miss.	2	4	5	NR
Greenville, N.C.	1	2	NR	13
Greenville, S.C.				NR
Griffin, Ga.				NR
Gulfport, Miss	2	2	NR	NR
Hampton, Va.	5	4	6	NR
Hattiesburg, Miss				16
Henderson, N.C.				NR
Hendersonville, N.C.				NR
Hialeah, Fla.	2	1	1	NR
Hickory, N.C.				NR
High Point, N.C.	8	8	8	10
Hollywood, Fla	1	1	1	4
Homestead, Fla.				2
Hot Springs, Ark.	2	2	2	3
Houston, Tex.	25	34	35	NR
Huntsville, Ala.				15
Indianola, Miss.	1	2	NR	NR
Jonesboro, Ark				0
Jackson, Miss				NR

TABLE A Continued Page 5

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH

1954, 1959, 1961 and 1969

City	1954	1959	1961	1969
Jackson, Tenn.				NR
Jacksonville, Fla.	14	27	32	NR
Key West, Fla.	3	4	NR	NR
Kinston, N.C.	3	4	4	NR
Knoxville, Tenn	9	10	14	NR
Lafayette, Ala.	~~2~~			2
Lafayette, La.	3	3	NR	16
Lake City, S.C.	1	1	NR	NR
Lake Charles, La.				NR
Lakeland, Fla.	4	5	6	NR
Lanette, Ala.				NR
Laurel, Miss				18
Lenoir, N.C.				3
Little Rock, Ark.	4	5	4	11
Longview, Tex				10
Laredo, Tex Laredo				0
Lufkin, Tex				NR
Lynchburg, Va.				NR
Macon, Ga.	4	4	4	35
Marion, S.C.	1	2	NR	NR
Marietta, Ga.	1	1	2	2
Melbourne, Fla.	1	2	2	NR
Meridian, Miss.				NR
Miami Beach, Fla.				NR
Miami, Fla.	58	85	76	66
Milledgeville, Ga.				2
Mobile, Ala.	2	12	24	NR
Monroe, La.	2	2	NR	NR

TABLE A Continued Page 5

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH

1954, 1959, 1961 and 1969

City	~~#~~	1954	1959	1961	1969
Morganton, N.C.					NR
Montgomery, Ala.		4	0	0	NR
Murfreesboro, Tenn.					NR
Nashville, Tenn.		16	19	23	NR
Natchez, Miss					5
Natchitoches, La.					NR
New Iberia, La.		1	2	2	6
New Orleans, La.		12	42	36	109
Newport News, Va.		6	9	8	15
Newnan, Ga.					NR
Norfolk, Va.		8	7	6	NR
Oak Ridge, Tenn					1
Ocala, Fla.		2	1	2	3
Opalacka, Fla.					NR
Opelika, Ala.					NR
Orangeburg, S.C.					9
Orlando, Fla.		4	4	3	NR
Ormond Beach, Fla.		1	1	1	NR
Oxford, Ala.					0
Oxford, N.C.					5
Ozark, Ala.					NR
Palm Beach, Fla.					NR
Panama City, Fla.		1	2	2	NR
Pascogoula, Miss					NR
Pell City, Ala.					2
Pensacola, Fla.		2	3	4	NR
Petersburg, Va.					NR
Pine Bluff, Ark.					NR

TABLE A Continued Page 6

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH

1954, 1959, 1961 and 1969

City	1954	1959	1961	1969
Pompano Beach, Fla.				NR
Port Arthur, Tex.	4	5	8	NR
Portsmouth, Va.	2	1	6	NR
Pulaski, Tenn.				2
Quincy, Fla.				NR
Raleigh, N.C.				NR
Reidsville, N.C.	2	2	2	NR
Richmond, Va.	19	19	18	62
Ripley, Tenn.				6
Roanoke, Ala.				NR
Roanoke, Va.	3	4	6	NR
Rocky Mount, N.C.	2	2	2	NR
San Antonio, Tex.	11	12	12	29
Sanford, Fla.	1	1	1	NR
Salisbury, N.C.	2	2	2	7
Sarasota, Fla.				NR.
Savannah, Ga.	12	16	15	NR
Searcy, Ark.				NR
Selma, Ala.				NR
Shelby, N.C.				9
Shelbyville, Tenn				NR
Shreveport, La.				NR
South Boston, Va.				NR
Sparta, Tenn.				NR
Spartanburg, S.C.				NR
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4	8	10	NR
Sumter, S.C.	2	3	NR	NR
Tallahassee, Fla.				9

TABLE A Continued Page 7

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH

1954, 1959, 1961 and 1969

City	1954	1959	1961	1969
Tampa, Fla.	10	13	NR	NR
Tarboro, N.C.	2	1	0	NR
Temple, Tex.	2	2	NR	NR
Texarkana, Tex.				NR
Thomasville, Ga.	0	2	NR	NR
Timmersville, S.C.	1	1	NR	NR
Union, S.C.				2
Union City, Tenn				5
Waco, Tex.	1	1	1	NR
Waycross, Ga.	2	2	NR	1
Waynesboro, Ga.				NR
West Palm Beach, Fla.	9	12	12	NR
Wichita Falls, Tex	1	2	2	NR
Wilson, N.C.	2	3	NR	NR
Winston Salem, N.C.	13	12	12	26
Winter Haven, Fla.				NR

Appendix

TABLE II

NEGRO LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS

IN 57 Southern Cities 1949, 1954, 1959, 1969

City	Law Enforcement Officers				NEGRO OFFICERS Per 1000 Negro Inhabitants		
	1949	1954	1959	1969#	1949	1959	1969#
Dothan, Ala.	1	1	2	NR	.13	.22	
Hot Springs, Ark	2	2	2	3	.39	.44	
Little Rock, Ark.	6	4	5	11	.26	.20	
Clearwater, Fla.	2	3	3	2	.69	.55	
Cocoa, Fla.	1	2	2	NR	.48	.52	
Dania, Fla.	1	1	2	NR	.48	.72	
Daytona Beach, Fla.	5	10#	7	7	.57	.60	
Deland, Fla.	2	1	0	NR	.92	.00	
Fort Myers, Fla.	2	2	2	6	.54	.34	
Gainesville, Fla.	2	2	2	6	.34	.29	
Key West, Fla.	2	3	4	NR	.68	.35	
Melborne, Fla.	1	1	2	NR	.91	.79	
Miami, Fla.	30	58	85	66	.75	1.29	
Sanford, Fla.	1	1	1	NR	.17	.15	
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4	4	8	NR	.29	.33	
Tampa, Fla.	6	10	13	NR	.22	.28	
West Palm Beach, Fla.	4	9	12	NR	.31	.78	
Atlanta, Ga.	6	16	31	124	.05	.17	
Macon, Ga.	2	4	4	35	.07	.13	
Savannah, Ga.	12	12	16	NR	.25	.30	
Gulfport, Miss.	2	2	2	NR	.46	.31	
Ahoskie, N.C.	1	1	2	NR	.66	1.06	
Asheville, N.C.	2	3	3	NR	.16	.26	
Charlotte, N.C.	10	8	10	NR	.27	.18	
Durham, N.C.	8	12	11	42	.31	.39	
Fayetteville, N.C.	2	4	4	19	.15	.24	
Gastonia, N.C.	5	5	5	12	1.04	.75	
Greensboro, N.C.	5	9	8	37	.26	.26	

TABLE B Continued Page 2

NEGRO LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS IN 52 SOUTHERN CITIES, 1949, 1954, 1959, 1969"

City	Law Enforcement Officers				Negro Officers Per 1000 Negro Inhabitants		
	1949	1954	1959	1969*	1949	1959	1969
High Point, N.C.	4	8	8	10	.48	.71	1.6
Raleigh, N.C.	4	5	6	NR	.22	.27	
Winston Salem, N.C.	7	14	12	26	.19	.29	
Columbia, S.C.	2	4	4	13	.06	.13	
Conway, S.C.	2	2	2	NR	.93	.68	
Chattanooga, Tenn.	7	8	10	NR	.18	.23	
Knoxville Tenn.	7	9	10	NR	.37	.48	
Nashville Tenn.	6	16	18	NR	.11	.29	
Austin, Tex.	6	6	7	NR	.34	.36	
Beaumont, Tex.	2	2	5	7	.07	.14	
Corpus Christi, Tex.	2	1	3	12	.28	.32	
Dallas, Tex.	4	4	6	20	.07	.05	
El Paso, Tex.	4	4	2	NR	1.28	.27	
Galveston, Tex.	15	15	16	13	.85	.87	
Houston, Tex.	17	26	35	NR	.14	.16	
Port Arthur, Tex.	10	6	5	NR	.72	.24	
San Antonio, Tex	11	12	12	29	.38	.28	
Cape Charles, Va.	1	1	0	NR	1.30	.00	
Newport News, Va.	5	6	9	15	.27	.23	
Norfolk, Va.	9	10	8	NR	.14	.10	
Petersburg, Va.	1	1	1	NR	.07	.06	
Portsmouth, Va.	1	2	1	NR	.03	.03	
Richmond, Va.	7	21	21	62	.10	.23	
Roanoke, Va.	6	3	4	NR	.41	.24	

* Population estimates for 1969 does not appear appropriate for ~~[illegible]~~ reflecting a significant measure of this factor for 1969.

TABLE ~~XI~~

Police Department

~~Study of~~ Salary Categories by Race and Municipality for 1969

City	Under 4000		4000 and under 6000		6000 and under 8100		8000 and above	
	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B
Abilene, Tex	22	0	0	0	110	3	1	0
Albany, Tex	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Abbeville, S.C.	5	5	8	0	2	0	0	0
Amarillo, Tex	0	36	0	0	191	1	1	0
Arlington, Va	0	0	0	0	9	2	240	0
Batesville, Ark.	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0
Beaumont, Tex	3	0	14	1	41	2	6	0
Birmingham, Ala.	0	2	46	29	428	11	163	0
Bluefield, Va	0	0	5	0	1	0	0	0
Bradenton, Fla	0	0	24	2	15	0	1	0
Blytheville, Ark	2	0	20	4	1	0	0	0
Bristol, Va.	8	1	12	1	8	0	0	0
Buena Vista, Va.	4	0	10	0	1	0	0	0
Chapel Hill, N.C.	1	1	24	4	12	0	1	0
Charlottesville, Va.	0	0	15	0	36	0	0	0
Clarksville, Ark.	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Clarksville, Tenn	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Clearwater, Fla	19	2	22	0	64	2	10	0
Columbia, N.C.	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Columbia, S.C.	0	0	32	3	92	3	46	1
Corpus Christie, Tex	28	3	136	6	91	7	11	0
Coral Gables, Fla.	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Dade City, Fla.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dallas, Tex	119	17	132	9	1029	18	457	1.
Daytona Beach, Fla.	22	7	43	3	57	0	11	0
Durham, N.C.	3	2	76	14	27	12	14	3
Dyersburg, Tenn	0	0	17	2	0	0	0	0
Fayetteville, N.C.	0	0	45	8	30	3	2	0

Police department

~~Study of~~ Salaries Categories by Race and Municipality for 1969

City	Under 4000		4000 and under 6000		6000 and under 8000		8000 and above	
	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B
New Iberia, La.	0	0	22	6	7	0	0	0
New Orleans, La	82	67	75	53	102	62	265	10
Newport News, Va.	18	9	49	1	76	4	40	2
Oak Ridge, Tenn.	0	0	17	1	22	0	5	0
Ocala, Fla.	4	0	36	1	12	2	4	0
Orangeburg, S.C.	5	4	9	2	23	4	2	0
Oxford, Ala.	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0
Oxford, N.C.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pell City, Ala.	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
Pulaski, Tenn	3	1	9	2	0	0	0	0
Richmond, Va.	17	13	46	12	1	0	37	49
Ripley, Tenn	~~0~~	~~0~~	~~2~~	~~0~~	~~0~~	~~0~~	~~0~~	~~0~~
Salisbury, N.C.	1	1	18	5	20	0	2	0
San Antonio, Tex	104	6	701	16	45	0	6	0
Shelby, N.C.	5	2	13	7	11	0	1	0
Sparta, Tenn	2	0	8	0	2	0	0	0
Spartanburg, S.C.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tallahassee, Fla.	1	1	32	3	59	3	11	0
Union, S.C.	17	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
Union City, Tenn	19	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Winston Salem, N.C.	23	16	5	0	0	0	198	10

Appendix TABLE III

	Police	%	Sheriff	%	Correction	%	Highway	%
Ala.	7 out 18	39% or 38.6	3 out 22	14%	6 out 9	67%	0 out 1	
Ark.	6 out 10	55%	2 out 10	20%	4 out 4	100%	0 out 1	
Florida	15 out 39	36%	5 out 16 (1 not complete Jacksonville)	31%	5 out 13	38%	0 out 1	
Georgia	8 out 16	50%	6 out 28	21%	7 out 17	41%	0 out 1	
Louisana	3 out 12	25%	2 out 12	17% or 16.6	5 out 7	71%	0 out 2	71.4
Miss.	3 out 10	30%	0 out 16		0 out 1		0 out 1	
N. Carolina	14 out 21	67%	9 out 14	64% 54%	1 out 3	33%	1 out 1	100%
S. Carolina	5 out 10 (1 not complete Spartanburg)	50%	1 out 12	8%	1 out 1	100%	0 out 1	
Tennessee	10 out 20	55%	3 out 15	20%	1 out 3	33%	0 out 1	Dept Public Safety
Texas	11 out 16 / 10 out 15	66⅔%	3 out 15	20%	1 out 1	100%		0 out 1
Virginia	7 out 18	39%	(7 1 incomplete Richmond 12)	58%	0 out 2		0 out 1	
TOTAL	Police ~~190~~ 191		Sheriff ~~164~~ 173 ~~+8~~		Correction 61		Highway Patrol 11	

~~Percentages~~

Agency Response to Employment Survey

Appendix TABLE IV

Percentage of Negroes in Police Force by Cities in Eleven Southern States

Cities	Whites	%	Blacks	%
BIRMINGHAM (ALABAMA)	490	98	11	2
HUNTSVILLE (ALABAMA)	227	94	15	6
GREENVILLE (ALABAMA)	96	71	40	29
LAFAYETTE (ALABAMA	8	80	2	20
OXFORD (ALABAMA)	7	100	0	0
PELL (ALABAMA)	4	80	1	20
BATESVILLE (ARKANSAS)	4	100	0	0
BLYTHEVILLE (ARKANSAS)	17	77	5	23
CLARKESVILLE (ARKANSAS)	5	100	0	0
HOT SPRINGS (ARKANSAS)	51	94	3	6
JONESBORO (ARKANSAS)	25	100	0	0
LITTLE ROCK (ARKANSAS	190	95	11	5
BRADENTON (FLORIDA)	39	95	2	5
CLEARWATER (FLORIDA)	86	98	2	2
CORAL GABLES (FLORIDA)	104	99	1	1

	Whites	%	Blacks	%
DADE CITY (FLORIDA)	14	88	2	12
DAYTONA BEACH (FLORIDA)	107	97	3	3
FORT MEYERS (FLORIDA)	50	88	7	12
GAINESVILLE (FLORIDA)	77	93	6	7
HOMESTEAD (FLORIDA)	24	92	2	8
GREEN COVE SPRINGS (FLORIDA)	7	78	2	22
HOLLYWOOD (FLORIDA)	170	97	3	3
MIAMI (FLORIDA)	554	89	66	11
OCALA (FLORIDA)	41	93	3	7
TALLAHASSEE (FLORIDA	130	94	9	6
ALBANY (GEORGIA)	84	82	19	18
ATLANTA (GEORGIA)	902	79	242	21
COLUMBUS (GEORGIA)	208	82	47	18
DECATUR (GEORGIA	39	83	8	17
MACON (GEORGIA	205	85	35	15

	Whites		%	Blacks	%			
MARIETTA (GEORGIA	65		97	2	3			
MILLEDGEVILLE (GEORGIA)	18		90	2	10			
WAYCROSS (GEORGIA)	40		98	1	2			
NEW ORLEANS (LOUISIANA)	1282		97	38	3			
LAFAYETTE (LOUISIANA)	107		85	91	15			
HATTIESBURG (MISSISSIPPI)	60		79	16	21			
LAUREL (MISSISSIPPI)	72		65	25	35			
NATCHEZ (MISSISSIPPI)	35		85	5	15			
CHAPEL HILL NORTH CAROLINA	33		87	5	13			
COLUMBIA (NORTH) CAROLINA	1		100	0	0			
DURHAM (NORTH) CAROLINA	135		77	40	23			
OXFORD NORTH CAROLINA	11		59	5	31			
FAYETTEVILLE (NORTH CAROLINA)	86		80	22	20			
GASTONIA (NORTH CAROLINA)	90		87	12	13			
GREENSBORO (NORTH CAROLINA	246		87	36	13			

	Whites	%	Blacks	%
GREENVILLE (NORTH CAROLINA)	43	77	13	23
LENOIR (NORTH CAROLINA	32	91	3	9
SHELBY (NORTH CAROLINA)	34	79	9	21
HIGH POINT (NORTH CAROLINA)	98	92	9	8
SALISBURY (NORTH CAROLINA)	35	85	6	15
WINSTON-SALEM (NORTH CAROLINA	238	89	26	11
~~COLUMBIA (NORTH CAROLINA)~~				
ABBEVILLE (SOUTH CAROLINA)	11	65	6	15
COLUMBIA (SOUTH CAROLINA)	221	94	13	6
ORANGEBURG (SOUTH CAROLINA)	45	80	9	20
SPARTANBURG (SOUTH CAROLINA)	NR	NR	NR	NR
UNION (SOUTH CAROLINA)	13	87	2	13
CLARKESVILLE TENNESSEE	46	82	10	18
DYERSBURG TENNESSEE	19	79	5	21
FAYETTEVILLE TENNESSEE	11	85	2	15

~~Data employees are not classified according to race~~

	Whites	%	Blacks	%
GATINBURG (TENNESSEE)	11	100	0	0
OAK RIDGE (TENNESSEE)	40	98	1	2
PULASKI (TENNESSEE)	11	85	2	15
RIPLEY (TENNESSEE)	16	73	6	27
SPARTA (TENNESSEE)	8	100	0	0
UNION CITY (TENNESSEE)	18	82	4	18
ALBANY (TEXAS)	1	100	0	0
ABILENE (TEXAS)	107	97	3	3
AMARILLO (TEXAS)	281	99.6	1	
CORPUS CHRISTI (TEXAS)	248	95	12	5
DALLAS (TEXAS)	1345	99	19	1
FORT WORTH (TEXAS)	713	96	31	4
GALVESTON (TEXAS)	73	85	13	15
LAREDO (TEXAS)	71	100	0	0

STATES	White	%	Black	%
LONGVIEW (TEXAS)	56	85	10	15
SAN ANTONIA (TEXAS)	908	97	26	3
BEAUMONT (TEXAS)	37	97	1	3
ARLINGTON (VIRGINIA)	242	99	2	1
BLUEFIELD (VIRGINIA)	7	100	0	0
BRISTOL (VIRGINIA)	23	92	2	8
BUENA VISTA) (VIRGINIA)	14	100	0	0
CHARLOTTES-VILLE (VA)	60	92	5	8
NEWPORT NEWS (VIRGINIA)	187	92	15	8
RICHMOND (VIRGINIA)	399	85	70	15
FORT VALLEY GEORGIA	15	75	5	25
NEW IBERIA (LOUISIANA	29	83	6	17

Appendix TABLE V

Salaries of Police Personnel by Race & States

STATES	Below $4,000		%	%	$4,000-6,000		%	%	$6,000-8,000		%	%	$8,000-10,000		%	%	$10,000+		%	%
	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W	B	W
ALABAMA	11	69	14%	86	32	126	20%	80%	15	592	2	98%	0	154	—	100	0	22	—	100
ARKANSAS	2	33	6%	94	10	281	3	97	0	159	—	100	0	5	—	100	—	—	—	—
FLORIDA	38	78	33	67	56	280	17	83	87	423	17	83	12	169	7	93	1	53	2	98
GEORGIA	40	120	25	75	8	125	6	94	9	124	6	94	—	21	—	100	—	7	—	100
LOUISIANA	69	85	45	55	67	145	32	68	62	1044	6	94	9	182	5	95	1	83	2	98
MISSISSIPPI	2	7	22	78	14	77	15	85	—	4	—	100	—	1	—	100	—	—	—	—
NORTH CAROLINA	28	40	41	59	72	421	15	85	38	356	10	90	14	193	6	94	2	91	2	98
SOUTH CAROLINA	4	5	44	56	5	66	7	93	7	119	6	94	1	40	—	100	—	8	—	100
TENNESSEE	1	5	17	83	19	120	13	87	—	30	—	100	—	4	—	100	—	1	—	100
TEXAS	30	280	10	90	33	532	6	94	93	1801	5	95	57	998	10	90	—	104	—	100
VIRGINIA	26	43	38	62	14	137	9	91	6	132	5	95	51	466	10	90	—	191	—	100

Appendix TABLE VII

Percentage of Blacks Employed in Correctional Institutions in Eleven Southern States

STATES	WHITE	%	BLACK	%
Alabama	827	99	1	—
Arkansas	166	71	67	29
Florida	255	66	131	34
Georgia	709	98	11	2
Louisiana	1249	76	403	24
Mississippi	NR	NR	NR	NR
North Carolina	351	53	312	47
South Carolina	320	93	35	—
Tennessee	247	99	1	—
Texas	1,913	98	38	2
Virginia	NR	NR	NR	NR

Appendix TABLE VIII

Supervisory Positions of Correctional Institutions in the South

	Supervisors B	Supervisors W	% B	% W	Administrators B	Administrators W	% B	% W
Alabama Board of Corrections		48				5		
Alabama Boys' Industrial School Birmingham Ala		2				7		
Atmore State Prison, Atmore, Ala		10				1		
Ala. State Training Sch. for Girls		7				1		
Draper Center Atmore Ala		8				—		
State Cattle Ranch Greensboro Ala.		1				—		
Arkansas Training Sch. for Boys	4	0						
Arkansas Training Sch. for Boys at Pine Bluff		—				3		
Arkansas Training Sch. for Girls		4				1		
Fargo Training Sch. for Girls Alexander, Arkansas		2			1	2	33	67
Florida Division of Corrections								
Gran Park Correctional Institution Gran Park, Fla.								
Arthur G. Dozier Sch. for Boys Marianna, Fla	4	4	50	50	0	3		
Battry Hospital Prison Branch Ga.		2						
Colony Farm Prison Branch Ga.		1				1		

Supervisory Positions of Correctional Institutions in 11 Southern States by Cities

	Supervisors B	Supervisors N	% B	% N	Administrators B	Administrators N	% B	% N
Georgia State Prison		15				9		
Georgia Industrial Inst. Alto, Ga.		11				8		
Jefferson Prison Branch, Louisville Ga						2		
Macon Prison Branch Montezuma Ga		2				1		
Meriwether Prison Branch Farm Springs Ga.		2						
Pulaski Prison Branch Hawkinsville, Ga.		2				1		
Louisiana Correctional & Industrial Sch.		14				2		
State Industrial Sch for Girls Deneville Louisiana		6				1		
Louisiana Dept. of Corrections	21	45	33	67	10	32	24	76
State Industrial Sch. Baton Rouge, Louisiana	1	0			7	0		
Louisiana State Penitentiary		165				9		
No response from Mississippi								
North Carolina Board of Juvenile Correction					5	14	24	76
South Carolina Dept of Corrections Columbia, S.C.	—	30			—	7		
Bushy Mountain Petros, Tenn	—	12			—	—		

284

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MR. PAT WATTERS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

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ATLANTA GA

AGAIN THANKS FINE REPORTING PIECE ON COFO SCHOOL TO RECAP WE SUGGEST YOU ASSUME LESS KNOWLEDGE ON READERS PART WHAT COFO SCHOOLS DOING THEREFORE IN YOUR LEAD YOU SHOULD SET OUT EXPLICITLY WHO ESTABLISHED THESE SUPPLEMENTAL SCHOOLS WHAT THEY DO HOW MANY CLASSES [HOW WHITE VOLUNTEERS ASSIGNED WHAT SUBJECTS] TAUGHT IN CLASS WHATS PRIMER LIKE WHAT ARE THEIR GOALS WHY SCHOOLS ARE NECESSARY THAT IS THEYRE NOT JUST TEACHING PEOPLE TO READ OR VOTE ARE THEY BUT TRYING GIVE THEM SENSE OF PLACE IN SOCIETY AFTER YOUVE GIVEN READER THIS ROAD MAP IN FIRST TWO PAGES YOU SHOULD THROUGHOUT THE PIECE LINK UP PARTICULAR SCHOOL ACTIVITIES SUCH AS DRUMS PRIMER ETC WITH OVERALL SCHOOL GOAL FINALLY YOU MIGHT TRIM SOME MATERIAL DEALING WITH SCHOOLS MOVING BUT PLEASE CHECK ON WHETHER SCHOOL HAS HAD TO MOVE ALREADY OR IS LIKELY TO BEFORE WEEK FROM SUNDAY WHEN WERE PLANNING RUN PIECE THANKS FOR ALL YOUR GOOD WORK AND LOOK FORWARD TO HAVING YOUR FIXES PHONED IN AS AGREED WEDNESDAY NIGHT REGARDS

GERALD WALKER

555PM

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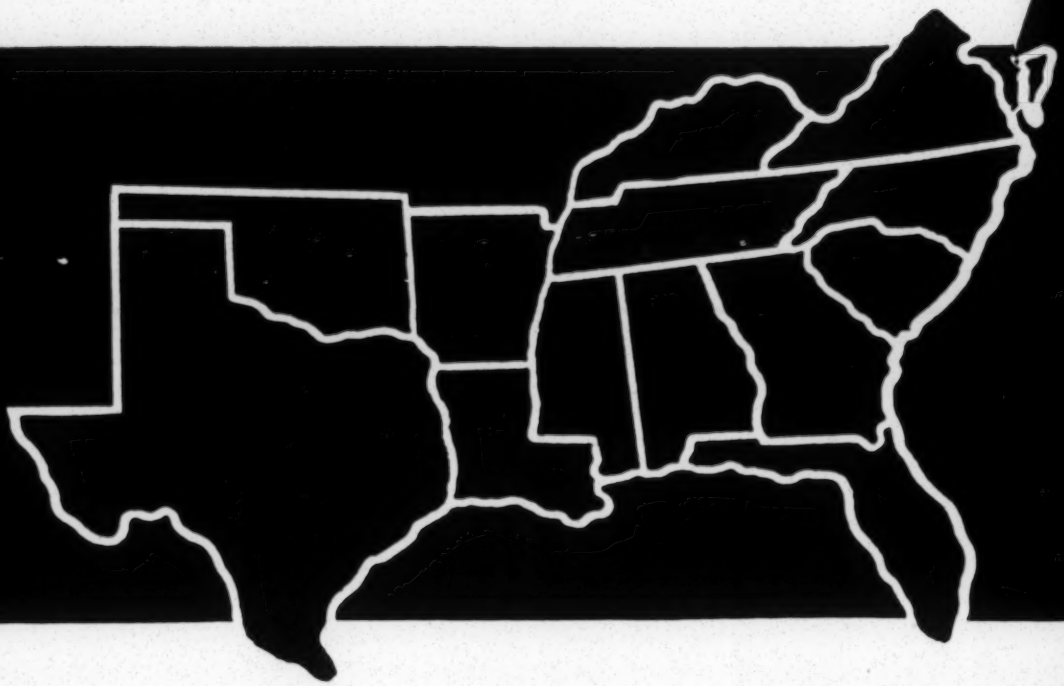

OCTOBER / 1962

Strictly Subjective

By MARGARET LONG

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CONTENTS

"They Know They're Niggers" 3
The South's Pattern of Violence Has Changed . . 9
Mississippi: The Mood of The Deep South 13
A Bell Rang 15
Strictly Subjective 2

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I know a young pastor in an Albany church who, in the Negro uprising, agonized and prayed over whether to say his religious and human piece for equal rights and lose his church, or whether to stay, speak carefully and eventually lead his flock to Christian truth. In the course of his conflict with his conscience and his congregation, he turned down a free and promising church position in a more enlightened community, because he felt that his racist parishioners needed his witness and persuasions. I admire his realism, mission and sacrifice, and I do hope the light he has brought to some of his people is spreading its beams brighter about the congregation.

One cringes to consider the shame and frustration of frightened Mississippians who believe in God or man and have not dared to speak during the voter registration efforts of persecuted Negroes in the last year, the fascist "law and order" of the Freedom Ride and the insane defiance which inspired the Mississippi riot. Indeed, many of us were abashed at the belated and half-hearted call of business leaders after the battle for obedience to law and business as usual. It is only by recalling the cowed silence of, for instance, many Georgians before their University crisis in 1960, that we can remember the fear, fever and confusion of conscience which paralyzed most of us.

Still, and all, it is possible in the South for a man to be what he is, speak what he believes and stand up to segregationist hatred, as our Rabbi Charles Mantinband has stoutly demonstrated for 15 or 16 years in darkest Alabama and Mississippi.

This stance requires love, wisdom, humor and valor, with which the rabbi

(Continued on page 17)

"They Know They're Niggers"*

With military suppression of the Oxford insurrection and restoration of peace to Mississippi, long silent voices of "moderation" rose in regretful tones there to deplore the fatal defiance and call for loyalty to the United States Government and decrees of its highest court.

Mississippi, no longer fevered with the delusion of its state sovereignty, was once again secured as a state of the Union. And on the riot-wrecked campus of the University a few students and teachers moved with gestures of welcome and commendation to James Meredith himself, the 29-year-old Negro whose admission to the school inspired a night-long fight between a mob and federal force. The principles of federal sovereignty and of Negro rights to equal public education seemed established.

But in the long Mississippi Delta and eastward, where the blue sky is low and the rich earth and half the people are black, white Mississippians still fight in old Deep South style the push of Negro neighbors to register to vote. They still oppose this 15-month effort with guns from country ambush, evictions from jobs and homes, false arrests, misapplication of local law, huge fines and long jail sentences, police and private beatings on city streets and country roads, and with threats, insults and the deep dread which white anger calls up in subjected Negroes.

Two Negroes are dead, one a voter registration leader killed by a state representative and another whose body was found stone-weighted in a river bed, unidentified and unexplained. Two young girls, innocent of voting activity, were shot from a passing car and gravely injured, one of whom may be crippled for life.

The broken jaws, black eyes, cracked ribs and split heads of Negroes and friendly whites incident to this resistance are not susceptible to accurate count from newspaper clippings, court testimony, first-hand accounts and news releases from Negro organizations working in small-town and plantation Mississippi. Nor are the lost jobs and homes, property damage, loan and mortgage foreclosures, warnings and other means of tireless terrorization so long and expertly perfected in deepest Dixie. This account has no statistics, either, on the number of literate Negroes rejected at registrars' offices, while registrars assist whites to answer Mississippi's perennially peculiar literacy tests.

Whatever lessons in loyalty, law and prudence Alabama and South Carolina may be absorbing from the federal victory at Oxford, white patriots of the Mississippi Delta seem undaunted by their cohorts' recent defeat in battle with the United States.

The latest word of their dedicated resistance to Negro franchisement, as NEW SOUTH goes to press, is the arrest of the Rev. Jeff Surney in Cleveland, a few days after the quelled insurrection at Ole Miss, on four charges of passing bad checks six and eight months ago. Mr. Surney recently moved his family from Ruleville, being

*Police Chief George Guy of McComb.

evicted from his home and farm tenancy and otherwise economically squeezed out of the community by white neighbors displeased with his wife's and son's assistance in the voter campaign, and not satisfied with young Mr. Surney's arrest, fine and jail sentence for vote activity.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee first moved into Mississippi to work with National Association for the Advancement of Colored People members in the state to instruct, encourage and accompany Negroes to vote, a year ago last August.

This descent evoked traditional Deep South response which involved four beatings for Robert Moses, SNCC registration leader, many arrests of SNCC workers and their local Negro friends, long jail sentences and expulsion from high school for demonstrating students, white attacks on Negroes unprotected by police and the killing of a Negro farmer by a state legislator. Violence and harassment included an attack on John Hardy with a pistol butt by the registrar at Tylertown, an incident which recently reached the Supreme Court in a Justice Department suit to enjoin Registrar Woods from such intimidations of citizens trying to vote. The high court upheld the Justice Department injunction. This white resistance in 1961 is recorded in part in NEW SOUTH of October 1961 and in more vivid detail in REVOLUTION IN MISSISSIPPI by Tom Hayden, a report of Students for Democratic Society.

The staunch spirit which inspires Mississippi's war on Negro franchisement is eloquently expressed in Mr. Hayden's interview with Police Chief George Guy of McComb, who explained the tax free benevolence which whites accord Negroes and that "They know they're niggers; they know their place."

This brief resume of Delta vigilance in 1961 against threats to its ancient social and political arrangements, cannot describe in full the most regionally colorful aspects of Mississippi resistance to change: the flexible use of local and state law to punish Negroes asserting their rights; the richly colloquial expressions of race hatred, insult and warnings from individual white supremacists, from courthouse and police officials and from the bench of local and state courts, and the loyal rapport of indigenous FBI agents with fellow Mississippi authorities, a sympathy of feeling which has frequently frustrated both Negroes aspiring to citizenship and the Justice Department attempting to protect them.

The Voter Education Project, a southwide drive to register southern Negroes to vote and to supply the Southern Regional Council with research information on registration patterns and problems, opened shop in Atlanta last April and granted funds to Mississippi voting workers in the NAACP, Congress of Racial Equality, SNCC and other indigenous groups. After three months, at the suggestion of VEP Director Wiley A. Branton, these organizations pooled their efforts and risks in a statewide vote promotion union, The Council of Federated Organizations, operating mainly in the Delta, and chose Aaron E. Henry as president and Mr. Moses as director.

This reinforcement and coordination of Negro campaigners evoked greater resolve from the embattled whites and inspired louder cries of "communist conspiracy" in the press, on street corners, in courthouses, banks and stores, and all around under the magnolias.

Forrest County Registrar Theron Lynd in Hattiesburg, under Justice De-

partment orders to cease discrimination against Negroes trying to register, late in April rejected 19 more, including four college graduates, and the Justice Department sued him for contempt. A few days later Mr. Lynd's office failed two Negroes who applied and took tests, giving no reason for their failure, and put off two more who came twice to register.

Three white students and one Negro from Oberlin and Coe Colleges, visiting Mississippi to look at race relations, were arrested with white Mississippi attorney William Higgs of Jackson and held without charge for 10 hours at Clarksdale, after they left a political rally for the Rev. Merrill Lindsey, Negro candidate for congress. Mr. Higgs, the only white lawyer in Mississippi who has defended Negro civil rights cases, and legal advisor for Lindsey in his campaign, had accompanied the student visitors on a "mixed" swim on nearby United States government property.

Three young Negroes, Bobby Talbert, W. T. Allen, and Charles Ray McLaurin, and one white man, Peter Stoner, in the voting movement were arrested June 2 in Jackson, the state capitol, while demonstrating for civil rights on the steps of the Jackson Federal Building. They picketed in protest against contempt of court convictions of two young Negroes who sat on the white side of a Hinds County courtroom, against pressures on Campbell College in Jackson and for Negro employment on city buses. The four refused to make $500 bond set by the police court judge, who postponed their trial, and remained in jail. Several civil rights organizations protested to Washington this city arrest of peaceful picketers on federal property.

July 3, 20-year-old Jesse Lee Harris and 17-year-old LeVaghn Brown of the Jackson Movement, finished their 40-day jail sentences for contempt of court, occasioned by sitting on the white side of the courtroom during the trial of Mrs. Diane Nash Bevel (for "contributing to delinquency of minors" in her work with young Jackson Negroes). Mr. Harris and Mr. Brown emerged from prison with reports of another form of Mississippi war on Negroes, cruel and unusual punishment in prison. Harris said a deputy sheriff taking him from the courtroom to the county jail, called him "a damn nigger" and beat him on the head, and that at the county farm the two were dressed in striped uniforms, where other prisoners were not, and denied association with other prisoners. Both young men said they were beaten several times at the county farm prison. On one occasion a guard named Keith, when he learned Harris had been a sit-in demonstrator, beat Harris with a length of hose while other prisoners held him. Keith, said Harris, later beat him repeatedly with a stick when he was unable to move a log, and sent him to a county "sweat box" for solitary on bread and water for 30 hours. Mr. Brown also was beaten twice with heavy sticks, he said, by a guard named Douglas Wright, who ordered other prisoners to hold him.

A police beating of a 14-year-old boy in Greenwood, Mississippi, where the voter Council has an office, is not ostensibly linked with registration efforts, except by Negro presumption that this was a part of official acts to intimidate, and by rural Deep South tradition of random Negro punishment in times of tension to express the mood of the white community.

Welton McSwine, Jr., who told police "I go to the cotton field all the time and back home," was arrested

and questioned for information on the breaking and entering of a white woman's home in July. This interrogation, conducted in a back cell, included beating the boy with fists and a black jack and a whip-lashing as he lay naked on the floor, he testified. Police interrupted the flogging at a buzzing signal, as SNCC field secretary Samuel Block interprets it from young McSwine's account, to stop the child's screams and turn on a TV set to drown out further cries.

The buzzer sounded as Mr. McSwine, Sr., arrived at the Greenwood jail, after his white employer had called police and asked them to release Welton in his father's custody, Block's report says. Welton said police told him to stop crying, wash his face, dress and go to the courtroom, and that when he entered the wrong room, a policeman struck him on the head, shoved him into the courtroom and directed, "That room, nigger." Mr. McSwine took his son home and to a doctor for treatment of swelling welts on his body, documented by photographs.

What is mildly called "harassment" persisted in the Delta to injure, dismay and deprive, if not daunt, uprising Negroes. The voter campaigners in late summer and fall, in their turn, persisted for ballot rights and representation with a petition to be presented to the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives. The petition asks that the election of Jamie Whitten to congress from the Second District be nullified and that the Negro candidate, Lindsey, be seated in the House, on the grounds that Negroes, if allowed to vote, would have elected him. Promoters of the petition seek 65,000 signatures from voting age Negroes, a number exceeding Whitten's majority over two white opponents.

Mr. Henry, Clarkdale druggist and state president of NAACP, is a spectacular but as yet unintimidated object of "harassment." Last March Mr. Henry was arrested on a "morals" charge and sentenced to six months in jail, a sentence he is presently appealing. Mr. Henry picked up a young white hitchhiker in Clarksville who charged that the NAACP leader talked to him about civil rights and made sexual advances to him. Mr. Henry is also defendant in two libel suits for $40,000 damages. He protested that the Clarksdale prosecuting attorney and police chief had conspired against him with trumped up morals charges. These two officials sued him for damages, and won a verdict in a jury trial, which Mr. Henry is also appealing. Mrs. Henry, a Coahoma County school teacher for 10 years, was recently fired for her voter activity.

Louis Allen, an Amite County farmer, who witnessed the death of Herbert Lee, a farmer vote leader, at Liberty and said that State Representative E. H. Hurst shot Mr. Lee without provocation, in August suffered a broken jaw, when a deputy sheriff hit him with a flashlight, and a $25 fine for "aggravated assault" on this officer who broke his jaw in two places. The unfortunate Mr. Allen is also an ardent worker in the drive to register Negroes in McComb and Amite County. He was injured as he walked by the city jail and a woman prisoner called out and asked him to make a phone call for her, whereupon the deputy sheriff attacked him.

Pressures on Negroes stepped up in August and September. After a mass meeting of white people at Ruleville, city officials closed two dry cleaning businesses owned by Negroes, on charges they violated city ordinances.

Mayor Charles M. Dorrough of

Ruleville personally dismissed Lenard Davis, 49-year-old sanitation department employe, because, as Mr. Davis quoted His Honor, "your wife's been attending that school," a Council class in registration instruction and nonviolence. It would be, the mayor added, "a little difficult for you to find a job here in Ruleville."

The white owner of a bus which Fred Hicks, a Negro, hired to drive field hands to their plantation work, told Mr. Hicks he could no longer use the bus without a commercial license, until his mother withdrew her name from voting rolls.

Mayor Dorrough also notified the Williams Chapel Missionary Baptist Church that free city water and tax exemption were removed because the property, scene of voting meetings, was used for "purposes other than worship services." A few days later a fire insurance company cancelled the church's policy.

August in Greenwood was enlivened by the attempts of 25 Negroes to register, laboring under the glare of a new Mississippi state law which requires that all aspirants to the ballot must wait two weeks for their names to be published in a newspaper, before they can register. Thus fingered, the 25 tried anyway, and awaited the process of registrar's publication of their names and subsequent testing.

The late summer letdown in Greenwood also was relieved by the adventure of Mr. Samuel Block. Three white men accosted Mr. Block in a parking lot and beat him with their fists, inflicting pain and anxiety, but no serious injuries. Mr. Block did not report this attack to police, since spokesmen for the local constabulary already had established their relations with him when they "threatened to knock my teeth out." He did complain to the FBI, with what results NEW SOUTH is not yet aware. Police Chief Curtis Lary told United Press International he knew nothing of the attack and had never heard of Block.

Mr. Block and two Negro colleagues, Luvaghn Brown and Lawrence Guyot, working late in their Greenwood office, a second-story room on the Negro side of town, received further white attention August 16, the night after Block's beating. An anonymous phone caller, who said he was a White Citizen council member, ordered them to leave town. At midnight, the three saw a police car outside and heard the driver call other cars on his radio. The car drove off, they reported, and a few minutes later they saw three private cars filled with white men cruising around the block. One car stopped and white riders left it and ascended the stairs to the Council office. The three Negroes locked the door, escaped out of a window and fled to a friendly Negro home.

Amite County officers in Liberty on August 22 investigated four white men in two cars on a CBS assignment, the visitors explained, in the company of the ubiquitous Mr. Moses, at the same time that 20 Amite Negroes came to town to register to vote. Five finished their tests, when a power failure closed the courthouse for the day. Deputy Sheriff Daniel Jones, said the newsmen's station wagon windows were covered with black plastic in violation of the law which bans anything but stickers on motor vehicle windows. Driver Harry Etklin pled quilty and paid a $36 fine, and the party left Liberty.

White night riders on September 5 shot up a Negro section of Carthage, inflicting tremendous terror, formidable property damage and slight and

painful knee injury on one elderly Negro as he lay abed beside his 9-year-old grandson. Gunmen fired volleys into eight homes and a store in the Harmony community. This visitation occurred after Negroes petitioned for school desegregation in Leake County.

Leake County Sheriff D. M. Lloyd said he knew nothing of the gunmen and that as Negroes couldn't identify the marauding cars, "it's hard to work on these things without any leads." Deputy Sheriff Emmett Faulkner surmised that the shooting might have been perpetrated by Negroes to draw attention and sympathy.

Ruleville again erupted into the news with a night-time shooting into the home of Mr. and Mrs. Herman Sisson on September 11. Twenty-year-old Marian Burkes was wounded in her arm and leg by buckshot and 18-year-old Vivian Hilliett was shot in the head. (Both girls were uninvolved in voter registration, and guests of the Sissons. Mrs. Sisson had tried to register to vote.)

Mayor Dorrough surmised, again, that Negro registration workers perpetrated this violent crime. "We think," he said to investigating FBI men, "they did it themselves."

Mr. Moses protested this attack to the Justice Department in Washington, which ordered FBI agents to investigate it. These federal officers apparently conferred with city officials and started their investigation with the questioning of Mr. Moses and other SNCC officials, until Moses informed them that it was he who had complained and demanded FBI help in apprehending the assailants on the Sisson's home.

Miss Burkes, in precarious condition for several weeks, has recovered with partial use of her leg, in which a bone was shattered by shot. After removal of what officers guessed was a 22 caliber bullet from her head, Miss Hilliett is also out of the hospital and recovered.

Four Negroes fishing in Black River at Goodman discovered the body of a Negro man, weighted with 100 pounds of rocks, September 12. The unknown body, apparently thrown from a bridge, was buried in Potter's field. Police said the Negro had been dead about five days.

Violent disorder disturbed a Negro section of Greenville the night of October 5, during which four white boys injured a 14-year-old Negro boy with a brick thrown from their car. Someone smashed a window with a missile and Negro boys threw pop bottles and beer cans at white boys. Fifteen whites and Negroes were arrested and Police Chief W. C. Burnley threatened a curfew for all teenagers. One hundred Washington countians signed an ad in the Delta *Democrat-Times* calling for an "end of lawlessness and disorder."

After a several-year period of sharecropping and tenant indebtedness to his employer, the loss of two cars, and eviction from his farm work and home, Rev. Jeff Surney, 51, World War II

(Continued on page 17)

The Washington Post

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1962

The South's Pattern of Violence Has Changed

By George McMillan

Special to The Washington Post

AIKEN, S. C.—If there is one thing that characterizes last week's tragic episodes at the University of Mississippi, it is their inevitability. Gov. Ross Barnett warned that there would be violence if Ole Miss were desegregated, and there *was* violence. People who would disagree with Barnett about almost everything else are ready to admit that he is right about the explosive nature of the Mississippian.

And Barnett wasn't the first Southern official to issue such a warning, and to see it come to pass. There has been so much violence in the South recently over the racial issue that the rest of the Nation has almost come to think that some violence may be unavoidable and, in a way, even defensible.

The individual Southerner's violent behavior is often treated as something to be understood, if not tolerated. It is often looked upon as the uncontrollable reflex of a man who is acting out sincere, if bigoted, convictions. Some sociologists have viewed Southern violence as a herd prenomenon and some historians have looked at it as being the logical fruit of a long tradition.

These somewhat generalized attitudes have become the assumptions of both sides in the current racial crisis, of those who want change and of those who are determined to resist change. Both sides take it for granted that violence toward the Negro is a common attribute of white Southerners. If this is a fact, then there are some rough days ahead, the roughest days of the racial crisis.

The segregated ways of other Deep South states, of Alabama and South

Carolina, are certain to be challenged, and the battle is not yet over in Mississippi.

What Can Be Done

IS THERE NOTHING that can be done? Is there no solution to the dispute that has become the Nation's No. 1 social problem and a major impediment in United States international relations? Must the tragedy of Oxford be repeated over and over again in the next decade?

Despite the disheartening prospect implied in these questions, there is a way to meet and prevent violence in Southern racial disputes.

In the first place, the stereotype of the violent Southerner has itself outlived the fact. It is not true. A careful study of Southern violence in the past decade proves that the violence is not spontaneous, it is not uncontrollable, it is not "sincere" and it is not the acting out of some tribal instincts.

Behind an image that has been fixed by a hundred novels, three or four dozen movies, and a thousand social studies, Southern violence has radically altered. Both the outward shape and the functions of violence have changed profoundly. There was a time when whole communities did rise as a man, as in Tulsa, Okla., in 1920. They besieged and then burned the entire Negro section of the city.

Sometimes these holocausts were set off by nothing more than a rumor that the local Negroes were getting uppity. The lawless acts were by no means entirely the work of wool hats or white trash.

There were almost 3000 lynchings between 1861 and 1950, and the "good people" turned out and took charge so often that sociologists have created a category they call "the Bourbon lynchings." It was a time when even the manhunt itself seemed a reasonable and even indispensable type of action for the community, reported John Dollard in his classic study, "Caste and Class" in a Southern town.

Three Southern Groups

BUT HOW COMPLETELY that pattern of violence has changed is apparent from a careful scrutiny of the pattern that underlies today's violence.

When anything happens in the racial situation in the South today, Southerners form themselves into three discernible groups:

I THE HARD CORE. Almost all of the overt acts of violence in the South since 1950 have been led and provoked by a small hard core. This is obviously the case, too, at Oxford, Miss. At Clinton, Tenn., indictments were drawn up for 13; in Little Rock, Ark., the FBI prepared dossiers on 18 or 19; fered than 20 struck any blows at either Montgomery or Birmingham, Ala., during the Freedom Ride brutalities; an official of the University of Georgia at Athens said that there would have been no trouble there (where in fact riots occurred) "if we could have suspended 15 or 18 students."

The common denominator of the hard core is a shared capacity for hatred and a determination (when it is not a compulsion) to act this hatred out. The shabby literature of bigotry is almost always to be found on their persons, in their cars or in their hotel rooms.

Except for an occasional university student who becomes involved, the hard core group is so low in status that most of its members have none.

An Atlanta detective who is a veteran of the vice squad told me after serving on the special squad that watched the hard core in Atlanta when schools were desegregated there: "I thought I knew the worst of Atlanta but I never dreamed we had an element like this."

Two of the hard core under surveillance in Atlanta were homosexuals. Another had come under police scrutiny only after a prostitute reported to a member of the vice

squad that her "boy friend" had forced her to launder his Klan robe.

Organizations like the Ku Klux Klan are no longer mass movements. It is doubtful if they are even permanent, continuing organizations. The proliferation of "hate" organizations in the South is little more than a collection of letterheads whose small memberships are often nearly identical. The best known of these, the States Rights Party, held a "victory" meeting after the beatings at the Birmingham bus terminal; 50 turned out to find themselves lost in a broom sedge field.

Although there was a relatively small group at the Montgomery bus terminal to meet the Freedom Riders, it nevertheless included men from South Carolina and Georgia as well as Alabama. At Oxford, cars were seen from Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and Arkansas.

The hard core has become interstate.

The facts support the thesis that there is a small group of violent men in each of the states of the South; how many of them will assemble at any given place and time is dependent only on the amount of police resistance they expect to find. The situation at Oxford last week seems to have offered what to them was the maximum opportunity, an even greater one than Little Rock.

2 "THE ANGRY MOB." If the hard core is not a representative group of Southerners, neither is the crowd that turns out for racial disturbances.

It is a very specialized collection of people. It is seldom a "mob" in the real sense of that word; since 1954 there has almost never been a Southern crowd which was taken over by collective hysteria. There is a distinctly contrived air about almost all racial outbreaks.

And almost all the crowds are made up of two groups of people. On the courthouse lawn at Clinton, in the streets near Central High at Little Rock, on the steps outside the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church at Montgomery, the crowds were full of people from the country.

At Montgomery they were known to have come from Anniston and Selma; at Clinton, from Oliver Springs; at Little Rock from several places; at Chattanooga, from Soddy-Daisy and Sand Mountain.

These country faces are always, without fail, fleshed out with throngs of teen-agers. The night the Freedom Riders and a church full of Negroes were besieged in Montgomery, the crowd outside was almost entirely made up of young people.

"Sunday night's violence was the work of teen-agers all the way," reported the Montgomery Journal. "It looked more like a rock and roll convention than a Ku Klux Klan meeting. Many of the girls were dressed in tight shorts and low necked blouses. The boys wore blue jeans and many had duck-tail haircuts."

These same faces were seen on the campus at Ole Miss last week and in Oxford. And they were present at Little Rock, at Clinton—everyplace.

3 THE GOOD PEOPLE, or everybody else. If there is anything that is certain in the South today it is that the surest way to lose caste is to be present at the scene of a racial disturbance or to be in any way identified with violence.

With rare exceptions the communities go on about their business. "In Little Rock with the whole world watching the hour-by-hour developments, the people of Little Rock themselves went

about their business—about 124,500 of the 125,000 of them —and then went home at night and watched it on TV," reports a newsman there.

The new form which violence now takes in the South suggests its changed function. Violence itself has become a major (and last ditch) weapon in the strategy of the South's resistance.

In the old days the violence was directed at the Negro himself and its purpose was to put him back in his "place."

There is still some of that.

But the purpose of most of the recent violence is to convince public opinion outside the South, the courts, and the executive branch of the Federal Government that no matter how great the moral and legal force behind desegregation, its price in civil chaos is simply going to be too high.

THIS IS THE reason the South, or parts of it, let these irresponsible people act out their callous compulsions.

For it can be stopped at any time. There is no mystique about how to do it. "There is not one single incident of violence in the South that could not have been stopped by the local police if they showed the people that they meant business about preserving law and order," I was told by one police authority in the South.

The phase of violence can everywhere be eliminated, and the threat of it put down with accepted, standard well-established police procedures.

THERE IS NO mystique about it as Atlanta proved.

The threat to law and order during the period preceding the desegregation of Atlanta's schools potentially was as great as it has been any place in the South. The hard-core group moved into Atlanta from all over the South.

And Atlanta took the job on and solved it with standard, accepted police procedures. With the help of the FBI, Atlanta's police force identified the hard core and put it under closer and closer surveillance as the day for school desegregation approached. Furthermore, the police let the hard core know that they were watching them.

And when D-day arrived, police formed a cordon around the schools, and with adequate warning having been issued, they then arrested any person who did not have legitimate business at the scene.

The hard core did not even show up and the country folks and teen-agers stayed home.

THE DIFFICULTY has been, of course, that other Southern police and public officials have not followed the book for law and order. Many of these people hold public office for the very reason that they convinced the voters they could do the best job of fighting off desegregation. It is not likely that they would assist the process.

It is one of the tragedies of the South today, or of much of it, that the middle and upper middle class people of the region, including all the usual leadership groups outside politics, are by default giving their political leaders a last chance to solve the racial crisis through violence.

These groups in the South are aware, perhaps better aware than anyone else, that segregation is coming to an end. To one who lives among them it often seems that they would be grateful if someone would come along and break the barrier so that they could take up their normal leadership roles again.

WHETHER THAT is a sufficient motive for a different form of Federal police action is another matter.

But it has become increasingly apparent among those people in the South who are concerned about the deepening crisis in law and order that the Federal Government should assume primary responsibility for preserving the peace wherever Federal court orders are being carried out. "It has every right to do so," said one man who works in the field of race relations, "and I think it has the duty to do so."

It is no longer a question of how to do it. It is no longer a question of whether the South deserves more "time," for there is no time for violence. It is no longer a question of the Federal Government abridging the rights of the Southern people. The point has been reached where most of them need to be protected from the hoodlums and hate-mongers in their midst.

MISSISSIPPI: THE MOOD OF THE DEEP SOUTH

Although Some Voices of Moderation Are Now Heard, Die-Hard Racists Are as Determined as Ever

By CLAUDE SITTON
Special to The New York Times

OXFORD, Miss., Oct 6—A fraternity house on the University of Mississippi campus sits high above a terraced lawn behind breastworks of baled hay. Mock cannon bristle from the gunports and Confederate battle flags flutter overhead.

A sign directed at the troops who restored order at the university proclaimed: "You might take the campus but you'll play hell with the Dekes."

The Delta Kappa Epsilon fortress is no more than a bad joke to the military policemen who roll by in patrolling jeeps. But to others it symbolizes the state's reaction to events surrounding James H. Meredith's enrollment at Ole Miss.

The fact that it was built following a riot that left two dead and approximately 375 injured indicates the relative lack of regret over this sorry affair. It also demonstrates the sullen defiance of Federal authority, which forced compliance with court orders directing the Negro student's admission.

A few whites have publicly conceded responsibility for the violence. Among this group are Oxford's clergymen, who have said all Mississippians must share in the blame.

The ministers and the university chapter of the American Association of University Professors have urged Mississippians to obey the courts.

The Reactions

A greater number of persons have deplored the breakdown of law and order because of the threat to their own welfare and that of the state. More than 25 business, industrial and professional leaders throughout Mississippi have called for prosecution of the troublemakers.

But a majority of the state's residents have remained silent or have joined Governor Ross R. Barnett in the hunt for a scapegoat, an easy task in an atmosphere in which fiction is accepted as fact. The Governor has accused the deputy United States marshals who escorted Mr. Meredith onto the campus of starting the riot by precipitate use of tear gas.

An appeal for order has even come from Mr. Barnett, who capped a series of belligerent statements by three times defying the Federal courts before Mr. Meredith was accepted. But his plea has been coupled with further attacks on the court and the surprising remark that "placing Meredith in the University of Mississippi by armed might positively does not integrate the university—it only means that he is illegally at the university, and that the campus and the city of Oxford are occupied by Federal troops."

Student reaction has paralleled that off the campus. A few seem to have been shamed by the behavior of the mob, which included many non-students. The Mississippian, the campus newspaper, has denounced the outbreak and is soliciting funds for a scholarship that will honor one of the victims, Paul Guihard, a correspondent for Agence France Presse.

No Sorrow

But there is no widespread mourning. The election of a home-coming queen was held Thursday. And during the latter part of the week the chief concern has been the threat that today's football game with the University of Houston might be canceled.

There is open hostility to Mr. Meredith among some students. He has been burned in effigy. Foul epithets have been shouted at him. And only a handful of the students has demonstrated any kindness toward the former Air Force sergeant.

Mr. Meredith's admission has aroused emotions here and elsewhere to such a pitch that rational thought seems difficult. The climate created by years of demagoguery and racial bigotry has brought suppression and distortion of fact. As a result, some persons connected only indirectly with the controversy have suffered.

Oxford's Mayor Richard W. Elliott, for example, first called upon state highway patrolmen to put down the rioting that had spread from the campus into the business district. After they had refused, he asked Federal officials to send troops. His action has since drawn this comment from a legislator:

"How could a Mississippian ignore his Governor when he was doing all that was possible to quell a riot started and supported by the Administration in Washington, and who had plenty of manpower to keep order in Oxford regardless of the fact that it was a Kennedy-inspired situation? Sending to Kennedy, our enemy who would mongrelize the Anglo-Saxons of the Southland, to police your town, brings to the fore that you are a most undesirable citizen of the commonwealth."

Pressure for conformity with the orthodox view at whatever cost is being exerted all along the line. Charles M. Hills, writing in The Clarion-Ledger of Jackson warned that "the skalawags and the moderates are going to crawl out of the walls now." He continued:

The Pressures

"Watch the peace-lovers come to the fore, grab a nigger-neck and start bellowing brotherly love. For us . . . we'll just go on being a bigot, a reactionary, a rebel and lick our wounds till the next fight starts and plan to win somehow. We are licked but not beaten!"

Viewed against this background, it is not surprising that 10,000 Army troops and Federalized National Guardsmen and a small bodyguard of deputy United States marshals are necessary to protect Mr. Meredith. The student's life would be in extreme jeopardy if they were removed. The threat does not lie in further mob violence, which appears unlikely so long as proper precautions are taken. The greatest danger stems from the possibility that a lone man, infected by the cold, unreasoning fury that grips many whites, will slip through the lines and make an attempt to kill the student. This was underscored Thursday when a man, who appeared to be mentally confused, was apprehended at the very door of Mr. Meredith's dormitory.

Federal officials seem to underestimate the intensity of white antagonism, particularly in assessing the long-range outlook. They appear to be overly optimistic about the chances for achieving an atmosphere of normalcy on the campus.

A fatal slip on their part would have far-reaching consequences. If Mississippi's militant white supremacists succeed in their efforts to remove Mr. Meredith from the university, it will encourage further violent resistance to desegration here and in other Deep South states.

Possible Causes

Moreover, if harm comes to Mr. Meredith, it may well discourage other Negroes who, heartened by his show of bravery, have applied for admission to white public educational institutions.

One girl has an application pending at Ole Miss and another youth has requested application forms.

No one can predict with certainty that these and other Negro students will be attending Ole Miss with Mr. Meredith a year from now. His admission has cleared away the legalistic barriers thrown up by the state. But others undoubtedly will be devised, for there are no indications that Mississippi officials are ready to concede defeat.

The future pace of desegration is not subject to forecast, although it is no less inevitable here than in other states. Perhaps the over-all situation is best described in the terms used by Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, the Deputy Attorney General, in contending that "considerable progress" had been made this week toward restoring the campus to normal.

"That doesn't mean that I don't think we've got a helluva long way to go," he said. "It will be a long, long time—if ever— before there will be complete acceptance of Meredith as a student."

Crimson White

"For 68 Years the Capstone's Newspaper"

Melvin F. Meyer, Editor — Joseph Stewart, Business Manager

Member of the Associated Collegiate Press

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EDITORIALS

A Bell Rang . . .

If I had a bell,
I'd ring it in the morning,
I'd ring it in the evening,
All over this land.
I'd ring out justice,
I'd ring out freedom,
I'd ring out love for my brother and my sister,
All over this land.

. . . . American Folk Song.

A bell rang this week in Oxford, Mississippi.

It tolled not the ending of segregation as some had thought it might. Its message was rather the seeming success of Gov. Ross Barnett, who literally "stood in the schoolhouse door" and denied admission to James Meredith, Mississippi Negro.

We are concerned that Meredith did not gain access to the University of Mississippi. We think he should have been admitted.

Morally, there is no justification for his rejection.

Legally, there can be no doubt he is entitled to become a student at Mississippi.

But this is not our prime concern.

James Meredith's rights have been denied before and will, no doubt, be denied again. This is not to suggest that these denials are justified, for they are not. But it is to suggest that he probably has been forced to rationalize his existence in the society to which he was born.

We are more concerned with the precedent that has been set at Oxford, and the trend that may have been established.

People say that Meredith should not be allowed to attend the University of Mississippi if a majority of the people there and throughout the state do not want him.

This argument has frightening implications in terms of where it might lead. Does freedom of speech mean that the majority is to vote to determine whom they wish to hear? Is freedom of religion to be extended only to those persons whose beliefs conform to what the majority has decided is orthodox?

More specifically, if the bigot or the demagogue can muster a majority to turn on the Negro, will he necessarily stop there? Or will he next turn to the Catholic, and the Jew, or the member of any other minority group?

People who have studied prejudice attribute much of it to the necessity of the individual to have a tangible scapegoat upon whom to vent his wrath. The Federal Government makes a mistake and it's because the damn Catholics are in control.

And the sheer necessity of having to have someone to look down upon forces the element closest to that of the Negro to oppose any betterment of the Negro's lot.

P. D. East, editor of the **Petal Paper** and author of the **Magnolia Jungle**, puts it this way. "If I were a Catholic in Mississippi, I'd be worried. If I were a Jew, I'd be scared stiff. If I were a Negro, I would already be gone."

This is our point of prime concern. The basis of the democratic system is equality before the law, and the system is but a mockery if the laws are only to extend to a portion of the citizenry.

Every time the rights of one citizen anywhere are denied, every citizen is harmed.

Every time we trim our legal sail to meet the whirlwinds of the times, the course of the Ship of State is altered, and the destination toward which we have steered for 170 odd years grows more remote.

Bias is a force that strikes at one and all. We have come much too far, and fought far too long, to abandon our democratic system to appease the great god, Expediency.

We lost something American in Oxford this week, and every American citizen is the less for it.

John Donne said: "No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main; . . . I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

There was no need to send to Oxford this week to see what bell rang. It wasn't the bell of justice and freedom; it rang for you and me.

veteran and father of eight young girls, moved his family to Cleveland. Among his economic vicissitudes at the hands of white Ruleville farm and business owners was payment of $1,370 on a 1957 Pontiac he bought in Greenwood for $1,100 plus $500 carrying charges, to have the car repossessed in default of one payment and to lose the $1,370 A few months' later Mr. Surney's employer bought him a 1954 Ford for $565, which, in settlement of debts to his employer, Mr. Surney never saw, thus losing $1,370 and $565 on two cars, in addition to finishing up the year $214 in debt by the planter's statement.

Mr. Surney's son, Lawrence, was arrested the last of August for distributing handbills to announce a voter rally without a permit, and was jailed and fined.

The elder Mr. Surney sought twice in August to register to vote at Indianola, and the third time, with a busload of Negro applicants, he was allowed to fill out the form.

On October 18 the Rev. Mr. Surney was arrested in Cleveland by a Justice of the peace, brought to Ruleville and convicted of passing bad checks. He appealed to circuit court and will be tried next March. Mr. Surney is again house-hunting, due to the displeasure of his landlord at this arrest.

"I am gravely concerned," observed VEP Director Branton, who has defended many Negro cases in the Delta and suffered considerable costs and harassment himself, "over the state of justice in Mississippi." —M. L.

Strictly Subjective

Continued from page 2

of B'Nai Israel in Hattiesburg in Southern Mississippi is well endowed. I think Rabbi Mantinband also survives his environs so handsomely, despite his freely and frequently expressed view that all men are equal, because he sees no man as his enemy, not even that city official, Temple constituent or White Citizens Council race-saver who threatens him with violence, damage to his church or removal from Hattiesburg.

I call Rabbi Mantinband ours because he is a venerated and cherished member of the board of the Southern Regional Council and was a chairman of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. I remember the first time I saw him at our (and my first) annual dinner when he bustled glowing and twinkling up to Mr. Dabbs and Mr. Marion Wright at the head table to fetch "a bit of gossip," which they received with much head-bobbing and laughter. Old as I am, I was drawn like a child to the aura of warmth, moral authority and witty freedom around the brisk and rotund rabbi. He wore a look of old-fashioned goodness which blessed our dinner party with its sheen. I met Mrs. Mantinband with equal pleasure, feeling in her deep eyes and lovely Jewish face—a face frankly and beautifully aging—that same intelligence, grace and valor. And I figured that if you're good enough, you can say and

do what you believe anywhere.

We had an impassioned and humor-sparked panel discussion among authors Louis Lomax and Eric Lincoln and the soft-styled, sharp-edged and regaling Dr. Robert Harris of Vanderbilt. In the course of this exchange on Negro rights and southern recalcitrance they dropped some fierce ironies and reproaches on the "hard core" South which was still behaving like the embattled Confederacy. When the discussion moved to the floor Rabbi Mantinband rose to make eloquent remarks in what sounded to me like cultivated New England accents, but which were really Tidewater Virginia, about the good people, the good feeling and the hidden, oppressed liberalism and humanity in Mississippi. We loved his respect for the silent best of Mississippi, while sharing his grief at its silence and his anger at the dominant bigotry. What shone brightest, though, was the rabbi's, love hope and Mississippi-respecting plea for us to understand his troubled people.

Rabbi Mantinband decided early that "in my personal life there would be no distinction between any of God's children." This resolve became more important in the South if he were "to be worthy of my Jewish heritage." More difficult, he "vowed never to sit in the presence of bigotry and by my silence seem to give assent," a vow which has, in southern Mississippi, necessitated a great deal of dissenting sound from the rabbi, in the pulpit, press and speeches around the state and the South.

He has compared Negro oppressions with prejudice against Jews and their sufferings, an insight scarcely compatible with the attitude of many nicely assimilated Jews in the South, who naturally prefer to ignore anti-Semitic winds which revived with federal court decisions for Negro justice and segregationist efforts to keep Dixie supremely and separately white.

"The time is past," declared Rabbi Mantinband, "when a Jew dare be neutral on this moral issue."

So, for the Jewish Chautauqua Society he undertook some years ago visits to white and Negro colleges to answer the frequent question, "What can Negro leadership learn from Jewish experience?" upon which members of his congregation asked him to desist from such uneasy discussion. The rabbi said he would speak no more at Negro schools, or white ones either. The Temple board, eager to maintain harmony, asked that the rabbi keep speaking, but not about race, and he replied that he would ignore this problem if his congregation members could persuade the daily press to be silent, also. So, Rabbi Mantinband went his way, and at Yom Kippur preached on the Emmett Till lynching and "what Mississippi has to atone for." He again raised his voice in shame and anger over the unprosecuted lynch murder of Mack Parker in Mississippi.

During the Mantinbands' absence abroad in 1958, the White Citizens Council advised B'Nai Israel to get rid of their "mischief-making rabbi," or "we cannot be responsible for the consequences." But Rabbi Mantinband's friends in the church defeated a petition to oust him. Months later a national foundation gave $2,500 to the congregation in tribute to the rabbi's "sane approach and wisdom" on race, and when members of B'Nai Israel wanted to decline the gift for fear of reprisals from segregationist neighbors, Rabbi Mantinband asured them that they'd lose the money and their rabbi, too. The congregation voted him support, five to one, and later, life tenure at B'Nai Israel.

The Mantinbands have long welcomed Negro company to their home. When Protestant neighbors inquire who the extraordinary guests are, the good rabbi is wont to reply, "Some Christian friends of mine."

One must wonder at the rabbi's triumphs over so much fear, anger and threats for so many constant years of fidelity to his Jewish heritage and his loyalty to men black and white, and suspect that if his white Christian colleagues had led, struggled and risked with his Jewish love and courage they might have saved Mississippi from its second Civil War. At any rate, the prevailing of the admirable Rabbi of B'Nai Israel through the dark and silent years should guide them, as he has urged them, "to have more faith in America and its decent citizenry."

Revolution and Violence

The violence that has erupted in parts of the South over Negro-white relationships, that violence with which we dissent most sharply, is *not* due to an undemocratic and static society. It arises from our very participation in a democratic and changing society. No sane person would contend that we have reached perfection here in the United States, but neither would any concerned citizen argue that we have given up struggling toward it. It is this struggle that finds most acute form in the South today. It is this very conviction, that America and the South are not frozen societies forever fixed in their present molds, that makes Negroes demand payment on promissory notes of equality issued long ago, that makes white citizens re-examine the social arrangements by which they live.

We are part of a world-wide experience, for we are undergoing a revolution in the South, economic, social, cultural, spiritual, and no revolution ever took place without a struggle. To borrow a familiar phrase, then, the winds of change are not only blowing across the world, they are ruffling the South. The change is here, not only inevitable but irrevocable. What is not and never has been inevitable is the price we pay for change: the price in bitterness, in violence, in weakened institutions, in distorted traditions. We can see change as an unwanted harvest to be trampled in the fields, or as a seedbed to be cultivated for future nourishment.—*Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely,* "Our changing South: A Challenge," *in* WE DISSENT.

Lamar on Slavery, Citizenship and Suffrage

With their opinions on the rightfulness of slavery unchanged by the events of the war, yet as an enlightened people, accepting what is inevitable, they would not, if they could, again identify their destiny as a people with an institution that stands antagonized so utterly by all the sentiments and living forces of modern civilization. In a word, they regard the new amendments to the constitution which secure to the black race freedom, citizenship, and suffrage, to be not less sacred and inviolable than the original charter as it came from the hands of the fathers. They owe allegiance to the latter; they have pledged their parole of honor to keep the former, and it is the parole of honor of a soldier race.—*from a speech of Representative Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar of Mississippi in the United States House of Representatives June 8, 1874.*

And in this connection it may surprise some of the readers of this discussion to learn that in 1869 the white people of Mississippi unanimously voted at the polls in favor of ratifying the enfranchising amendment for which Mr. Blaine voted in Congress, believing, as they did, that when once the Negro was made a free man, a property-holder, and a taxpayer, he could not be excluded from the remaining privilege and duty of a citizen, the right and obligation to vote. And I think I can safely say for that people what Mr. Blaine says for himself: that if the question were again submitted to their judgment they 'would vote for Negro suffrage in the light of experience with more confidence than they voted for it in the light of an experiment' . . . and the result is that throughout the South the races vote together; that they have learned where their mutual interest lies; and that whom God has joined all the politicians have failed to keep asunder.—*Senator L. Q. C. Lamar in a symposium on Negro franchisement in the North American Review, March 1879.*

THE GENERAL CONDITION OF THE MISSISSIPPI NEGRO

This paper is a report published by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. It is general and extensive in scope rather than specific and detailed. The report's purpose is threefold:

1. to give SNCC's Mississippi field workers a handy reference source detailing statistically some of the general facts relating to the status of the Negro in Mississippi,

2. to indicate the dire necessity for COFO's proposed community centers and county workers, and

3. to serve as a guideline for more detailed studies to be made in the near future.

In this study, the term "nonwhite people is used instead of the term "Negro" in many instances. Because of the high proportion of Negroes in the nonwhite category, it is not a distortion to use data that refers to "nonwhites" as data that refers particularly to Negroes. In 1960, in Mississippi, 99.6 percent of the total nonwhite population was Negro, and 99.7 percent of the nonwhite farm operators were Negroes.

This report is being distributed by:

THE COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS (COFO)
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

ONE MAN - ONE VOTE

COFO Publication # 1
October, 1963

Labor Donated

Report for Miss. Field Staff

PERTINENT BACKGROUND DATA

Growth in the Population, 1940-1960

Number and Proportion - 915,722 Negroes constituted, in 1960, roughly 42% of the total 2,178,000 population in Mississippi. Between 1940 and 1960, the total population remained nearly the same (per cent change: -0.2), with a more than 7% decrease in the Negro population compared with an increase of more than 6% among the non-Negro population. (See Chart I and Table I.)

Although birth rates among Negroes have been consistently higher than those among whites, mortality rates are higher, average life expectancy is lower and migration out of the state is considerably higher among Negroes than among whites.

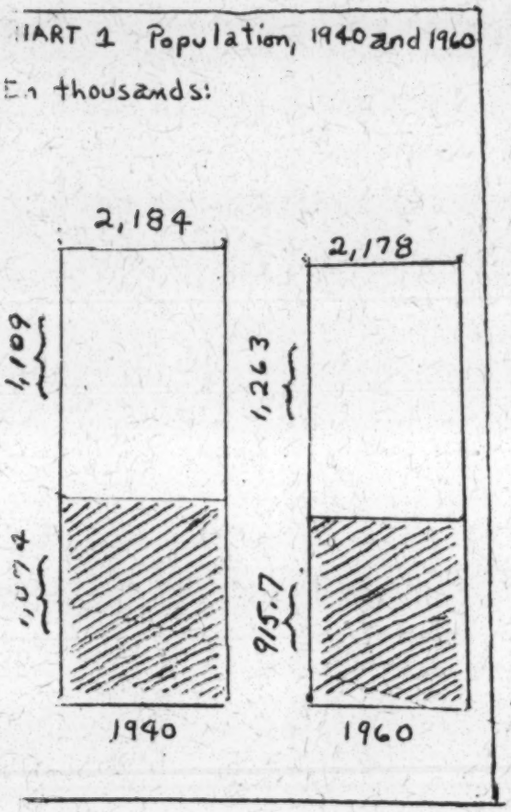
Birth Rates - The higher birth rates among Negroes, in comparison with whites, are shown in Table 2. In 1949, the rate per 1,000 among the Negro population was 34.8, compared with 21.8 among whites. Since 1945 there has been a significant rise in the birth rate for Negroes. During the depression 30's, sharp declines in birth rates occurred among both Negroes and whites. (Chart 2)

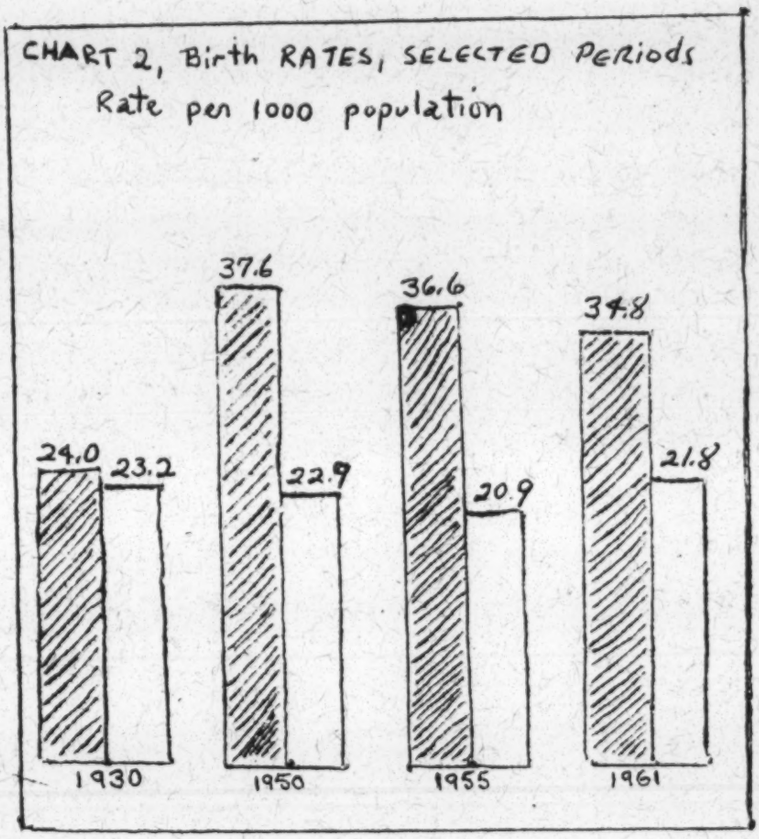
Death Rates - Death rates among Negroes continue to be higher than the rates for whites, though the difference in the rates has consistently narrowed. (Table 3) It is still a fact, however, that the death rate among Negroes today is not as low as it was for whites in 1913, the first year for which we have death rate data. This is largely a reflection of the continued low standard of living Mississippi Negroes exist under, in addition to a lack of access to adequate hospital care (See Chart III.)

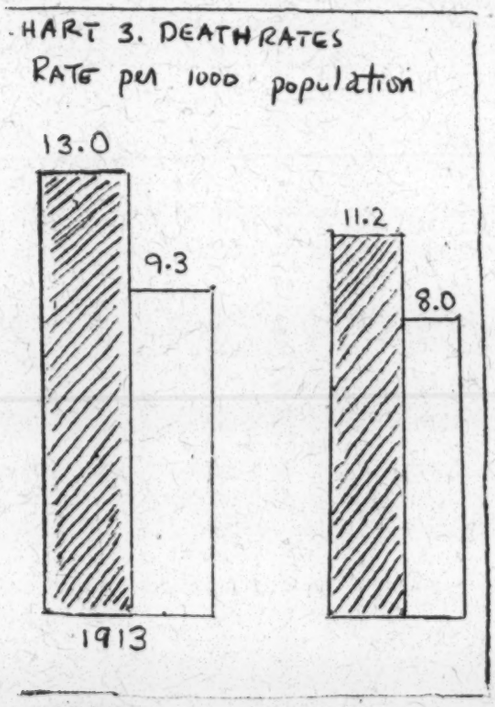
Infant Mortality - Infant mortality rates since 1920 for both races have generally gone downward. The rate for non-whites, however, swung upward in 1957 and continued upward until 1961 when it started downward again (Chart IV). It takes no statistical genius to understand what the figures reflect: In Mississippi the chances of a Negro baby dying within the first year of life are at best twice those of a white baby. Though most babies of both races do survive, Negro babies have a greater chance of starting life with a health handicap. In communities where Negroes are subject to major segregation and discrimination, the Negro baby is much more likely to be born prematurely. Premature babies may get excellent care if they are born in or near a hospital with a modern center for premature infants, but Negroes in Mississippi are largely denied this. (Table 4)

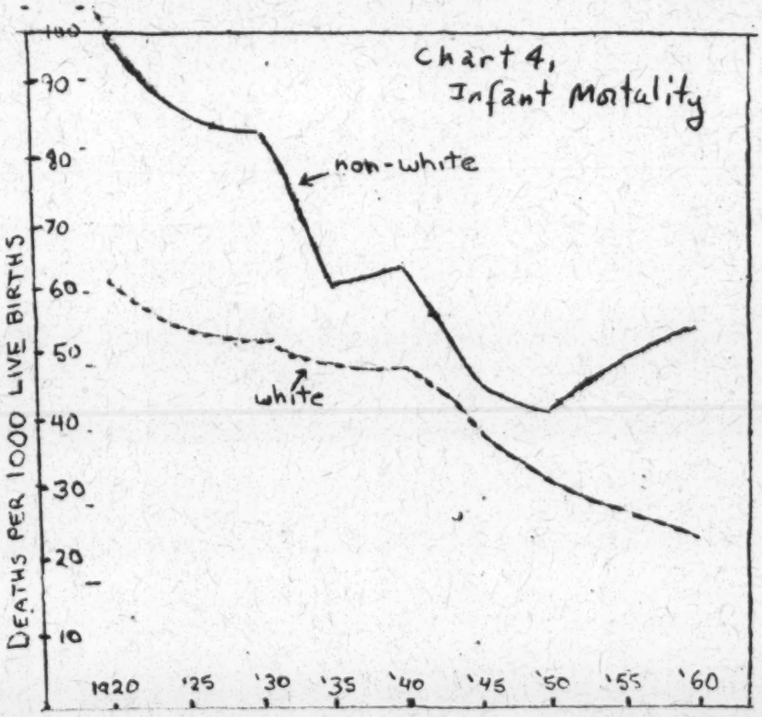
Significant Population Characteristics, 1950-1960

Age Distribution - Table 5 compares the changes in the Negro and white population which have occurred among different age groups between 1950 and 1960. During this decade the total population of Mississippi remained almost the same. There was a net increase in the white population and a net decrease in the non-white population. Most significant for Negroes is the large decrease in the group aged 20 to 34. Because workers in this age group are traditionally









NEGRO

WHITE

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census and Miss. STATE Bd. of Health

preferred in hiring for new employment, this change in age composition of the population may contribute to increased employment opportunity for younger Negroes. The situation may also add to the dilemma of employers whose hiring policies continue to favor white workers and workers under 35 years of age. (Chart 5.)

Urban-Rural Distribution - In 1960, the Negro population was largely rural, there being over two-thirds of the Negroes in the State living in rural areas. Of the 79,545 persons who migrated from rural areas into Mississippi cities, only 5 percent were non-white. There obviously has been no significant rural-urban redistribution of the non-white population within the state during the last decade. This is largely a feflection of the fact that employment opportunities for rural non-whites in the state's towns and cities are poor. (Table 7)

County Variations - Table 8, showing the Negro and white population in 1950 and 1960 for each county, reveals the high percentage of Negroes in some counties and the considerably high out-of-state migration taking place. There are 29 counties wherein Negroes constitute more than 50% of the population. Hinds, Calhoun and Coahoma are the counties with the largest numbers of Negroes. Tunica, Clairborne, and Jefferson have the largest percentages of Negroes. The area commonly referred to as the "Gulf Coast" has shown the only consistent increases in population during the last decade. This is the most affluent economic area or region in the state, significantly.

Cities of 10,000 or more - Table 9 shows the 18 cities in Mississippi that have a population of greater than 10,000. In all of these cities, with the exception of Biloxi, Negroes constitute 20 per cent or more of the total population.

Educational Attainment

As shown in Table 10, in 1960 all Negroes aged 25 and over had completed an average of only six years of school. This is five years less than the average for whites. The average is even less in the rural-farm areas where a high proportion of Negroes live.

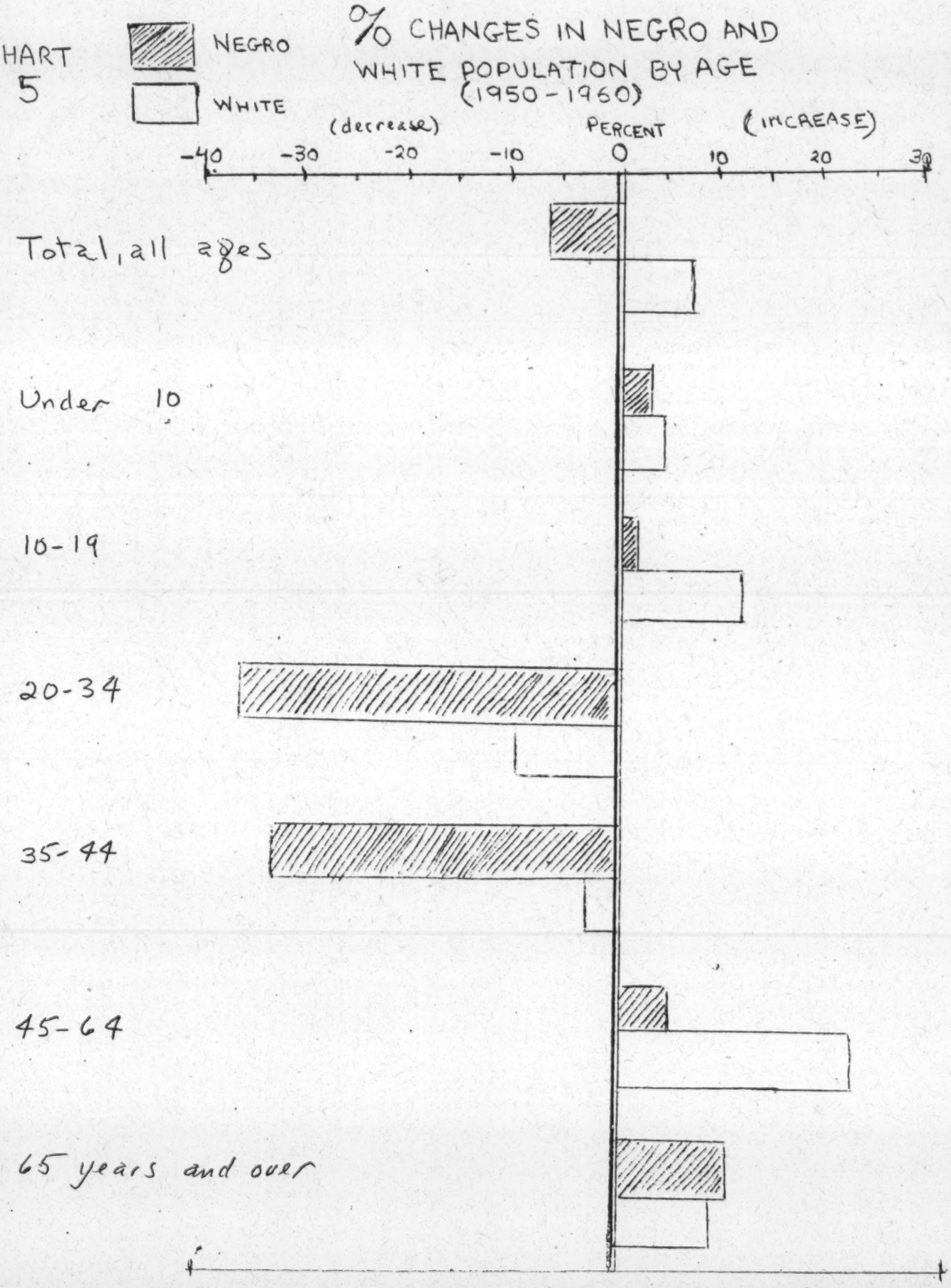
RECENT LABOR FORCE AND EMPLOYMENT TRENDS

Negroes in the Labor Force

Proportion in the Labor Force - The proportion of Negroes in the labor force is very similar to the proportion for whites. There is a noticeable difference in the proportions when the races are divided into sexe, however. There is a greater per cent of Negro women, particularly urban married Negro women, in the labor force, than white women. The proportion of Negro men in the labor force is noticeably lower than the proportion of white males. (Table 11 and Chart 7)

Unemployment - Table 12 shows that in 1960 the average unemployment rate for Negroes was more than 50 per cent greater than that of whites. Changes in the rates for the two races from 1950 to 1960 were relative-the same. This change has been an unfavorable one; resulting in an unemployment rate for Negroes of 7.1 percent. (Chart VIII)

CHART 5



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Report for Miss. Field Staff, continued

Status among different Age Groups - Table 13 shows, for 1960, the variations at different ages in the labor force status of Negroes in comparison with white men and women. About 67% of all Negro men ages 14 or over were in the labor force compared to roughly 75% of all white men. A significantly higher proportion of Negro men under age 24 and over age 65 were in the labor force. For both Negro men and white men between the ages of 20 and 64, the rates of labor force participation were comparable. The pattern among women shows some significant contrasts. The proportion of Negro women in the labor force was higher than for white women in every age group except ages 14-19 and 20-24. Among white women, the rate of labor force participation drops after age 24 (about the average age of marriage), whereas for Negro women the rate increases through the 45-49 age group.

Industry Distribution - In Table 14, it is apparent that of the roughly one-half million employed Negroes in the State, more than a third are employed in agriculture with more than another third employed in service industries. Unbelievable as it may seem, though Negroes comprise almost 40% of the total employed labor force, only about 4½% are employed in manufacturing and even less than that in coustruction employment.

Pattern of Unemployment - Table 15 reveals that of those Negroes unemployed, not more than 8% can be categorized as skilled workers. Though 21.1% of those unemployed were previously semi-skilled operatives or kindred workers, 31.9% were non-agricultural laborers and 21.55% were farm laborers. Thus, over 50% of the unemployed Negroes were unskilled laborers.

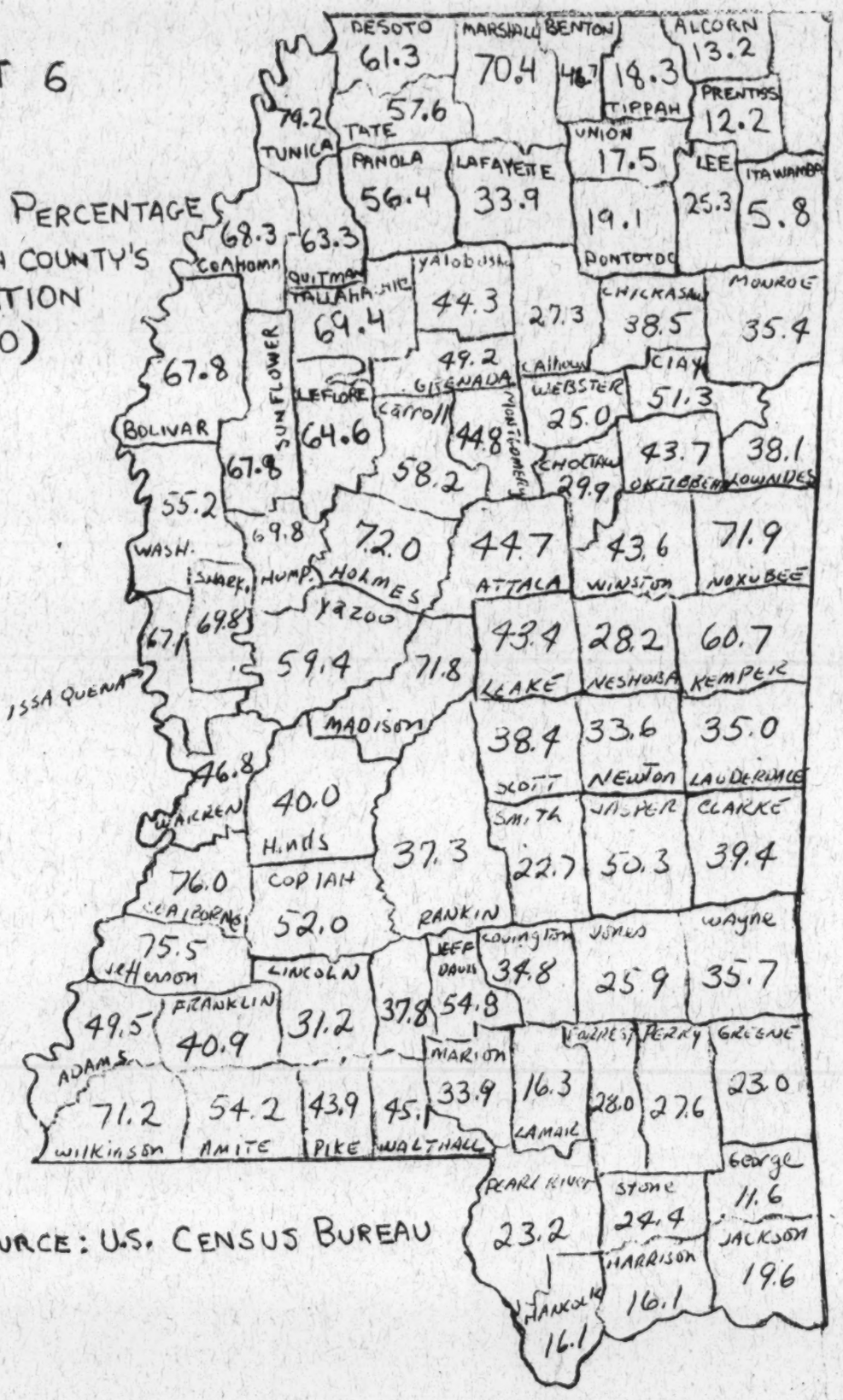
INCOME

Income of families, 1950-1960 - Table 16 and Chart 9 present the median income of all Negro and white persons for the years 1950-1960. In 1960 Negroes had an average annual income of $606, only 29% of the average income of $2,023 among whites. The difference seems particularly wide in view of the fact that a higher proportion of Negro family members are in the labor force. The data in the previous section on labor force and employment show that a higher proportion of Negro males under age 24 and women over age 24 are in the labor force than is the case among whites.

There is a relatively smaller differential between Negroes and whites for urban as compared with rural persons. In 1960 the average income of urban Negroes was 33% of the average among whites, a decline from [illegible]% in 1950. The urban Negro family in 1960 had an average income of $871, compared with an average of about $2600 for whites. Between 1950 and 1960 the average income of urban whites increased some $800, whereas among Negroes it increased less than $200. Among rural persons the median income of Negroes increased from $390 in 1950 to $474 in 1960 when it was about 31% of the average for white persons. This represented a relative decline from the $390 average of 1950 when the rural Negro's average income was 41% of the average among rural whites. The money income of both Negro and white persons living on farms remained low and increased relatively less than that of rural non-farm and urban families in the years 1945-1949.

CHART 6

NEGRO PERCENTAGE OF EACH COUNTY'S POPULATION (1960)



SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS BUREAU

CHART 7. Percent of Negro and white Population in the Labor Force, 1960

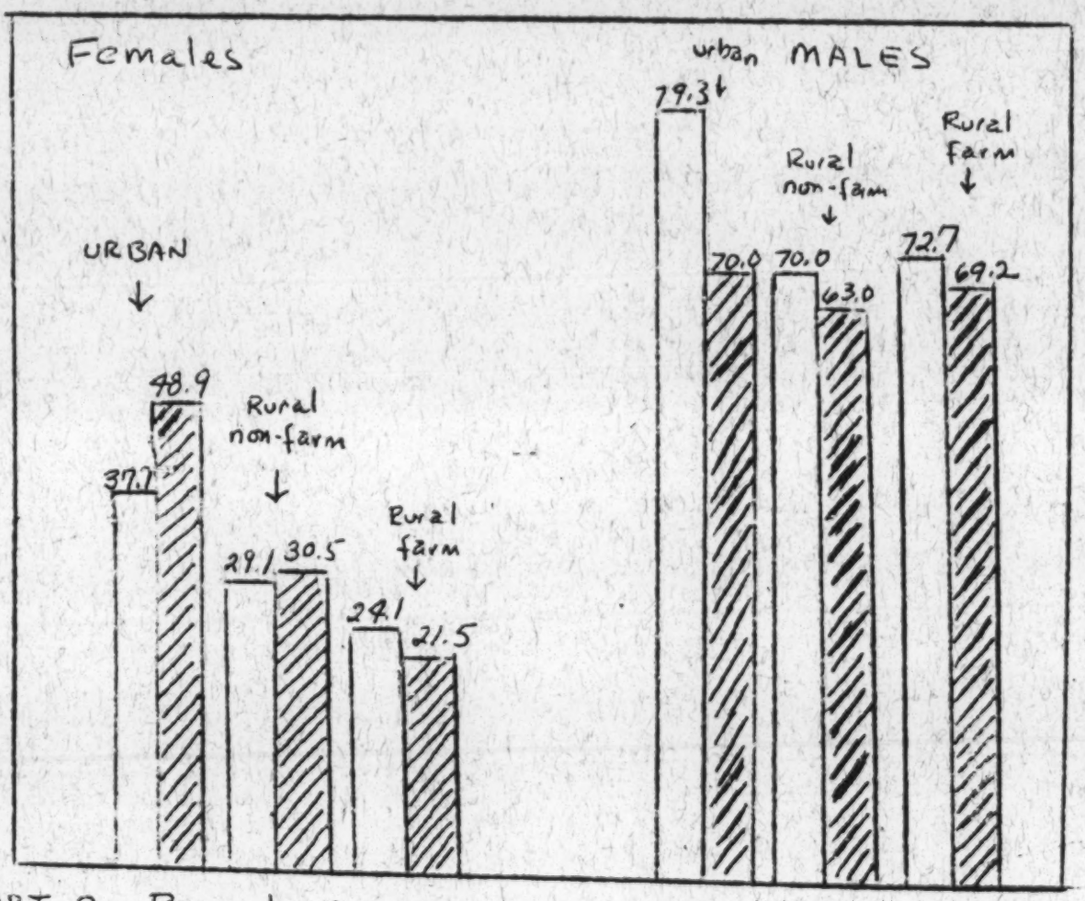
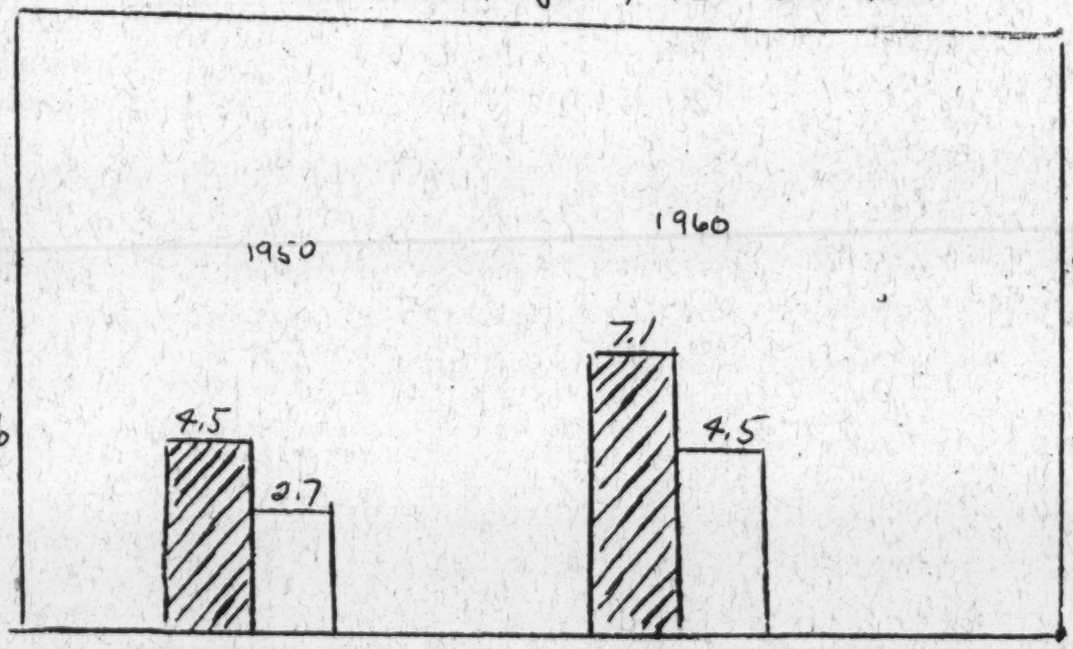


CHART 8. Percent of Negro and white workers in the Labor Force unemployed, 1950 and 1960.



NEGRO white

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Report for Miss. Field Staff continued

HOUSING CONDITIONS

Statistics revealing housing conditions for Mississippi Negroes are somewhat shocking. In 1960 there were 207,611 housing units for Mississippi Negroes. Of these, 38.1% were owner-occupied, and 61.9% were renter-occupied (significantly out of line with the national proportion of owner-and renter-occupied housing). Of the 207,611 houses, only one-third can be classified as being in sound condition; the others have been classified as either deteriorating or dilapidated. Of the homes in rural areas, over 75% are without any piped water at all, and over 90% of these rural homes had no flush toilets, no bathtub and no shower. (see table 18)

APPENDIX TABLES

Table 1 -- Population of Mississippi, by color, 1900-1960

Year	Total	Nonwhite	
		Number	Percentage
1960	2,178,141	920,595	44.4
1950	2,178,914	990,282	45.5
1940	2,183,796	1,077,469	49.1
1930	2,009,821	1,011,744	50.5
1920	1,790,618	936,656	52.5
1910	1,797,114	1,011,003	56.2
1900	1,551,270	910,070	58.6

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

****

Table 2 -- Estimated birth rates, by color, selected years, 1920-1961

Births per 1,000 population

Year	Nonwhite	White
1961	34.8	21.8
1959	36.6	20.9
1955	36.6	23.2
1950	37.6	22.9
1940	27.3	20.9
1935	25.1	20.8
1930	24.0	23.2
1925	23.4	24.1
1920	22.7	26.3

(Source: Mississippi State Board of Health)

Table 3 -- Death Rates, by Color, selected years, 1920-1961

Deaths per 1,000 population

Year	Nonwhite	White
1961	11.0	8.8
1959	11.4	8.1
1955	10.2	8.7
1950	11.2	8.0
1940	12.6	8.6
1935	11.6	8.7
1930	14.8	9.0
1925	14.4	8.8
1920	15.1	9.3

(Source: Mississippi State Board of Health)

Report for Miss. Field Staff

Table 4 -- Deaths under 1 year, rates for selected years, 1920-1961

Deaths per 1,000 population

Year	Nonwhite	White
1961	50.0	23.5
1960	54.4	23.5
1955	46.4	24.7
1950	42.6	28.1
1945	44.7	36.1
1940.	60.9	46.4
1935	58.6	47.5
1930	84.5	51.0
1925	85.7	53.0
1920	101.1	59.9

(Source: Mississippi State Board of Health)

Table 5 -- Population of Mississippi, by color, age, and sex, 1950-1960

Age and Sex	Negro		Native Born White		CHANGE - 1950-1960			
	1950	1960	1950	1960	Number Negro	N.B. White	Percentag Negro	NBW
otal	987,935	915,722	1,179,964	1,250,282	-72,213	70,318	-7.3	6.2
nder 10	270,685	276,403	250,315	260,678	5,746	10,363	2.1	4.1
)-19	203,905	206,586	208,785	231,572	2,681	22,787	1.3	10.9
)-34	188,915	130,405	264,085	236,908	-58,510	-28,177	-38.5	-10.7
)-44	114,475	79,386	244,450	157,199	-35,089	-4,930	-33.8	-2.1
)-64	143,430	149,447	206,455	251,383	6,017	44,927	4.2	21.8
and over	66,605	72,528	85,680	92,043	5,923	6,363	8.9	7.4
LE								
otal	479,580	440,641	589,869	621,656	-33,939	37,787	-8.1	5.4
nder 10	135,685	138,456	128,310	133,140	2,771	4,830	2.0	3.8
-19	100,490	105,074	107,490	120,351	4,584	12,861	4.5	1.3
-34	86,520	57,893	129,785	117,612	-28,621	-12,173	-33.1	-9.4
-44	52,755	33,923	79,810	77,182	-18,832	-2,628	-35.7	-3.3
-64	70,940	70,053	101,770	122,485	-887	20,715	-1.2	20.7
and over	33,270	35,284	41,200	50,886	2,014	9,686	6.1	23.4
MALE								
otal	508,355	475,081	590,095	628,626	-33,274	38,531	-6.6	6.5
nder 10	135,000	137,947	122,005	127,538	2,947	5,533	2.2	4.4
)-19	103,415	101,512	101,295	111,221	-1,903	9,926	-1.9	9.8
)-34	102,395	72,512	135,300	119,296	-29,883	-16,004	-29.1	-11.9
)-44	61,720	45,463	82,320	80,017	-16,257	-2,303	-26.4	-2.8
)-64	72,430	79,394	104,685	128,897	6,964	24,212	9.6	23.1
and over	33,335	37,244	44,480	41,157	3,909	-3,323	11.7	-7.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Report for Miss. Field Staff, continued

Table 6 -- Population of Mississippi, by color and urban-rural residence, 1960

Residence	Native-born White		Negro	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Urban	245,006	266,507	134,907	158,765
Rural--non-farm	243,385	243,131	156,597	167,778
Rural--farm	124,265	118,988	149,137	148,588

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Table 7 -- Urban and rural migration, by race, in Mississippi, 1950-1960

Area	Population 1950	Population 1960	Net Migration Number	Net Migration %	Natural Increase	Net Change-%
State	2,178,914	2,178,141	-424,158	-16.3	19.4%	-0.03
White	1,188,632	1,257,546	-108,470	-7.9	14.9	5.8
Nonwhite	990,282	920,595	-315,688	-25.5	24.8	-7.0
Urban	607,162	820,805	79,545	10.7	22.1	35.2
White	374,320	525,853	75,476	16.8	20.3	40.5
Nonwhite	232,842	294,952	4,069	1.4	24.9	26.7
Rural	1,571,752	1,357,336	-503,703	-27.1	18.4	-13.3
White	814,312	731,693	-183,946	-20.1	12.4	-10.1
Nonwhite	757,440	625,643	-319,757	-33.8	24.8	-17.4

(Source: Mississippi State Board of Health)

Table 8 -- County Breakdown of Population and Migration

County	Population	No. Nonwhite	% Nonwhite	Net Change of Negroes, 1950-1960
Adams	37,730	18,695	49.5	-16.1
Alcorn	25,282	3,333	13.2	-14.6
Amite	15,573	8,443	54.2	-19.1
Attala	21,335	9,546	44.7	-17.5
Benton	7,723	3,609	46.7	-6.3
Bolivar	54,464	36,943	67.8	-14.4
Calhoun	15,941	4,346	27.3	1.3
Carroll	11,177	6,500	58.2	-26.4
Chickasaw	16,891	6,511	38.5	-22.7
Choctaw	8,423	2,520	29.9	24.3
Clairborne	10,845	8,245	76.0	-7.7
Clarke	16,493	6,492	39.4	-17.6
Clay	18,993	9,719	51.3	-3.7
Coahoma	46,212	31,582	68.3	-11.4
Copia	27,051	14,059	52.0	-13.7
Covington	13,637	4,741	34.8	-9.1
Desoto	23,891	14,643	61.3	-11.4
Forrest	52,722	14,752	28.0	13.

Report for Field Staff, continued

Table 8, continued

County	Population	Number Nonwhite	% Nonwhite	Net Change of Negroes 1950-1960
Franklin	9,286	3,800	40.9	-11.7
George	11,098	1,287	11.6	4.5
Greene	8,366	1,923	23.0	27.9
Grenada	18,409	9,057	49.2	-7.9
Hancock	14,039	2,255	16.1	10.6
Harrison	119,489	19,256	16.1	43.5
Hinds	187,489	74,840	40.0	17.1
Holmes	27,096	19,501	72.0	-20.3
Humphreys	19,093	13,335	69.8	-17.2
Issaquena	3,576	2,400	67.1	-28.3
Itawamba	15,080	874	5.8	-6.7
Jackson	55,522	10,864	19.6	61.3
Jasper	16,909	8,507	50.3	-12.5
Jefferson	10,142	7,653	75.5	-9.1
Jefferson Davis	13,540	7,414	54.8	-13.9
Jones	59,542	15,447	25.9	2.9
Kemper	12,277	7,449	60.7	-21.0
Lafayette	21,355	7,245	33.9	-10.4
Lamar	13,675	2,232	16.3	6.0
Lauderdale	67,119	23,484	35.0	0.4
Laurence	10,215	3,861	37.8	-18.9
Leake	18,660	8,101	43.4	-11.6
Lee	40,589	10,289	25.3	-3.5
Leflore	47,142	30,443	64.6	-13.8
Lincoln	26,759	8,352	31.2	-9.1
Lowndes	46,639	17,768	38.1	-3.5
Madison	32,904	23,637	71.8	-5.2
Marion	23,293	7,885	33.9	-6.0
Marshall	24,503	17,239	70.4	-2.8
Monroe	33,953	12,021	35.4	-12.3
Montgomery	13,320	5,971	44.8	-4.1
Neshoba	20,927	5,901	28.2	-11.5
Newton	19,517	6,567	33.6	-16.4
Noxubee	16,826	12,102	71.9	-18.8
Oktibbeha	26,175	11,448	43.7	-2.6
Panola	28,791	16,226	56.4	-7.2
Pearl River	22,411	5,190	23.2	15.5
Perry	8,745	2,412	27.6	9.1
Pike	35,063	15,408	43.9	-1.9
Pontotoc	17,232	3,286	19.1	-13.9
Prentiss	17,949	2,186	12.2	-6.3
Quitman	21,019	13,304	63.3	-15.3
Rankin	34,322	12,818	37.3	-6.2
Scott	21,187	8,137	38.4	-13.2
Sharkey	10,738	7,491	69.8	-18.5
Simpson	20,454	7,200	35.2	-1.0
Smith	14,303	3,247	22.7	-4.2
Stone	7,013	1,711	24.4	25.3
Sunflower	45,750	31,020	67.8	-18.7
Tallahatchie	24,081	15,501	69.4	-20.1
Tate	18,138	10,442	57.6	0.7
Tippah	15,093	2,756	18.3	-18.8
Tishomingo	13,889	679	4.9	-15.8

Report for Miss. Field Staff, continued

Table 8, concluded

County	Population	Number Nonwhite	% Nonwhite	Net Change of Negroes 1950-1960
Tunica	16,826	13,321	79.2	-24.8
Union	18,904	3,312	17.5	-8.9
Walthall	13,512	6,100	45.1	-14.9
Warren	42,206	19,759	46.8	-1.7
Washington	78,638	43,399	55.2	-7.8
Wayne	76,158	5,809	35.7	-6.6
Webster	10,580	2,642	25.0	-1.9
Wilkinson	13,235	9,428	71.2	-3.4
Winston	19,246	8,393	43.6	-9.7
Yalobusha	12,502	5,540	44.3	-16.8
Yazoo	31,653	18,791	59.4	-14.9

(Sources: United States Bureau of the Census and Miss. State Board of Health)

Table 9 -- Urban places of more than 10.000 persons, 1960

Place	Total Population	White and Nonwhite		Nonwhite	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Biloxi	44,053	26,606	17,447	2,748	2,809
Clarksdale	21,105	9,834	11,271	5,056	6,148
Cleveland	10,172	4,902	5,270	1,841	2,042
Columbus	24,771	11,022	13,749	4,542	5,396
Corinth	11,453	5,334	6,119	1,042	1,275
Greenville	41,502	19,636	21,866	9,186	11,002
Greenwood	20,436	9,303	11,133	4,675	5,826
Gulfport	30,204	15,064	15,140	3,030	3,306
Hattiesburg	34,989	16,644	18,345	5,189	6,026
Jackson	144,422	67,619	76,803	23,854	27,702
Laurel	27,889	13,169	14,720	4,615	5,352
McComb	12,020	5,574	6,446	1,531	1,882
Meridian	49,374	22,715	26,659	7,501	9,260
Natchez	23,791	11,073	12,718	5,633	6,710
Pascagoula	17,155	8,599	8,556	1,924	1,961
Tupelo	17,221	8,158	9,063	1,847	2,300
Vicksburg	29,143	13,422	15,721	6,098	7,436
Yazoo	11,236	5,109	6,127	2,745	3,441

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Report for Miss. Field Staff, continued

Table 10 -- Years of school completed by persons 25 or older, 1960

Race	Number 25 and over	Years completed						high schoo
		none	1-4	5-6	7	8	1-3	4
Nonwhite								
number	383,017	24,318	92,063	61,525	37,729	67,239	42,547	16,273
percentage		8.4	31.3	20.2	9.1	12.4	11.1	4.2
White								
number	681,959	8,444	40,274	51,865	38,450	98,287	156,554	168,058
percentage		1.2	5.9	7.6	5.6	14.4	23.0	24.6

Median grade: Nonwhite - grade 6 (Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)
White ---- grade 11

Table 11 -- Employment status of the civilian, noninstitutional population in Mississippi, by color and sex, 1960 (% distribution)

Employment status and sex.	White			Nonwhite		
	urban	rural non-farm	rural farm	urban	rural non-farm	rural farm
Both sexes: Total, 14 years and over	100	100	100	100	100	100
In labor force	57.6	49.3	48.9	58.1	45.7	45.1
Not in labor force	42.4	50.7	51.1	41.9	44.3	44.9
In labor force						
employed	96.0	94.6	96.3	91.2	92.9	95.3
unemployed	4.0	5.4	3.7	8.8	7.1	4.7
Females: Total, 14 years and over	100	100	100	100	100	100
In labor force	37.7	29.1	24.1	48.9	30.5	21.5
Not in labor force	62.3	70.9	75.9	51.1	69.5	78.5
In labor force						
employed	95.3	95.0	95.0	92.0	91.7	90.2
unemployed	4.7	5.0	5.0	8.0	8.3	9.8

Report for Miss. Field Staff, continued

Table 11, continued

Males:	White			Nonwhite		
	urban	rural non-farm	rural farm	urban	rural non-farm	rural farm
Total, 14 years and over	100	100	100	100	100	100
In labor force	79.3	70.0	72.7	70.0	63.0	69.2
Not in labor force	20.7	30.0	27.3	30.0	37.0	30.8
In labor force						
employed	96.3	94.5	96.7	94.5	93.5	96.9
unemployed	3.7	5.5	3.3	5.5	6.5	3.1

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Table 12 -- Rate of unemployment, 1950-1960

1950		1960	
white	nonwhite	white	nonwhite
2.7	4.5	4.5	7.1

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Table 13 -- Total in labor force (percentage), by ages, 1960

Age	Male		Female	
	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White
Total, 14 years up	100	100	100	100
14-19	33.0	34.5	15.1	16.5
20-24	80.3	64.3	38.6	40.8
25-29	89.5	92.4	43.4	39.4
30-34	91.2	94.3	47.2	42.6
35-39	91.2	93.9	48.8	44.0
40-44	91.2	93.2	49.1	46.6
45-49	90.4	92.1	49.6	45.3
50-54	87.2	89.1	46.3	41.9
55-59	81.9	83.9	40.4	35.3
60-64	72.4	71.0	30.7	26.0
65-69	49.0	44.9	18.2	14.8

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Report for Miss. Field Staff, continued

Table 14 -- Industry grouping of employed persons, 1960 (percentage distribution)

INDUSTRY	NONWHITE				WHITE			
	State	Urban	Rural non-farm	Rural farm	State	Urban	Rural non-farm	Rural farm
Agriculture	34.9	3.1	36.0	76.5	12.8	1.2	8.4	47.1
Manufacturing	4.6	6.7	4.4	2.0	23.3	20.1	29.1	20.2
Wholesale trade	1.3	2.4	1.1	0.2	3.2	4.6	2.5	1.1
Mining	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	1.3	1.3	0.9	0.8
Transportation, Communications and other public utilities	4 0	3.6	3.3	1.5	4.8	6.1	3.3	2.8
Retail Trade	8.5	14.4	7.4	1.7	16.9	20.9	16.9	7.5
Service industries	35.9	55.1	31.7	12.4	26.1	31.1	23.0	10.8
Industry not reported	2.1	2.6	1.9	1.5	1.9	2.2	1.7	1.8

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Cunsus)

Table 15 -- Major group occupation of the experienced unemployed, 1960(%)

Group	Male		Female	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Professional	2.4	0.6	5.5	1.2
Farmers and farm managers	3.2	3.5	0.4	3.2
Managers, officials, proprietors	3.5	0.2	2.5	0.1
Clerical and kindred workers	4.4	0.9	18.6	0.6
Sales workers	4.0	0.2	10.9	0.5
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred	28.5	10.4	1.2	0.1
Operatives and kindred workers	29.1	21.1	35.2	5.6
Private household workers	0.1	0.7	2.4	39.8
Service workers, except private household workers	3.0	6.1	12.5	12.8
Farm laborers and foremen	4.8	21.5	2.4	31.5
Laborers, except farm and mine	13.3	31.9	0.7	1.0
Occupations not reported	3.7	3.0	7.6	3.7

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Table 16 -- Median income for persons, 1950 and 1960

	1950			1960		
	state	urban	rural	state	urban	rural
Nonwhite	$440	$693	$390	$606	$871	$474
White	$1,236	$1826	$973	$2,023	$2,622	$1,605

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Report for Miss. Field Staff, Continued

Table 18 -- Negro housing in Mississippi, 1960

	State Total	Urban	Rural
Total Housing Units	207,611	77,824	129,787
owner-occupied (#)	79,059	32,913	46,146
owner-occupied (%)	38.1	42.3	35.6
renter-occupied (#)	128,552	44,911	83,641
renter-occupied (%)	61.9	57.5	64.4
Condition			
Owner-Occupied:			
sound	36,656	17,677	18,979
deteriorating	27,545	10,005	17,540
dilapidated	14,858	5,231	9,627
Renter-Occupied			
sound	33,168	15,294	17,874
deteriorating	52,629	15,937	36,692
dilapidated	42,755	13,680	29,075
Water Supply			
Hot and Cold Water, piped inside	40,870	33,181	7,689
Only cold Water, piped inside	39,101	30,376	8,725
Piped water outside	27,502	10,229	17,273
No piped water	100,138	4,038	96,100
Toilet Facilities			
Flush Toilet, exclusive use	62,160	52,481	9,679
Flush Toilet, shared use	7,570	6,965	605
None	137,881	18,378	119,503
Bathing Facilities			
Bathtub or shower, exclusive use	44,991	36,333	8,658
Bathtub or shower, shared	2,207	1,807	400
No bathtub or shower	160,413	39,684	120,729

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Cunsus)

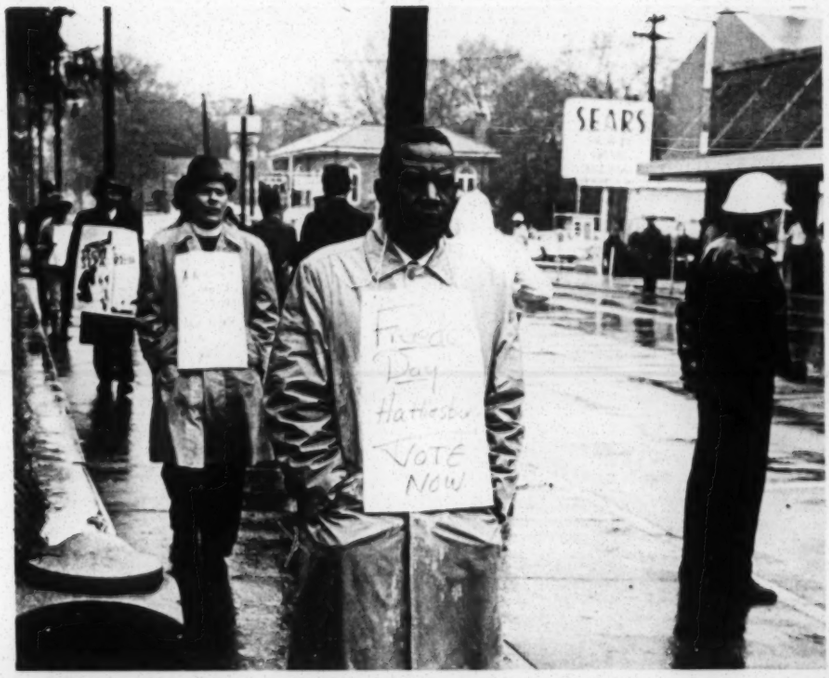
HATTIESBURG, MISS., FREEDOM DAY

JANUARY 22, 1964

Hattiesburg is the county seat of Forrest county in southern Mississippi. The county has a population of 52,722 of which 28 percent are Negro; 7, 406 of them are of voting age yet only 53 are registered voters. The Justice Department has had an injunction against the county registrar, Theron Lynd (left), since April 1962. The injunction orders him to stop discriminating against Negro applicants. Lynd was also convicted of civil contempt in July 1963 for his failure to register Negroes. However, he has not yet complied with the injunction or purged himself of contempt.

In Forrest county on January 22, "Freedom Day," an intensive vote drive began with the aid of many ministers. The campaign was conducted by workers from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), under the auspices of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), an alliance of all civil rights groups working in Mississippi.

"Personally I am not important in this . . . rather it's the deep over-riding fear of Negroes . . . American citizens who are residents of Hattiesburg. They are afraid and it's a tragic fact that they have good reason to be. Most of the Negroes there work for white people. If they register to vote, they will lose their jobs. You see, it's a basic bread and butter issue for parents concerned about feeding their children. Many of them have lost their jobs, but we are trying hard to instill courage in the townspeople."
-- Rev. Donald Register, St. Louis, Missouri

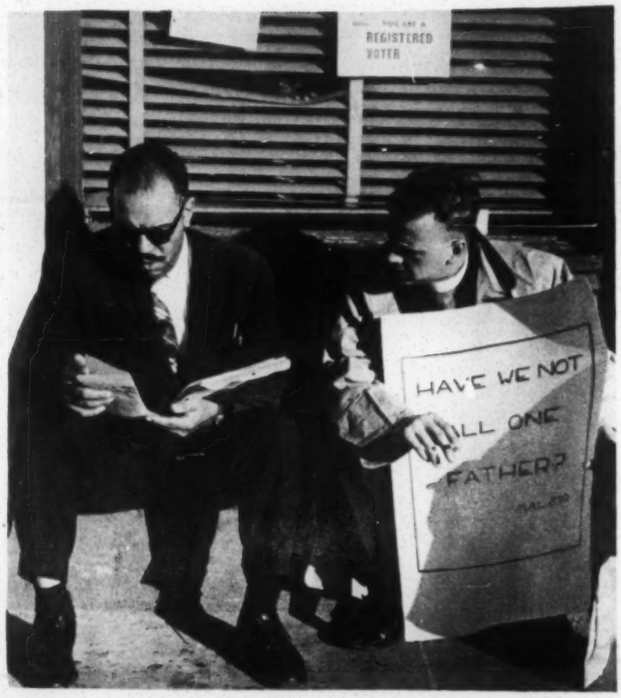


'I hope to try to indicate to those in the ministry that the church must have action to go along with the talk.'

-- Dr. Alan Pickering, United Christian Campus Fellowship, University of Nebraska.

"We saw a great change come over the local Negro community. Dick Gregory, the comedian, was there, and he told me it was the first time he had addressed an audience in Mississippi and not seen fear written on their faces."

-- Rev. Russell Williams, Denver, Colorado



"You asked what the point of it is. I think the point is that this is much like Germany at the beginning of Hitler's rise -- fear, police intimidation and summary arrests. I don't want you, or any other kids, to grow up in America in those circumstances."

-- Rev. Emil J. Hattoon, Decatur, Illinois

in a letter to his two sons.

These and over 100 other ministers and rabbis worked closely with field secretaries from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), canvassing house to house, picketing at the county court house and speaking at mass rallies in churches.

"We went to the SNCC state headquarters, where we were again most impressed with the creative determination and comprehensive program of these youthful civil rights leaders . . . We met these dedicated young freedom fighters, Negro and white, male and female, from north and south . . . All of them are heroes produced by the struggle for human justice in the southland, heroes with hard eyes, soft hearts, tight stomachs and unwavering commitment."

-- Rev. Kenneth Waterman, First Presbyterian Church, Kansas City, Missouri.

This work for civil rights and human dignity must continue. But so that it can continue, your help is needed.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
30314

REPRINTED FROM:

Newsweek February 24, 1964

MISSISSIPPI:

Allen's Army

The second summer of the Negro revolt was still months off. But ever since the first, Allen Thompson, the graying, satin-smooth mayor of unreconstructed Jackson, Miss., has been acting as though Armageddon were just around the corner.

Girding for a new wave of civil-rights demonstrations this summer, Thompson is massing an impressive—and expensive—deterrent force of men and military hardware. To defend the capital city of 144,422, he is building up his young, tough, riot-trained police force from 390 to 450, plus two horses and six dogs. The force is "twice as big as any city our size," Thompson boasted last week—and it will be backed by a reserve pool of deputies, state troopers, civilian city employes, and even neighborhood citizen patrols.

With a hefty $2.2 million budget to spend, the department recently bought 200 new shotguns, stockpiled tear gas, and issued gas masks to every man. Its motor fleet includes three canvas-canopied troop lorries, two half-ton searchlight trucks, and three giant trailer trucks to haul demonstration POW's off to two big detention compounds. "I think we can take care of 25,000," the mayor said.

Weepers: But the pride of Allen's Army is Thompson's Tank—the already popular nickname for a 13,000-pound armored battlewagon built to the mayor's specifications at roughly $1 a pound. The twelve-man tank, abristle with shotguns, tear-gas guns, and a submachine gun, flopped on its first mission—putting down a demonstration at all-Negro Jackson State College two weeks ago. As it rolled up, a tear-gas shell went off inside, and all twelve men stumbled out crying. Nevertheless, Thompson says reverently: "It's a wonderful thing."

Would a collision come? Thompson thought so—and so did the young warhawks of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, already mapping a massive summer campaign in Mississippi. SNCC was dispatching questionnaires last week to prospective recruits for its own nonviolent army of 500 to 1,000—mostly college students—to staff "freedom schools," community centers, and voter-registration drives. "The summer of 1964," SNCC chairman John Lewis said, "could really be *the* year for Mississippi. Before the Negro people get the right to vote, there will have to be a massive confrontation, and it probably will come this summer . . . We are going to Mississippi full force."

And when they come, Thompson feels he has the means to contain them. "There will be no unlawful marching and peaceful picketing," he vowed. "We are not going to let them come into the downtown area."

The mayor insists his army is only a second-strike force designed to preserve law and order. "We have to wait," he told NEWSWEEK's Karl Fleming, "until they start trouble." But Thompson is certain trouble will come. "This is it," he said. "They are not bluffing and we are not bluffing. We're going to be ready for them . . . They won't have a chance."

Thompson, troops—and armor

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
6 RAYMOND STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

IMMEDIATE RELEASE
May 15, 1964

Statement by: SNCC CHAIRMAN JOHN LEWIS
Re: PASSAGE OF THE GENOCIDE BILL IN MISSISSIPPI

Americans view with horror the Nazi extermination of the Jews. We comfort ourselves that such things can never happen here. Yet, right now the State of Mississippi is preparing legislation which would exterminate the Negro people.

A month ago the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) called to the attention of the nation the Genocide Bill about to be passed by the State Legislature of Mississippi. Here is what happened.

On March 11, the Mississippi House passed a bill making the birth of a second illegitimate child a felony punishable by sterilization or imprisonment.

On April 15, SNCC published a pamphlet entitled "Genocide in Mississippi," charging that the sterilization bill is an attempt by the State of Mississippi either to destroy the Negro people or to drive them from the state.

On May 12, The Judiciary Committee of the Mississippi Senate amended the House bill to remove the sterilization clause and to reduce the possible prison sentences from a maximum of five years to a maximum of six months.

State Senator E. K. Collins told the Senate that the amendments had done away with "all the bad features that shocked the country." The Jackson Clarion-Ledger stated: "Some civil rights groups charged the state with trying to foster a policy designed to wipe out its Negro population."

The bill, as amended, failed to pass the Senate by a vote of 26 to 22. On May 13, supporters of the bill prepared for a second round by distributing mimeographed copies of the SNCC pamphlet, "Genocide in Mississippi," to all members of the Senate and House. Supporters felt that they could sway votes by demonstrating that SNCC opposed the bill. The Memphis Commerical Appeal stated: "Legislators were unwilling to permit their action to be considered as being influenced by the Negro civil rights group." Supporters of the bill were successful. The amended bill was called up for reconsideration and passed by a vote of 30 to 16. Ten senators who had previously voted against the bill, voted for it on reconsideration. Three who had previously voted against the bill, now abstained.

Because it was amended, the bill now goes back to the House for reconsideration. The House, as it did before, can insist on a penalty of sterilization or maximum prison term of five years.

If Negroes in Mississippi were permitted to register in large numbers and then vote, this bill would never have been considered. Instead, an all-white legislature dominated by the White Citizens' Councils, is in the process of legalizing Genocide against the Negro people.

Negroes comprise 40 percent of the state population, and in the Delta counties nearly two-thirds of the population.

The whites who control Mississippi politics and economics can no longer dictate to Negroes as in former years. Negroes all over the state are organizing through the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) - which SNCC supports - to register to vote, to obtain food and clothing, to improve their education, to participate in the political institutions of the state. Right now there are three Negro candidates for U.S. Congress and one for the U.S. Senate. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party will challenge the seating of the regular racist Democratic Party at the Democratic National Convention.

For Negroes to assert their Constitutional rights is a direct threat to the Mississippi Way of Life. The Mississippi regular Democratic Party, which controls the state, is attempting to defend that Way of Life with the Genocide Bill.

This is why it is imperative to fight for a strong Civil Rights Bill in Congress and free, representative government in Mississippi.

JOHN LEWIS, SNCC CHAIRMAN

"One Man - One Vote"

DO NOT RETURN

4/9 Jerries PH

4/23/64

THURSDAY, JULY 23, 1

EASTLAND LABELS RIGHTS DRIVE 'RED'

Sees a Hoax in Mississippi Disappearance of 3 Men

WASHINGTON, July 22 — (UPI)—Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, charged today that the civil rights drive in Mississippi was backed by Communists. He suggested that the mysterious disappearance of three young rights workers there might have been a hoax.

In a Senate speech on "Communist participation and leadership" in the civil rights movement, Mr. Eastland named several persons workin in Mississippi as pro-Communist.

He said there was a "Communist conspiracy to further or to participate in the invasion of Mississippi." He lauded his home state's citizens for "holding their tempers so well" under the circumstances.

Mr. Eastland, a foe of the civil rights bill that became law early this month, questioned whether Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman of New York and James Chaney of Meridian Miss. have been killed.

Missing Since June 21

The three civil rights workers, part of a summer voter-registration and education drive among Mississippi Negroes, have been missing since June 21.

He said an intensive, month-long investigation and search had failed to produce a "shred of evidence" that the three were victims of racial violence.

"Many people in our state assert that there is just as much evidence, as of today, that they are voluntarily missing as there is that they have been abducted," the Senator said.

"No one wants to charge that a hoax has been perpetrated, because there is too little evidence to show just what did happen. But as time goes on

they are voluntarily missing as there is that they have been abducted," the Senator said.

"No one wants to charge that a hoax has been perpetrated, because there is too little evidence to show just what did happen. But as time goes on and the search continues, if some evidence of a crime is not produced, I think the people of America will be justified in considering other alternatives more valid solutions to the mystery, instead of accepting as true the accusation of the agitators that a heinous crime has been committed."

He said that Mississippians were attempting to preserve the peace in the face of a Communist-backed "conspiracy to thrust violence upon them." He said several persons involved in the Mississippi civil rights drive were pro-Communist.

'Communist Legal Eagle'

One name he mentioned was that of Martin Popper, whom Mr. Eastland described as a "long-time Communist legal eagle." The Senator said he understood Mr. Popper "has showed up as counsel for the family of Michael Schwerner."

Mr. Eastland charged that leaders of new and militant civil rights organizations "have let Communists infiltrate their groups, have let Communists rise to positions of power."

Mr. Eastland said that Larry Rubin, who was attacked in Holly Springs, Miss., was co-chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee at Antioch College in Ohio and a cousin of Daniel Rubin, a youth organizer for the Communist Party, U.S.A.

He said Larry Rubin had carried into Mississippi "an address book containing the names and addresses of many persons with known Communist connections."

Police in Moss Point, Miss., Mr. Eastland said, arrested Donald Rothbury, who said "kicked out of Costa Rica in 1964 for carrying Communist literature into that country."

He said Frank Pestanta and Maynard Omerberg, lawyers who represented demonstrators arrested in Drew, Miss., had been cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities as attorneys for Communists and fellow travelers.

Among "second-generation agitators" who have been active in Mississippi, Mr. Eastland said, are Bob Mandel, son of William M. Mandel, "a Communist commentator with a long record of party activity," and Steve Miller, son of Hugh B. Miller and Helen Schnedzler Miller, "both identified as Communists in sworn testimony in 1957."

July 24, 1964

"Be Just—
Fear Not"

Daily Journal

Founded 1919

W. G. (Bill) STROUD
General Manager

HARRY RUTHERFORD
Editor

GEORGE McLEAN
Publisher-Exec. Editor

Published daily except Sundays and four holidays by the Journal Publishing Co., Combined with Tupelo Daily News. Full UPI Leased Wires. Member Audit Bureau of Circulations

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We'd All Better Pray The Women Win

A new organization of leading Mississippi women known as "Mississippians for Public Education" is understating its case.

More properly the group could call itself "Mississippians For Education."

And the more quickly its opponents understand this point, the more quickly we in Mississippi can get on with the very, very difficult task of building and maintaining a superior school system.

"Mississippians for Public Education" is composed of the wives of some of our state's top leadership in business and industry who are in many instances recognized civic leaders themselves.

They have limited their objective strictly to keeping our public schools open. But, in fact, the success of this effort apparently will determine whether Mississippi has any schools at all—public or private.

Here is our problem:

A federal appeals court in Richmond, Virginia, has ruled in the Surry County* case that no state tuition grants may be made to pupils attending private schools as long as public schools are closed.

As a result of this decision, all the parents who thought they were going to get state refunds of $380 per child for sending their children to the county's private school last year find that the money has to come out of their own pocket.

In Surry County, Virginia—the only test case in which a federal appeals court has ruled on this issue thus far—the community thus finds that it has no public school but at the same time is denied state tuition support for a private school.

As a result it now appears that several hundred white children may not have any school at all to attend this fall since their parents can't pay $300 or more per child for their youngsters to attend the private school.

The group who have been trying to brand some of Mississippi's leading women as left wingers and Communists need to stop, therefore, and figure how they are going to operate private schools if public schools are closed.

The Virginia judge who made the original Surry County ruling reaffirmed his decision on Wednesday of this week, saying flatly that public funds may not be used to aid children attending a segregated private school as long as public schools are closed.

Thus if the Citizens Council and other groups which have been condemning the new Mississippi women's organization really want their private school plan to succeed, they should be encouraging the women in their effort to keep public schools of our state open.

For it is a poorly informed individual, indeed, who thinks that the U. S. Supreme Court is going to overrule the federal appeals court that barred state tuition grants for private classes as long as public schools were closed.

Rather than flying at each other's throats, therefore, it behooves us in Mississippi to start working together to make the best of what is generally recognized as being a very, very difficult situation.

Nothing is gained by trying to brand as left-wing or Communist a group of women who are in many instances the top leaders of their community and the wives of the leading business and professional men of their area.

For if state supported education—either public or private—is saved in Mississippi, it will be done because of success of the women's group known as "Mississippians for Public Education."

If this organization grows tired of the abuse heaped upon it by groups like the Citizens Council and the American for Preservation of something or other—we forget the exact name—it may give up in its efforts to save public schools. Then the federal courts will rule that tuition grants to provide classes are illegal in every county where public education has been abandoned.

And in a situation like that, who's the real American—the group that tries to save education or the group which tries to create a situation in which all schools supported by the state in any way—public or private—are abandoned?

---

*Should be Prince Edward County

FREEDOM SCHOOLS

MEMO to the field November 4, 1964

1. teaching from the Freedom Primers

People who have used the Freedom Primers in citizenship classes, precinct meetings, and Freedom School classes have found that it is an excellent vehicle for both intermediate literacy and discussion of political and economic problems that confront the people now. Its value is in the very fact that it leaves agreat many things unsaid, and so demands that the people raise the questions that concern them.

Some techniques for using it that you may want to try:

a. the cover: have the class discuss what they see in the drawing, and what they think it means, and how the title and the drawing together suggest what the primer is about. For example, in the first primer, the empty seats, the Negroes walking and carrying the FDP banner—getting the people to discuss this really gets them to summarize everything in the primer before they read it, because you get into things like "What was the Convention," and "Why are the seats empty," and "What right do the people have to the seats," etc. This is important not only for seeing what the people already understand but also to make them feel confident about the contents of the primer.

b. the other drawings—in the context of the sections they are near, the same way as the cover discussion.

c. the reading: have someone in the group read the first section (sections separated by questions), and then write on the blackboard the hard words, which will turn out to be the political jargon that you want to make them familiar with. Then ask specific content questions (not yes-no questions, but simple comprehension questions) about what has been read—ask it of the others in the group. Then get into why-type of questions, and let them go. They will have a lot to say.

You will probably only be able to do a maximum of three sections in a class session. What is good transition is the raising of questions such as, in the first, why does it say that Eastland has so much power? Do you think he does? If he does, where does his power come from? And then open the next session with those questions, having the people who were there before lead the discussion in review for those who weren't.

For the second primer, since the election is over (the elections are over) you can do a lot with extending what the primer says, taking off from it: 1. cover—why an integrated group (get them to say what is unusual about the drawing)? how is that aspect carried through all the drawings in primer #2? 2. What does voting mean? What did it mean that 5 states went for Goldwater? Why wasn't Dr. Henry's name on the regular ballot—and is it worth voting if you have only the choice the voters had, between Stennis and another segregationist? What does the Republican's victory in the 4th district mean? What does it mean that there are only 30,000 Negroes registered but there were more than 50,000 votes for Johnson in the state?

You'll be getting at 2 kinds of history—Civil War and Reconstruction and election week, 1964 through this primer. It may take you two weeks or so to teach out of it.

Ask, perhaps finally, about why the drawing on the back was used there and not on the front cover? What does that mean in terms of what has to happen now?

d. writing: see if you can get the people to write letters in response to the Freedom Primers, so that the primers are not only text books but also personal statements. Have them write Robert Weil, 852½ Short St., Jackson.

GOOD LUCK!
Liz

& Mike Sayer

The New York Times
TIMES SQUARE NEW YORK N Y 10036

November 11, 1964

Dear Pat:

We're glad you are doing that reporting piece on a COFO "Freedom School" in Mississippi today. It might take this form:

1. Brief intro: There are still three dozen "freedom schools" in Mississippi even after the "long, hot summer" and this is what's happening at a typical one.

2. What are its physical facilities like? How many teachers, how many students? How is it supported? Some background on COFO. Who are the COFO school people?

3. A large part of the piece would be a picture of the classes in session. What is taught and how is it taught?

4. The place of the school and its personnel in the community (white and Negro). How and where do the COFO people live outside the school? What are reactions of the white and Negro communities to what the school is trying to do?

5. What effect are these schools likely to have on Mississippi's "Closed Society"?

About 3500 words should be right, with sections 3 and 4 comprising the bulk of the piece. We would want as much vivid, first-hand observation in the piece as possible, with many illustrative anecdotes, brief character sketches, and quotes. We pay $400 on acceptance with a $150 guarantee if the piece does not work out to our mutual satisfaction. We'll look forward to delivery of the piece, as agreed, in three weeks.

We'd also appreciate a phone call (collect 212-556-1746) from you on which school you've selected so that we can arrange pictures.

Regards,

Gerry

Gerald Walker
Sunday Department

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

'Criminal Syndicalism' in Mississippi

Jerry DeMuth

November 13, 1964 *The Texas Observer*

Atlanta, Ga.

With a recent wave of arrests under a new state law outlawing "criminal syndicalism," Mississippi has again shown that politically and legally it continues to side with racists.

Last May 11, during what was the longest legislative session in the state's history —23 weeks, Senator E. K. Collins of Laurel introduced the criminal syndicalism bill to outlaw advocating, teaching, aiding, or abetting the commission of crime or unlawful acts of force and violence or of "terrorism" to effect a change in ownership or political or social change, or for profit. The outlawed acts include written or spoken words, publications, organizational efforts, and such. Punishment ranges from fines of from $200 to $1,000 and sentences of one to ten years for violating or encouraging others to violate the law. Owners of property or those who control it and permit an assembly for such purposes face fines of from $100 to $500 and up to a year in jail.

Kenneth Toler, writing in the Atlanta Constitution, commented on the bill: "Taking cognizance of the [racist] movements, the state senate this week passed a bill sources said was primarily aimed at suppressing militant white supremacists from forming in the state." A UPI dispatch from Jackson, the state capital, repeated this belief: "A bill designed to cripple the growth of white supremacy groups that advocate violence won Mississippi Senate approval Monday . . . Sources said an organization drive by the Ku Klux Klan and other new, militantly-segregationist groups were the spark-plug for the proposal." And Robert Gordon, newsman for the Jackson Clarion-Ledger, also reported that the bill "was primarily aimed at surpressing [sic] groups of militant white supremists who advocate violence."

However, Sen. Collins, who at the Democratic National Convention argued before the credentials committee for the seating of the regular Mississippi delegation, said the bill could be used as well against integrationist groups. It was passed without discussion.

A companion bill, also introduced by Sen. Collins, was aimed at persons outside the state who advocate or aid "criminal syndicalism." This law would punish such persons if they were found in Mississippi. Collins said it might make civil rights groups "think twice" about sending workers into the state. He also commented that the bill may be unconstitutional, but "it can't do us any harm."

The criminal syndicalism law was forgotten during the summer by civil rights workers, who at first had been concerned about it. Like a few of the other bills rushed through the legislature in the spring, it was not used by the state, perhaps because there was no shortage of other laws under which civil rights workers could be arrested.

When the law was passed, racial violence was the most common in southwest Mississippi. This area, centered around McComb, is where the Klan is the strongest in Mississippi and is the home of the militant Americans for the Preservation of the White Race (A.P.W.R.).

In McComb on April 28, the barbershop of an NAACP leader, Curtis Bryant, was bombed. On June 22, three houses were bombed. Two weeks later the office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee was bombed. A Negro church was burned to the ground on July 17, and the next day there was an attempt to burn another such church; three days later another one burned to the ground; the next day there was again an attempt to burn still another one. On July 26 dynamite was thrown at the home of Charles Bryant, brother of Curtis Bryant. In August there were attempts to burn a church and a home and another home was bombed, as well as a supermarket in a Negro neighborhood. In September dynamite rocked and damaged six homes and two churches—one of the churches was totally demolished.

On September 22, for the first time in the state, the now four-month-old criminal syndicalism law was used. Seven Negroes were arrested during brief rioting that flared after two simultaneous bombings. Justice of the Peace Charles Herring ordered them charged under the criminal syndicalism law. County Sheriff R. R. Warren, at the site of one of the bombings, told newsmen, "In my opinion both this and the blast at the church were 'plants' and you can quote me on it."

The next day there was another bombing, and the following day 19 more Negroes were arrested for criminal syndicalism. A McComb policeman told newsmen he had a list of 24 Negroes for whom warrants were prepared. Even parents were not permitted to see those in jail.

That day, John C. Gibson, writing in the county seat newspaper, the Magnolia Gazette, said that Dennis Sweeney, white S.N.C.C. worker who was also arrested, "in our book of extremism should draw a penalty equal to that for treason, because what he and others like him are doing is treason." In the McComb newspaper, Charles Gordon reported, "Sheriff R. R. Warren said today he believes increasingly the explosions—four of which have occurred since Sunday—are being staged in an effort to induce the federal government to declare martial law here." Even Gov. Paul Johnson concurred: On September 30 he said, "Some of the bombs were 'plants,' and we can say that they were the outgrowth of COFO activities." ("COFO" is the Council of Federated Organizations that coordinates civil rights work in Mississippi.)

But the next day three whites were arrested and charged with two of the bombings. Membership cards in the A.P.W.R. and K.K.K. were found in the car of one of them. The three and eight others subsequently arrested were not charged with criminal syndicalism, although the bill was supposedly aimed at white terrorists. They were charged under a law against the illegal possession of dynamite that was originally passed to enable the state to get strong convictions from arrests growing out of a labor strike.

Nine of the eleven white men were tried in late October, all pleading guilty to the charges. Though each could have received as a maximum the death penalty, the nine were given suspended sentences. Pike County Circuit Judge W. H. Watkins, Jr., remarked that the men were unduly provoked by outsiders of "low morality, some of them unhygienic." Judge Watkins also pointed out that they were "mostly young; all came from good families, who were shocked at their involvement; and deserved another chance." Four of the nine were aged 44, 38, 36 and 35.

In the meantime another wave of criminal syndicalism arrests had occurred in the Delta in Belzoni, 140 miles straight north of McComb.

On October 3 seven Negroes were passing out leaflets announcing a community meeting. Police picked them up, all but one a high school student, and charged them with criminal syndicalism. Two were eventually released in care of an attorney, but the other five were bound over to a grand jury on $1,000 bond each and remained in jail.

Then on October 15 four S.N.C.C. field secretaries were arrested for criminal syndicalism while they were walking down a street in the downtown Negro section. They had not been passing out leaflets, but each had a Freedom Democratic Party leaflet with him. The four have remained in jail.

Lawyers began legal action against this law. A petition for an injunction to enjoin its enforcement has been filed in relation to the McComb arrests. A three-judge panel is to hear the petition at some future date. Attorney Carsie Hall, who asked for an injunction preventing further arrests.

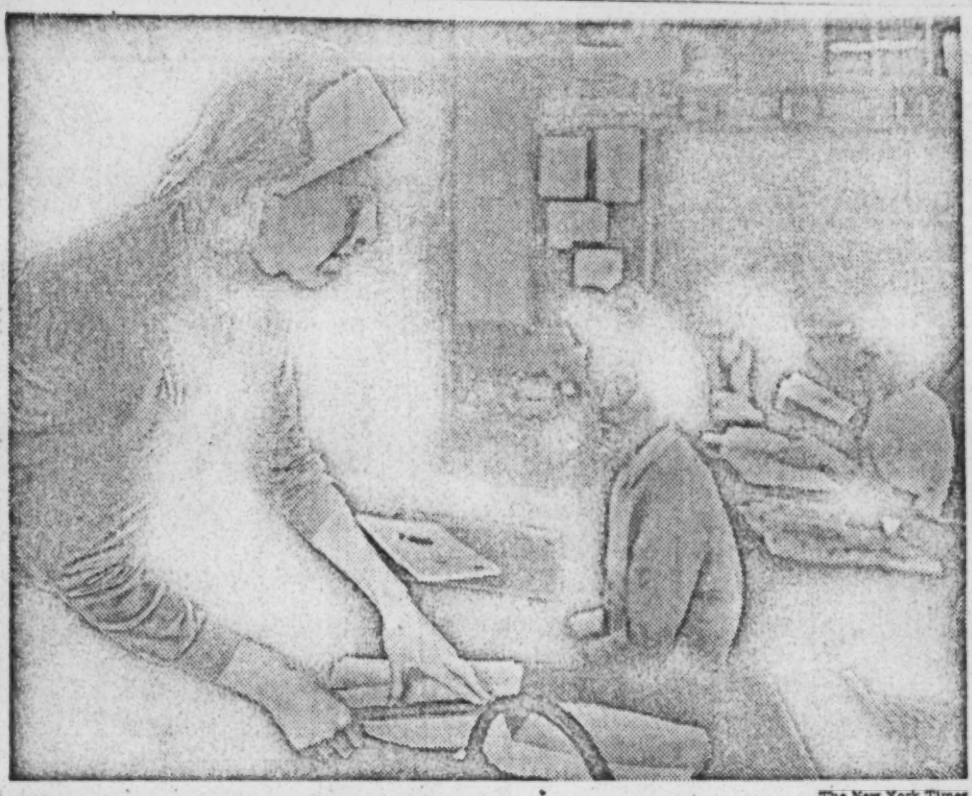
The legal challenge will be based largely on recent rulings in Georgia and Pennsylvania where similar, though not identical state statutes were declared unconstitutional by federal courts.

A different tack is being taken in Belzoni, where petitions have been filed to have the cases moved to federal court. A subsequent suit will challenge the law's constitutionality.

Meanwhile, over twenty civil rights workers wait in Mississippi jails. □

Jerry DeMuth writes for New Republic and a number of other magazines.

P.W. W.B.



The New York Times

PLAINTIFF IN RIGHTS SUIT: Miss Sandra Adickes in class she teaches at Benjamin Franklin High School on East 116th Street. Miss Adickes has sued S. H. Kress & Co. for $550,000, charging she was refused service with Negroes at a lunchroom in Kress store at Hattiesburg, Miss. At the time, Miss Adickes taught at a Freedom School.

Pub. Eleanor, Miss

Civil Rights Worker Sues Kress For Arrest at Mississippi Store

N.Y. Times 11-14-64

By EDWARD RANZAL

A white school teacher who was arrested in Mississippi on vagrancy charges after taking six Negro students to lunch in a Kress Department store filed a $550,000 damage suit against the store owner in Federal Court here yesterday.

She charged that the police of Hattiesburg, Miss., and employes of the Kress store there had conspired to deprive her of her constitutional rights by having her arrested.

She is Miss Sandra Adickes of 520 East 12th Street, who teaches English at the Benjamin Franklin High School at 116th Street and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Drive.

Miss Adickes worked in the Mississippi Project sponsored by the Council of Federated Organizations, whose purpose is to educate and integrate Negroes, from July 6 to Aug. 14.

Her suit was filed here because the defendant, S. H. Kress & Company, has its main office at 114 Fifth Avenue.

Miss Adickes spent the summer as a volunteer teacher at a Freedom School in the Priest Creek Baptist Church in Hattiesburg.

The slender, blond teacher had devoted her time to teaching freedom and citizenship to Negro students. On Aug. 14 six students—five girls and one boy ranging in age from 13 to 17 years—said they wanted to visit Hattiesburg's public library. Miss Adickes decided to accompany them for their protection.

The group arrived at the library shortly before noon, according to the court papers, and the librarian told them they could not use the facilities. The chief of police arrived, announced the library was closed and the group left.

They went to the nearby Kress store for lunch and sat in a booth. A waitress took the orders of the students. She refused, however, to take the teacher's order, saying she would not serve a white person in the company of Negroes.

The group left the store, and when Miss Adickes reached the sidewalk she was arrested on a charge of vagrancy. She was taken to the city jail, photographed, fingerprinted and "booked as a common criminal." She remained in custody until $100 bail was furnished.

At the time of her arrest, Miss Adickes earned $7,200 annually as a New York City teacher. She had $20 in her purse, travelers checks for $30 and $45 in a checking account in a Mississippi bank.

Mrs. Eleanor Jackson Piel, Miss Adickes's lawyer, said that she has moved to have the vagrancy case remanded to Federal Court in Hattiesburg. The motion is still pending.

Miss Adickes seeks $50,000 in damages because she was "deprived of the privilege of equal enjoyment in a place of public accommodation by reason of her association with Negroes."

She asks $500,000 more on the charge that the store and the police conspired to have her arrested.

Mrs. Piel said that the teacher is taking a leave of absence in January to return to Mississippi to teach in a Freedom School again.

XERO COPY

VOL.

MISSISSIPPI BLOC EXPANDING DRIVE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

Miss

Vote Registration, Schools and Community Centers Are Being Extended

TENSIONS HAVE RELAXED

But Angry Mood Prevails Among Racists Shocked by Outcome of Election

11-16-64

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, MISS., Nov. 15—Civil rights organizations are planning a continuing assault against segregation and discrimination in Mississippi, a center of racial violence and conflict in recent months.

Some white leaders are moving to make a peaceful adjustment to integration and pressures for it from outside. There have also been some significant breaks in the state's organized resistance.

However, a good portion of the white population is in a mood of angry defiance that could lead to renewed violence as Negroes pursue demands for equal opportunity in new areas of public life.

The results of the national election left many whites in a state of shock and confusion. They had been told that the cause for segregation had been gaining throughout the nation and that it would be only a matter of time before the Civil Rights Act would be repealed.

'Bitter Resistance'

After the Goldwater defeat, one white official here said:

"There's going to be bitter resistance, and maybe more bloodshed, but we believe that the conservative cause has made a good start and will win out yet."

The sharp divisions that exist were pointed up in the recent Presidential election. While President Johnson won by a landslide outside the Deep South, he polled only about 13 per cent of the vote in Mississippi, despite the state's Democratic tradition — receiving about 53,000 votes to 360,000 for Senator Barry Goldwater, the Republican candidate.

Negroes, few of whom participated in the official election, voted 63,000 for Mr. Johnson to 17 for Mr. Goldwater in a mock election conducted by the Freedom Democratic party.

In both instances, the racial question was the overriding issue.

As a result of the election, civil rights leaders are making new demands for increased Federal participation in the Mississippi struggle. These are the

Continued on Page 21, Column 1

MISSISSIPPI BLOC EXPANDING DRIVE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

major moves planned or underway by civil rights organizations.

¶The Council of Federated Organizations, which brought hundreds of student volunteers to the state during the summer, is expanding and making permanent its system of community centers, freedom schools and voter registration projects.

¶The National Association for the Advancemant of Colored People will test the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in hard-core areas that have barred Negroes from restaurants and motels since the law was enacted last summer. The first tests are scheduled to begin this week in the McComb area.

¶The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is planning a nationwide boycott of Mississippi products as a means of forcing the state to comply with the civil rights law.

The Freedom Democratic party, which claims to represent disenfranchised Negroes, is pressing for a cutoff of Federal funds to the state as another means of forcing compliance with the civil rights law.

There are countless other projects planned for the months ahead. One leader suggested the other day that because of the proliferation of groups moving into Mississippi a civil rights clearing house was needed.

Tensions have relaxed to some extent since the summer King Jr., is planning a nationmonths when the Council project was new to rural communities. Whites have become accustomed to having civil rights workers around and the movement itself is more mature.

However, the extent and nature of the resistance that continues was shown during the Freedom Democratic party's mock election campaign. Between Oct. 18 and Nov. 2, the Council of Federated Organzations reported 119 arrests and 63 other harassments. These included the burning of a church where an election rally was held, the burning of a store used as a polling place, the tear-gassing of a home and several shootings.

This violence attracted little attention because it was mild compared to that of the four previous months, in which three civil rights workers were murdered, at least 80 persons were beaten, 35 churches burned, more than 1,000 persons arrested, and 30 homes and other buildings bombed. There were also 35 shooting incidents in which three Negroes were wounded, according to a Council tally that has not been disputed.

Mileston, a hamlet on the edge of the Delta, 60 miles north of Jackson, provides a capsule view of what is going on in Mississippi. The community is populated chiefly by Negroes who own small farms. Until recently, it was untouched by the civil rights movement.

It now has a $20,000 community center that will replace a battered church as a rallying place for Negro rights. Abe Osheroff, a contractor of Venice, Calif., solicited contributions to buy the materials and constructed the building here in the summer and fall.

Mr. and Mrs. Henry Lorenzi, a young California couple, head the Mileston project. They live in the loft of the new building, which has a meeting hall, a kitchen, a library and one of the few bathrooms in the community. They plan to remain in Mississippi about a year, organizing adult and teen-age classes, a kindergarten and re-

Mrs. Lorenzi, a recent University of California graduate, looked out across the newly harvested cotton fields and told of some of the problems involved. On the night the center was opened, she said, local authorities came and arrested two of the workers on minor charges that later were dismissed.

"Every night, Negro volunteers come and guard the building," she continued. "They are armed with shotguns and one carries a tommygun. All the Negroes are armed. They have to be. People outside cannot imagine how it is here."

Mrs. Lorenzi told how night riders had fired into the home of one of the Negro farmers during the Freedom vote. White volunteers are harassed by whites in nearby towns where they go to shop and to do their laundry, she said.

The Council of Federated Organizations now has projects under way in 30 communities throughout the state and will expand into others during the winter. These are staffed by about 250 workers, including 160 staff members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the organization that largely controls the Council.

Key staff members recently held a series of conferences to re-evaluate their program. Mary King, a member of the student committee, said emphasis in the future would be put on "organizing local Negroes around the needs that they feel so that it's not our giving direction to the local people so much as their giving us direction as to what they want us to help them with."

She said this could include a wide range of new objectives, such as obtaining better streets or other services from local governments run by whites.

The Council is now trying to get Negroes elected to agricultural stabilization and conservation committees in several counties where Negro farmers outnumber whites. These committees administer Federal crop programs and have been controlled by local whites.

C.O.F.O. is also recruiting between 1,500 and 2,000 student volunteers to come to Mississippi next summer for a project similar to the one recently ended.

The N.A.A.C.P. is preparing a broad legal attack on segregated public facilities in urban areas. Although a number of restaurants, motels and other public accommodations have complied with the new law, the majority have not.

In McComb, for example, Negroes are simply turned away. In Greenwood, most restaurants are now private clubs. Many service stations number their rest rooms and only the employes know which are for what color.

Charles Evers, state field secretary for the N.A.A.C.P., said testing segregated facilities would involve only two or three persons at a time. If refused service, the N.A.A.C.P. would then take the matter to the court. No large-scale demonstrations are planned, he said, unless resistance continues against Negro voter registration in some of the hard-core counties.

One advance has been in the field of law enforcement. The state highway patrol, made up of white segregationists, joined the Federal Bureau of Investigation in putting down violence in southwest Mississippi. Through the joint efforts of the two agencies, about 20 whites have been arrested. Although several have been freed on probation, the violence has ceased.

In Meadville, a small town between Natchez and McComb, two white men have been charged with picking up two Negro youths on the highway last May 2, taking them to a field and beating them to death with bean poles. They are free under bond pending trial next year.

In McComb, where there were 30 racial crimes during the summer and fall, a group of businessmen are organizing to rid the area of the Ku Klux Klan, the organization believed to be responsible for much of the violence.

Owen Cooper, a Yazoo City industrialist, pushed a resolution through the Mississippi Baptist Convention last week urging churches to move against violence.

The Mississippi Manufacturers Association meanwhile, plans to conduct a series of conferences over the state designed to prepare businessmen for the fair employment practices provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 when it goes into effect next summer. The provision bans discrimination in hiring practices.

The opposition that remains is shrill and unyielding. The White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan distributed leaflets on Election Day saying:

"We are not going to sit back and permit our rights to be negotiated away by a group of Jewish priests, bluegum black savages and mongrelized money worshipers. . . We will buy you a ticket to the Eternal if you insist."

The letters columns of the newspapers are filled with bitter outpourings.

"It would have been appropriate," one woman wrote, "for all flags to fly at half mast on Nov. 4 in observance of the death of freedom in our land. We mourn the passing of the Constitution, the free enterprise system and, most tragic of all, individual freedom and initiative."

COFO NEWS
1017 Lynch St.
Jackson, Miss.
352-9605

Nov. 29, 1964

COFO IS IN MISSISSIPPI TO STAY

Statement made by Dave Dennis, assistant program director of COFO:

"The statements made by some television and newspapers that COFO may withdraw from Mississippi are absolutely and completely false.

We will stay on in Mississippi until all the people of the state, regardless of race or creed, are treated as human beings equal under the law. More and more local people are participating in all the thirty-~~three~~ eight projects which we have throughout the state. More and more are being added to our staff and making important decisions about what is to be done.

People of good will from all over the United States and the world have come and are coming to help Negro citizens register to vote, and to carry on the Freedom Schools and Community Centers. They will also carry on the work of organizing white and Negro farmers into Federal programs and cooperatives.

This summer we expect that even more volunteers will be joining us than the 850 who came last year. In January, Antioch College will begin a permanent training program for their students who will work in Mississippi. Nine Antioch students are expected to be among the twenty-four students from the finest universities in America who will come to Mississippi in December. Applications from students and others, many from the South, are pouring in every day.

COFO has never been a wealthy organization---this was never any secret---but we are in a much better position today than when we started. We have gained knowledge which comes only from experience. We believe that time is on our side. Despite wishful thinking by some members of the press who dishonor the name of journalist by their use of half-truths and outright lies, we shall continue in Mississippi until our job is done."

COFO
1017 Lynch St.
Jackson, Mississippi

T. M. Hederman
James M. Ward
Editors
The Clarion-Ledger
Jackson Daily News
311 E. Pearl St.
Jackson, Mississippi

29 NOV 64

Sirs:

Your Sunday paper today seriously misquotes me in an article on page one. Instead of accurately quoting the New Orleans Times-Picayune article of W. F. Minor, which reported my saying that in regard to COFO "we're not moving out...", your article removes the word not, creating the exact opposite impression. So that potential irreparable harm will not ensue, I request a retraction and correction in as conspicuous a place as the original article. I am sure that this will be done and that further steps will be unnecessary.

R. Hunter Morey
Temporary Office Manager

R. Hunter Morey

N.Y. Times 12-1-64

MERIDIAN ARRESTS PERIL RIGHTS UNIT

Youth Befriended by Group Is Charged With Burglary

By HOMER BIGART
Special to The New York Times

MERIDIAN, Miss., Nov. 30—Civil rights workers, harassed and unwanted in this eastern Mississippi city, befriended a lonely sailor from New York, and as a result the small band of visitors is now involved in an incident that could wreck the movement here.

Eight white young men and women, almost the entire staff of the Council of Federated Organizations project here, were rounded up last week when the police found in the council's office a portable record player that they said had been stolen by the sailor from a local apartment.

The sailor, Vincent Cummuskey, 18 years old, of 115-10 221st Street, Queens, is in jail charged with burglary. Held with him are two civil rights workers, Sandra Watts, 22, a school teacher from Lakeview, Ore., and Joseph M. Morse of Dakota, Minn. Six other council staff members have been freed.

Rights Workers Charged

Mr. Morse, who according to his friends is studying for the priesthood, was charged with receiving stolen property. Miss Watts was charged with being an accessory after the fact of burglary. The police said she was with Mr. Cummuskey when he committed a theft.

The timing of the arrests was particularly embarrassing to the council. The organization in recent weeks has been under heavy attack from Mississippi segregationists, who maintain that the council's workers are invariably "beatniks and scum."

Huddling around a stove in a back room of the council's office, three workers from the North conceded that their organization had been put in a bad light by the incident. But they insisted that no member of the staff could have known that the phonograph, which they said had been given to the office by Mr. Cummuskey, was stolen property.

Mr. Cummuskey started "hanging around" the council's office about two weeks ago, they said. He told them he had participated in the search last summer for the three missing council workers who were eventually found murdered. He told them he had served his enlistment period and was about to be discharged from the Navy.

'A Nice, Sunny Boy'

"He seemed a nice, sunny boy," recalled Mrs. Ken Slote, of 106 Forsyth Street, Manhattan, whose husband is an abstract expressionist painter. "He appeared sympathetic about civil rights."

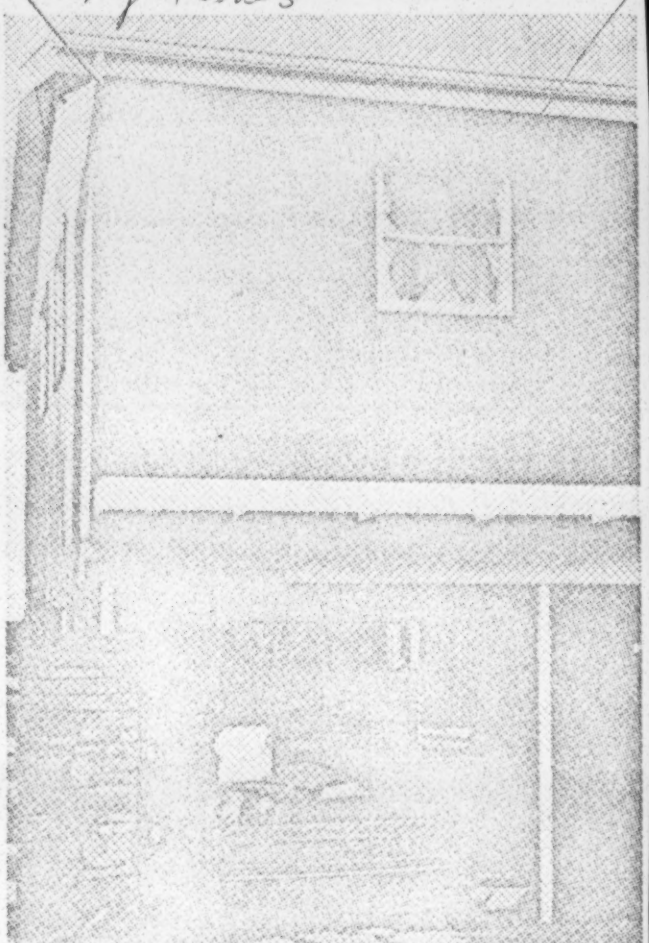
"One day he gave this portable phonograph to us," said Eric Weinberger of Voluntown, Conn. "He said he had tried to pawn it but was offered too little money. He said he didn't want to carry it North.

"It sounded reasonable to us. We are accustomed to getting donations. We had just received a truckload of used articles from New Rochelle, including a pair of false teeth."

On Thursday, the police took Mr. Cummuskey off a bus in Birmingham, Ala., and brought him back to Meridian and put him in the Lauderdale County Jail.

On Friday, the police, led by Sheriff Raymond Davis, raided the council's office and seized Mr. Morse, Miss Watt, Mr. Weinberger, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Wright, of Boston; Luke Kabat, of Saunderstown, R. I., a medical student at Stanford University; Louis Somlyo, a student at Howard University, Washington, and Gail Falk of Pittsburgh.

According to The Meridian Star, Detective L. L. Scarbrough quoted Mr. Cummuskey as having said that he had received a dishonorable discharge "for



Associated Press Wirephoto

SCENE OF BLAST IN MONTGOMERY, ALA.: This carport at Charles Spears' home was damaged by dynamite.

Dynamite Blast Wrecks Carport Under House of Alabama Negro

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Nov. 30 (UPI)—A dynamite bomb wrecked the carport of a $30,000 home of a Negro family last night. An automobile was credited with preventing injuries by absorbing the blast.

The explosion damaged the home of Charles Spears, a manufacturer's agent. He disclaimed any connection with the civil rights movement.

The local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People demanded a full-scale investigation, and the City Commission announced it would offer a $500 reward.

Assistant Police Chief E. P. Brown said a preliminary investigation showed that two or three sticks of dynamite had been used to bomb the brick-and-wood structure shortly before midnight.

The police said they had "little to go on." No suspects have been arrested.

Mr. Spears said his 1962 Cadillac saved his daughters, aged 17 and 9, from injury. The dynamite exploded next to the rear wheel of the car in a carport directly beneath the bedroom where the girls were asleep. Mr. Spears and his wife were also at home. All escaped injury.

Has No Affiliation

"I don't have any affiliation, no official membership and haven't taken part in any type of racial movement," he said. "Nor have any members of my family. I am a resident. I have stayed here all my life. I was born here and thought I was a pretty good citizen."

He said nothing unusual happened before the blast.

"The only thing is that occasionally we get phone calls, sometimes continuously during the day," he said. "And when we answer, no one is there."

Mr. Spears's home is at the end of a narrow Negro section, flanked by white neighborhoods, that runs from near downtown. White homes are within a few feet of his in the back and on one side. Mr. Spears works for a company that makes diplomas, trophies, class rings and other types of scholastic material.

"The car received a great portion of the blast but it blew out all the under foundation of the bedroom above and about two-thirds of the windows in the house," he said.

Crowd Is Dispersed

A small group of curious Negroes gathered shortly after the explosion but the police quickly dispersed them and maintained a guard throughout the night and today.

It was the first such bombing in Montgomery since 1956 when the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Council, conducted a bus boycott that led to desegregation of city bus lines.

Montgomery, called the "Cradle of the Confederacy," has had little racial strife in the last two years. The last occurred during Freedom Rides throughout the South.

Bombing an inhabited dwelling in Alabama is punishable by death.

C070

NEW YORK TIMES,

N.A.A.C.P. WEIGHS QUITTING COUNCIL

Decision to Be Made on Affiliation in Mississippi

12-1-64

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 30—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will decide on Jan. 4 whether to continue its affiliation with the Council of Federated Organizations, which brought hundreds of civil rights volunteers to Mississippi.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., will continue to give the council at least nominal support.

Leaders of the N.A.A.C.P. and the conference, two of the more moderate and affluent civil rights organizations, issued statements after the council had denied reports that it was on the verge of disbanding.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the N.A.A.C.P., said in New York that its board of directors would decide whether to sever relations with the council, as recommended by the state conference of N.A.A.C.P. branches last Nov. 7.

Notes Formation in '63

Mr. Wilkins said the council was organized by the N.A.A.C.P. in Mississippi in 1963 to coordinate civil rights activities in the state but had been "taken over" by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He said the student group "proceeds on most matters unilaterally without consultation with other groups."

"We believe if this is to be a joint effort all organizations should have something to say about policy strategy and program," Mr. Wilkins declared. "Although its voters' registration program did not prove productive, several good things have come out of the C.O.F.O. project, namely of national and international attention on the denial of rights in Mississippi and the impact of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party on the future of Southern Negroes."

Some local Negroes have opposed council projects on the basis that the organization did not screen out volunteers with Communist ties.

Mr. Wilkins said that the N.A.A.C.P. would "continue its study of the situation in Mississippi but will take no further formal action until the board decides upon our future relations with C.O.F.O."

Aaron Henry of Clarksdale, state president of the N.A.A.C.P., who is also president of the council, said a new council president is to be elected next month but he planned to continue to participate in the organization.

The Congress of Racial Equality, which has about 50 staff workers in the council, will continue with the organization, according to Dave Dennis, southern program director for CORE.

Dr. King Backs Council

CHICAGO, Nov. 30 (AP)—Dr. King said today that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference would provide funds for projects of the Council of Federated Organizations. He said the conference "has not withdrawn its support from C.O.F.O. and has no intention of doing so."

was about to be discharged from the Navy.

'A Nice, Sunny Boy'

"He seemed a nice, sunny boy," recalled Mrs. Ken Slote, of 106 Forsyth Street, Manhattan, whose husband is an abstract expressionist painter. "He appeared sympathetic about civil rights."

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On Thursday, the police took Mr. Cummuskey off a bus in Birmingham, Ala., and brought him back to Meridian and put him in the Lauderdale County Jail.

On Friday, the police, led by Sheriff Raymond Davis, raided the council's office and seized Mr. Morse, Miss Watt, Mr. Weinberger, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Wright, of Boston; Luke Kabat, of Saunderstown, R. I., a medical student at Stanford University; Louis Somlyo, a student at Howard University, Washington, and Gail Falk of Pittsburgh.

According to The Meridian Star, Detective L. L. Scarbrough quoted Mr. Cummuskey as having said that he had received a dishonorable discharge "for homosexual reasons."

District Attorney George Warner said a preliminary hearing for Mr. Cummuskey would probably be held tomorrow. Bond was set at $2,500 for Miss Watts and $1,500 for Morse.

Arguments Set in Jackson

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 30 (UPI)—Attorneys for a civil rights group wound up their case today in a Federal court suit seeking to halt McComb, Pike County and state officers from arresting integrationists.

Defense attorneys for the officers immediately rested, and Federal District Judge Sidney Mize set final arguments for Tuesday morning.

A civil rights worker, Dennis Sweeney, 21 years old testified on the last day of the hearing that the McComb city police had harrassed and arrested him after a civil rights meeting at a bombed McComb church.

The hearing came in a suit filed by the Council of Federated Organizations against McComb Police Chief George Guy; Sheriff R. R. Warren, the stateh ighway patrol head, T. B. Birdsong, and a number of McComb policeman.

been used to bomb the brick-and-wood structure shortly before midnight.

The police said they had "little to go on." No suspects have been arrested.

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DR. KING ASSAILED BY GOV. JOHNSON

(Cont)

Mississippi Official Backs Hoover's 'Liar' Charge

N.Y. Times 12-1-64

WASHINGTON, Nov. 30 (UPI)—Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr. of Mississippi said tonight that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had left "a trail of blood and bitterness."

Mr. Johnson was asked at a news conference to comment on a recent charge by J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, that Dr. King was a "notorious liar."

"Of course I agree with him, as do thousands of people," Mr. Johnson replied.

He said the civil rights leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner "has left trail of blood and bitterness. Rather than a man of peace, he is a man of division and dissension."

Mr. Johnson also attacked Charles Evers, a Mississippi Negro leader, saying that "members of his own race have little confidence in him and will have even less because of his wild statements."

Disputes Evers Statement

The Governor took issue with proposals by Mr. Evers that the Federal Government withhold welfare funds from Mississippi because of racial segregation.

"Official records show that 61 per cent of these welfare funds are used in behalf of members of the colored race," Mr. Johnson said. He described Mr. Evers as "a man who poses as a friend of the colored people of my state."

Mr. Johnson came to Washington to appear on a nationwide television program this morning, the "Today" show of The National Broadcasting Company. He called the news conference after Washington's first snowfall of the season had delayed his flight home until tomorrow.

He said at the conference that the Council of Federated Organizations, a civil right coalition in Mississippi, is collapsing because Negroes have found that "two out of every seven C.O.F.O. leaders have Marxist backgrounds."

Governor Johnson said on the "Today" show that he believed racial troubles in Mississippi were "being resolved fairly."

He said he found Negroes in his state "are very, very happy; they are happy because of the money spent on education in Mississippi—59 cents of every tax dollar."

The Governor said:

"We have very little trouble in Mississippi in spite of what news media put out. The situation is directly opposite of what so many have painted."

Governor Johnson said he knew of few Negroes in his state who have been turned down for registration as voters and "very few instances, if any," of Negroes being intimidated by burnings, bombings and similar acts.

VIRGINIA DEFENDS ITS SCHOOLS POLICY

Edu. 2a

N.Y. Times 12-1-64

RICHMOND, Va., Nov. 30 (UPI)—Virginia contended in Federal court today that it had kept a "neutral" position on the question of school integration, although it had given tuition grants to parents of children attending segregated private schools.

In a brief filed before a District Court, the state, the Board of Education and the superintendent of public instruction set out arguments in support of the so-called freedom-of-choice, tuition-grant system.

he brief came as part of a suit by Negroes that asked a three-judge Federal court to strike down the system as unconstitutional and in violation of the Supreme Court's decisions outlawing school segregation.

The state denied that its tuition-grants statutes "do in fact operate so as to deny Negro students the opportunity to attend integrated schools, although admitting that in some localities the free choice of parents has resulted in what amounts to de facto segregation."

The suit goes before a three-judge panel on Dec. 14 for arguments on a request for a permanent injunction. There are nine Virginia areas involved.

December 11, 1964

Dear Mr. Watters:

My young lady seems to have gone away, so I'll write this one one of these automated carbon-copy things to save time.

Here go two sets of proofs, one to your home and one to your office.

As I said on the phone, we had to cut heavily in manuscript, and again in galleys. This is a small book--the pre-Christmas issue--and there just isn't any more space for anything.

The point that I am most worried about is flagged by the paper pasted on the side: my attempt to telescope your explanation of the purpose of the Freedom Schools.

One other point that a reader here has brought up since our phone conversation is this: Are we, on Galley #138, endangering Mac by the specific reference to his making fun of the Citizens Council leaflet? (I've marked a ? in the margin on the proofs.) I know you made a point about not mentioning the children's names, so I assume you've thought about . . . Anyway . . .

We've lost some good points, I know, and if there's anything you object to, don't hesitate to complain. I'm sure we'll be able to work it out.

In any case, please do call me before noon on Monday--collect, at 212-556-1681--and let me know where we stand.

I must add that everyone here who has read the story has been impressed with the warmth and immediacy that emanates from it.

Sincerely,

SDS

Sherwin D. Smith
Sunday Department

File
Miss

The Price of Strife

Race Turmoil Threatens To Stifle Mississippi's Economic Development

Tensions Blamed for Slump In Plant Building, Tourism; Boycotts Pose New Peril

State Opens Ad Counterattack

Econ Pressures

By FRANK MORGAN 2-2-65
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

JACKSON, Miss.—Mississippi is feeling the impact of racial strife where it hurts—in the pocketbook.

A few weeks ago a northeast Mississippi industrial development scout wrote Work Wear Corp. of Cleveland hopefully inquiring whether the uniform manufacturer, which already has two plants in the state, was considering further expansion. "If so," the letter said, "we invite you to take a look at our part of Mississippi."

The answer was quick in coming. "We won't consider expanding in Mississippi until the state and its people join the Union again," wrote A. L. Rosenthal, Work Wear president. The executive explains his harsh reply was prompted by Mississippi's racial strife and the lack of "visible evidence" that the state is trying to correct the problem.

While Mr. Rosenthal's attitude in itself may not represent a major setback for Mississippi's economy, there's growing evidence that acts of racial violence and discrimination are having a deadening impact on the state's business climate. In the past six months alone, at least a dozen companies that were considering Mississippi as a site for new plants have decided to build elsewhere, and it's widely believed racial tension was a primary consideration in their decisions.

Tourism Hurt

Racial turmoil appears to be affecting the economy here in other ways, too. Businessmen in Mississippi's Gulf Coast resorts report tourism has dropped since the murder of three civil rights workers last summer near Philadelphia, Miss. Some companies also say it's becoming more difficult to attract skilled workers from other states, particularly the North.

The impact is so pronounced that none other than Gov. Paul B. Johnson, who rode into office on a segregationist platform, concedes that "the racial trouble has hurt us economically."

So far most of Mississippi's troubles stem from decisions by individual travelers or companies to avoid possible problems by staying away, rather than a result of any organized effort to damage the state. But now an organized threat is emerging.

Over the nation, local chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are launching boycotts against products manufactured in Mississippi. Already on the list are products made at the Mississippi plants of such companies as Armstrong Rubber Co., Burlington Industries, Inc., and D. H. Baldwin Co., the piano and organ maker. Two other civil rights groups, the Congress of Racial Equality and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, say they will soon begin similar "selective buying" campaigns.

On the Sidelines

The rights organizations say they hope to draw Mississippi's business leaders from the sideline position they have generally taken on the race question into the middle of the fray, where they might act as a moderating influence.

Although it might be debated how effective such boycotts would be—it's difficult to see, for example, how a consumer is to know where multi-plant companies manufacture a particular product—the mere threat of economic warfare is causing jitters among Mississippi's businessmen. Some already have had a taste of what can happen from informal boycotts by out-of-the-state buyers. "We lost at least $250,000 in sales last year because of people refusing to buy Mississippi-made products," declares Joseph C. Bancroft, president of Croft Metal Products, Inc., an aluminum extruder and fabricator in McComb.

Textile makers have felt the pinch, too. Yankee Distributors, Inc., Flint, Mich., has advised several Mississippi mills that it is discontinuing the purchase of Mississippi goods until racial terrorism in the state abates. The retailing chain says it has been buying about $250,000 worth of textile goods annually for sale in its 18 stores.

A New Address

Such pressures even prompted one manufacturer of household goods in southern Mississippi to move its shipping operations across the state line into Louisiana. Explains the company's sales manager: "Mail-order houses just don't like to show an f.o.b. point in Mississippi."

But the impact of racial tensions in Mississippi is most evident in the state's efforts to lure new industry. Last year only $37 million was spent on new plants in the state, a 28% drop from 1963. Mississippi industry hunters generally attempt to brush off the decline, attributing it to the "cyclical" nature of industrial development. But Arkansas and Louisiana, with whom Mississippi competes directly for new industry, showed big gains in new plant investment last year.

"I know of six fairly good-sized companies omitting Mississippi for plant sites in recent months because of the situation down there," says a New York management consultant who specializes in selecting plant locations for his clients. "Companies just don't want to go into that type of atmosphere."

Last November a McComb, Miss., newspaper editorialized that "15 industrial prospects in the past three or four months made it clear they were afraid of the McComb atmosphere of (racial) strife and disorder." The town of 12,000 population in southwest Mississippi was the site of 17 racial bombings during 1964.

Florida Jalousies, Inc., an aluminum window and door maker based in West Palm Beach, Fla., decided against building a plant in Laurel, Miss., the day after the town's newspaper office was dynamited last spring. A company spokesman says the timing of its decision was "just a coincidence"; a Laurel

Please Turn to Page 10, Column 3

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Price of Strife: Race Turmoil Threatens Mississippi's Economy

Continued From First Page

civic leader, however, says that until the blast occurred the town was "convinced the company was definitely coming in."

Greenville, a town in the northwest Delta which is generally regarded as one of the more racially moderate communities in the state, has also had difficulty recently in enticing new industry. From 1959 through 1962 Greenville attracted one new plant a year, but none have located there since. One "solid prospect" lined up for the town by an outside consulting firm decided it didn't want to locate in Mississippi and went elsewhere, according to a Greenville business leader.

CORE Launches Campaign

Marvin Rich, national community relations director for the Congress of Racial Equality in New York City, says that "in the past three or four months we have been talking to companies that were going to locate plants in Mississippi; at least one has definitely decided not to go into the state." Mr. Rich declines to identify this company or any others that his group has contacted. He says CORE "gets the leads on these companies through friends we have in banking and plant consultation." CORE and other civil rights groups also are urging investment houses not to bid on Mississippi bonds.

Mississippians who depend on tourist dollars make clear they are unhappy about the impact of racial tension on their business. "From the way the press pictures us, you'd think a person needed to put on armor when he crossed the Mississippi line," bitterly complains a Gulfport businessman. Taxable sales in Biloxi and Gulfport, the two major tourism centers on the Mississippi Gulf, were down $2.8 million, or about 3%, last year from 1963. Jack Stanford of Gulfport, president of the Gulf Coast Motel Association, says business of some smaller motels dropped 50% during the year but insists that "bigger and newer" tourist facilities on the Gulf "did better in 1964 than in 1963."

State Travel Director Ned O'Brien estimates that visitors' spending throughout Mississippi fell 10% to 15%, or between $40 million and $60 million, in 1964, indicating that many tourists who normally would have traveled through Mississippi took other routes.

Mississippians are trying hard to improve the state's image among outsiders, and the state is coming up with some new lures for industry. A state-financed advertisement running currently in six national publications implores readers to "meet the Mississippi you haven't heard about." The ad pictures such scenes as bathing beauties on Gulf Coast beaches, ante-bellum homes and Jackson's modern downtown business district. Gov. Johnson is personally overseeing planning of new advertising strategy that would extol Mississippi's recreational and industrial advantages—and hopefully counteract its civil rights problems.

Legislature Acts

The state legislature also has appropriated $5.5 million to match Federal funds for technical training courses in public schools—the first time the state has allocated funds for the teaching of industrial skills. "For 75 years the Negroes have been an economic millstone around our neck because they, and the white Mississippian, haven't been trained in the skills needed for industrialization," says Gov. Johnson.

In other moves, the state has set up a Marketing council to seek new domestic and foreign markets for the state's agricultural and manufactured products. Corporate and personal income taxes are being reduced in another bid for industry. But this could be offset by a possible rise in sales tax rates, currently 3½%, because of a dwindling general fund surplus and increased government spending.

Businessmen show signs of responding to the challenge, too. A number of the state's leading business executives have been meeting in recent days in an effort to bring about change in what one calls "the image of lawlessness and oppression that outsiders have of Mississippi." The possible outcome: A statement to be circulated state-wide which would condemn racial extremism and violence and pledge businessmen's efforts to help improve the state's racial climate. Some 100,000 signatures would be sought.

NAACP Pickets Big Board Asking Mississippi Boycott

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

NEW YORK—Pickets from a local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People marched in front of the New York Stock Exchange in lower Manhattan in an appeal for a boycott of products manufactured in Mississippi.

About a dozen members of the NAACP's Greenwich Village chapter picketed the exchange to protest the Big Board's listing of stocks of a number of companies they said sell products stemming from Mississippi. A spokesman for the group said the names of the companies had been obtained from a survey prepared by an NAACP field crew operating in Mississippi.

The spokesman declared: "These companies have production facilities in Mississippi, they are enjoying immense profits from that segregated state and in effect are helping to bolster a system of segregation." He termed the demonstration the initial phase in a national campaign to dissuade people from buying products grown or made in Mississippi.

The picketing follows efforts by the NAACP and other civil rights groups to persuade banks, investment concerns and other investors not to bid on securities issued by the State of Mississippi.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Statement of the Holmes County Community Center Association

And

Draft Proposal for Action Under the Community Action Program, or

Possible Agenda for Community Discussion

7 March 1966

The Holmes County Community Center has been operating for over a year and a half, both by and for the poor people of Holmes County. Article 2 from the Constitution of the Community Center Association explains the purposes of the Center: ". . .to provide and maintain a non-profit making center for community, civic, social, recreational, educational, cultural, and charitable activities; to promote the well-being of the people of Holmes County, Mississippi; to provide education; to lessen the tensions among people and groups in Holmes County, Mississippi; to provide relief of the poor and underprivileged; to eliminate prejudice and discrimination based on race; and to defend the human and civil rights of all persons secured by law." This article and the entire constitution was adopted at the Annual Meeting of December 1965, which was attended by well over 200 people living in every geographical area of Holmes County.

The Community Center is poor people. In a democratic manner we have guided the programs and operation of the Community Center toward the end of bettering the condition and lives of the poor in Holmes County. During the winter of 1964-1965, for example, we distributed over 20,000 pounds of clothing to more than 500 poor families in every area of the county. We have provided a meeting-place for classes in citizenship, agricultural education, community and civic awareness, health programs, and other problems of public concern.

We have had education programs for the very young in our kindergarten last year. Last year an OEO Headstart program operated in our center; and one is in operation there now.

We have a diagnostic clinic staffed by a professional doctor and two registered nurses and we have conducted many cultural, recreational, social, educational, and civic programs directly involving and reaching out to the poor. More than 4,000 poor Holmes Countians have participated directly in programs of the Community Center.

Our Board of Trustees is elected annually at open, public meetings of the poor and other Holmes Countians. It is representative of those of us of the lower economic level in Holmes County.

Therefore, we, the poor, feel we can offer a draft proposal for a Community Action Program in Holmes County.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Our proposal will be based on four basic assumptions about the Poverty War in Holmes County:

(1) We have complete faith in the democratic process as set forth in the United States Constitution and its amendments, and as summarized in the idea of One Man, One Vote.

(2) We believe that the Community Action Program should be organized to use local resources as much as possible. We should try to do everything we can here in Holmes County without the assistance of Washington. But in the event that we cannot by ourselves eliminate poverty in Holmes County, we should use every bit of help from Washington necessary.

(3) We believe that the Community Action Program should use to the fullest all existing public facilities and institutions, governmental and non-governmental.

(4) We agree with the goals, aims, and philosophy of the Anti-Poverty Program of the Federal Government.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Because we believe in the democratic process, we cannot accept any Community Action Board which is not democratically elected by the people of Holmes County. We are appreciative that a preliminary meeting was called on the 7th of March, 1966, to organize a Community Action Program. The group which called this meeting has our thanks and deepest appreciation. But we feel that it has fulfilled its only function in calling this meeting, and ceases to have any standing in our eyes now.

Because we believe in the democratic process, we believe that the main structure of a Community Action Program should be community meetings. The poor people should write their own proposals in community meetings, and no policy should be made without the voted consent of community meetings.

Because we believe in the goals of the anti-poverty program to encourage the widest possible participation by the poor, we believe that the Community Action Board should be assisted in its work by an Advisory Committee of the Poor which would be made up only of poor Holmes Countians. This Advisory Committee of the Poor should have authority to make proposals to communities for their approval, and to the Community Action Board, which would then have to act to approve or reject them. It should also have authority to review policy decisions before they are implemented.

Because we believe in democracy, we believe that the Community Action Board should be--and must be--elected from a beat or community level.

Because we believe in the principles of the Poverty Program, we recommend that at this first meeting a Temporary Board be elected to serve for a period not to exceed two months. Its only job would be to organize community meetings where (1) elections could be held for a permanent Board; (2) where communities could decide which proposals they would like to submit to the Board; and (3) to supervise the elections of the Advisory Committee of the Poor.

We believe that no more than the above can be done at this meeting.

* * * * * * *

Before proceeding, we feel it is necessary to define exactly what we mean by the "poor". We believe that it is impossible to maintain a family in dignity and decency and health for less than $4,000 a year. 80% of the families in Holmes County now earn less than $4,000 a year.

But that figure does not explain the bitter levels of poverty that are widespread in Holmes County. Fully 43% of the families of Holmes County receive less than $1,000 a year. These families are the Bitterly Poor.

We believe that any and all Community Action Programs should be designed to first help the Bitterly Poor before any other groups.

* * * * * * *

While it is too early to predict exactly which programs the poor of Holmes County will decide upon, nor what priorities they will assign, it is possible to list some of the problems which will probably be discussed and because we are of the poor we can offer some suggested solutions to those problems. This, then, is the Community Center Association's considered judgement as to the priorities of the problems within the county and it may perhaps serve as a preliminary agenda for the community meetings to get things started.

There are two more terms which need to be defined before we get into the body of the proposal. One is "Community Action Program" and the other is "Supplemental CAP assistance".

We see the Community Action Program as the citizens of Holmes County working together to build a better future for all Holmes Countians. This means that the fullest resources of local civic groups, clubs and institutions and governments would be united in a joint effort to rebuild Holmes County into a prosperous and delightful place to live. This Community Action Program would have a direct relationship with the Federal Government in that whenever local resources are not able to accomplish the necessary tasks, the Federal Government would be asked to step in and provide the necessary resources to complete the job. This would be "supplemental CAP assistance". In a sense there will be two Community Action Programs. The first is the united citizenry of Holmes County acting to solve their own problems. The second is the citizenry of Holmes County united with the Federal Government, in its role as trouble-shooter, backing up and supporting the efforts of the first Community Action Program.

* * * * * * *

There seem to be at least 7 broad problem areas which must be attacked in order to eliminate poverty in Holmes County. They are: (1) Income; (2) Education; (3) Health and Welfare; (4) Housing; (5) Food; (6) Legal

Protection; and (7) Civic Responsibilities.

These seven broad areas of operation can be sub-divided according to how soon they need to be handled; and whether or not local agencies, other Federal programs, or Supplemental CAP Assistance would play the major role in solving the problems.

The time scale can be divided into three branches: (1) Immediate; (2) As soon as possible; and (3) in the longer run. We believe that "as soon as possible" means within the first 6 months of the program--or within one year at the most.

Since nobody in the county has had experience in setting up and running a Community Action Program, and since this will be such an important part of the lives of all Holmes Countians in coming years, we would like to insure that the problem is correctly handled right from the beginning. We have waited well over a year before coming together for this meeting tonight and we feel that we can wait a few more months before starting specific programs until we can apply for technical assistance grants under the Anti-Poverty Law. We hereby make the only specific request which we believe it is possible to make tonight: that the first act of the Permanent Community Action Board be to apply for grants under all five categories of the law. Those categories are: (1) Technical Assistance Grants; (2) Grants to assist in planning the programs; (3) Programs Administration and Operation Grants; (4) Research and Demonstration Proposals; (5) Grants for training purposes. This is the "Immediate" action to be taken. This technical assistance should be extended to train local agencies such as the County Board of Supervisors, the School Board, the Welfare Department, etc., in how to fully mesh their activities with the Community Action Project.

* * * * * *

I. Income

Poverty is defined by the level of income a family has to spend. Therefore INCOME is the first and most important problem. A man cannot live without income.

A. A massive public works program is needed as the very first "as soon as possible" program to put people to work earning an income at the same time they are doing jobs that are desperately needed in the county. The Federal Government would offer all assistance necessary above and beyond the power of the local agencies responsible, and we are sure that the local boards will take it upon themselves to push themselves to the limits of their resources to handle these problems.

The Public Works Program should include the following:

(1) In order to provide jobs for the poor, both white and Negro, the paving of all gravel roads in corporate limits and major rural routes which are still unpaved should be undertaken at the very beginning; with the Bitterly Poor being hired first.

(2) In order to provide jobs for the poor, both Negro and white, it is suggested that gravel be put on all minor dirt roads which do not now have gravel surfaces, with first consideration being given to the Bitterly Poor.

(3) In order to provide jobs for the poor of Holmes County, both white and Negro, it is suggested that sewers and sanitation facilities be installed where they are presently lacking, with first consideration being given to the Bitterly Poor. Many communities in corporate limits have no sewers or indoor plumbing and do have open drainage ditches. Rural communities in Holmes County invariably have these problems.

(4) In order to provide jobs for poor Holmes Countians, both Negro and white, it is suggested that drainage operations be undertaken as soon as possible, with first consideration being given to the Bitterly Poor. Many communities in corporate limits are flooded out each year due to poor drainage and many roads are impassable for long periods during the winter months. Dams and flood control are vitally needed.

(5) In order to provide jobs for poor Holmes Countians, both white and Negro, it is suggested that a housing program be undertaken as one of the first CAP projects, with first consideration for homes and jobs being given to the Bitterly Poor. Many thousands of people

in Holmes County live in sub-standard housing which actually contributes to poor health, to difficulty in creating conditions for stable home life, and to difficulty in creating conditions for children to study.

(6) In order to provide jobs for poor Holmes Countians, both Negro and white, it is suggested that a blood bank, a visual clinic, and a dental clinic be built, with first consideration for treatment and jobs being given to the Bitterly Poor. There are no such clinics or blood banks in the county at the present time.

(7) In order to provide jobs for the poor of Holmes County, both white and Negro, it is suggested that the Holmes County Court House be renovated, with first consideration for jobs being given to the Bitterly Poor.

(8) In order to provide jobs for poor Holmes Countians, both Negro and white, it is suggested that a community upgrading and beautification program be undertaken, with first consideration for jobs being given to the Bitterly Poor. Existing housing which is structurally sound but in need of renovation and painting should be renovated and painted.

(9) In order to provide jobs for poor Holmes Countians, both white and Negro, it is suggested that badly needed recreational facilities be built, with first consideration for jobs being given to the Bitterly Poor. There is no county-wide recreational facility in the County Seat. A very large community and educational center should be built in Lexington as part of the public works program, with first consideration for jobs being given to the Bitterly Poor. Such a building would be a wholesome recreational center where dances, plays, benefits, and training programs could be held.

B. Public Works programs are temporary solutions. The long range solutions have already been forecast by the State of Mississippi and the Mississippi Economic Council in their industrialization programs such as the Balance Agriculture with Industry Program of the State. We are in complete agreement with these ideals and goals. The Community Action Program must help bring industry into Holmes County and encourage local industry to develop. Whatever credit resources are necessary should be obtained. Industry could help employ the tremendous pool of surplus labor found among plantation workers who are being displaced by automation and technology, the surplus labor found in the disguised unemployment of other farm workers, and found in the unemployed town dweller.

C. Not everyone wants to work in industry. Many people prefer the independence of owning their own land and growing the basic agricultural products the rest of the community depends on. Farm Income should be increased so that the small farmer can make a decent living from his farm. This needs to be done with (1) Educational programs to explain to every farmer in the county the full scope of existing farm programs under FHA, ASCS, the Extension Service, and other agencies and groups such as the 4H. This would be done with Supplemental CAP Assistance, if necessary;

(2) Special Community Action Program classes should be set up as soon as possible to teach (a) farm management for the small farmer; (b) methods of changing from cotton to other more profitable cash crops; (c) the setting up and operation of farmer's co-operatives; and (d) for the plantation worker training in spending his meagre income wisely;

(3) Steps should be undertaken which would lead to the organizing of a market for local vegetables and other new crops.

D. For those who cannot get jobs which pay a decent wage which allows a man to support his family in dignity, there must be expanded welfare and unemployment insurance to maintain the income of the low income families until they can be trained to get a job in the new future we will all be building together for all Holmes Countians. This is an immediate problem which could probably be handled mostly by local agencies with Supplemental CAP assistance when necessary.

II. EDUCATION

Education follows very closely after INCOME in importance for eliminating poverty. This category breaks easily into three classes (A) Primary and Secondary; (B) Higher Education; and (C) Adult Education.

A. Primary and Secondary:

(1) Some children cannot attend school in Holmes County because their parents do not have the money for their lunches. The Community Action Program should offer whatever supplementary assistance necessary to the School Board in utilizing the more than three quarters of a million dollars already allocated to Holmes County under the Primary and Secondary Education Act of 1965;

(2) Many schools in Holmes County are not accredited. We would like to see programs set up as soon as possible designed and carried which would bring those schools up to accredation levels. This has been partially discussed under Public Works, above. However, there will be other programs needed, such as teacher upgrading, etc. Again the Community Action Program could play the supplementary role and could perhpas function in an advisory role to help the School Board carry out the proposals;

(3) Libraries in many schools are not up to standards. The Community Action Program could again supplement the efforts of the School Board to bring them up to where they should be, again using the Primary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to fullest advantage.

(4) Farm education programs in local high schools need to be overhauled, with supplementary CAP Assistance.

(5) Driver education should be added to the courses of all schools, with Supplementary CAP Assistance where necessary.

(6) Summer schools need to be set up as soon as possible to allow students to make up the deficiencies they suffer from the present low levels of education provided. Again this would be with Supplemental CAP Assistance where necessary.

(7) Remedial tutoring programs need to be provided for special assistance to needy pupils, many of whom would be the Bitterly Poor.

B. Higher Education.

There are two junior colleges in the county which should be invited to participate in the Community Action Program. Their facilities should be expanded to handle the increased demands for education which Holmes Countians will be placing on them. Both presently have funds available either under the Manpower Development Training Act or the Migrant Branch of OEO for adult job-training programs. Those programs could be supplemented by Community Action Program assistance because both are now inadequate in size to handle the need in the county.

C. Adult Education.

(1) Basic literacy projects, such as that now at Saint's Junior College should be undertaken at every public school in the county on a year round basis until illiteracy is wiped out in Holmes County. Illiteracy is a major problem in the county and contributes to a basic weakness in the democratic process here in Holmes County. Once more this would be done with local resources first and Supplemental CAP Assistance where necessary.

(2) In the long run, vocational education will be absolutely necessary for all people to be able to participate in the new life Holmes Countians are building. This has been treated above.

III. Health and Welfare

Some major health problems have already been mentioned under Public Works, above. Others need to be treated:

A. Greatly expanded facilitiesfor pre-natal care and training are badly needed. There is a very high infant mortality rate in the county, especially among the Bitterly Poor. The Community Action Program could supplement the efforts of the local health officials and hospitals in this work.

B. Rigid building code standards should be enforced, with money to meet those standards provided by OEO if necessary. (See Public Works, above).

C. There are no provisions now for very poor people or for welfare recipients to be treated in the local hospitals. Some program is necessary to insure that the poor and especially the Bitterly Poor will have all the medical treatment they need. The Office of Economic Opportunity would have to supplement the efforts of local agencies and officials.

D. There needs to be early expansion of
   (1) Old age assistance
   (2) Aid to Dependent Children
   (3) Aid to the disabled.

E. A county-wide general Health Education program is clearly needed, perhaps as a joint venture of the school system, the county health authorities, and the Community Action Program.

IV. HOUSING

Most housing problems have been discussed earlier in this proposal. The Community Action Program could work with the Migrant Branch of the Office of Economic Opportunity in setting up self-help migrant housing projects.

V. FOOD

A. Food problems are largely treated under INCOME, above.

B. It is suggested that a county-wide program be set up in order to insure that every family, in town or in the rurals, would have the opportunity to grow a garden which would be sufficient to take care of the major food needs of the family. There is a great deal of unused land in the county which might be made available on a volunteer basis to provide this help. Supplemental CAP Assistance might be necessary.

VI. LEGAL PROTECTION

There is a large part of the community which does not have confidence in the existing legal protection afforded, or in the existing law enforcement officers. It is suggested that:

A. A system of Public Defenders be set up with Community Action Program supplemental assistance to make sure that the poor have lawyers and adequate legal representation when needed.

B. That a Civilain Review Board be organized with OEO funds to hear all complaints of police brutality and other illegal police acts, with authority to demand dismissal of the law enforcements found to have committed such illegal acts, and to seek indictments against them.

C. That an agency be funded through the Community Action Program to bear the expense of seeing that all law enforcement officials in the county have professional training.

D. That an agency be funded through the Community Action Program to bear the expense of seeing that all Justices of the Peace and Municipal Judges receive some legal training.

VII. CIVIC RESPONSIBILITIES

It is absolutely necessary that, if a community is going to work as a unit in a democratic manner, it have a deep and thorough understanding of the democratic process. We assign highest priority to the following proposals:

A. That one Community Action Program be the setting up at the earliest possible date a county-wide drive to register every eligible voter in the county; and

B. The immediate planning and early operation of a POLITICAL EDUCATION project which would teach such things as:
   (1) The duties and operations of local, state, and national government;
   (2) The restrictions placed on the public servant who works for the people who elected him;
   (3) The reason for short time periods of office and regular elections;
   (4) The role of political parties in a democracy;
   (5) The mechanics of voting;
   (6) The need to register, and to vote wisely.

We believe that these proposals should be fundamental guidelines in planning a Community Action Program.

We are looking forward to the cooperation of all parts of the county in building a better life for all Holmes Countians.

POSITION PAPER OF THE

HOLMES COUNTY FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR THE

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM COMMITTEE MEETING ON THE 10th OF MARCH 1966

The Freedom Democratic Party of Holmes County welcomes the opportunity to be represented at this meeting. We believe that at this meeting we can begin the spirit of cooperation between groups and areas that will be necessary to fight against poverty in Holmes County.

Since we are here today to plan elections for the Policy Making Board of the Community Action Program, we need to give careful study to the problem of fair representation in those elections.

The communities that are now represented by Spearheaders--and therefore the communities that will have representation on the Policy Making Board--all seem to be communities of Negro farmers in the rurals. If this is true, then it might be possible that at least three groups of people are not being as fully represented as they could be. They are: (1) Plantation workers (who are certainly among the very poorest people in the county); (2) poor white people; and (3) people who live in towns.

1. The map at the end of this paper shows that the Delta area of the county is almost 1/3 of the county and is only represented by 4 communities. Those communities are: (1) Mileston-Choctaw; (2) Thornton; (3) Tchula; and (4) Cruger, while the other 2/3 of the county is divided into 19 communities. The way the communities are set up now, the independent Negro farmer has good representation. But the plantations at the far western edge of the county are not covered.

The Freedom Democratic Party believes that in order to insure fair representation to plantation workers, at least three more districts (and maybe more) need to be created in the Delta. Those districts all fall west of the dotted line on the attached map. They could be named (a.) Gum Grove/Bee Lake; (b.) Shackleford/Belmont; and (c.) Oak Grove/Egypt.

The Freedom Democratic Party believes that this representation should be made up of plantation workers themselves.

2. There are a number of communities in the county which are made up mostly of white people who might be interested in the Community Action Program. Two examples are the areas around Coxburg and Owens Wells. We must honestly face the fact that people in communities such as these might resent or suspect Negro spearheaders and might be much more willing to participate in the Community Action Program if white spearheaders were appointed and if community boundary lines were set so that the whites would not think this was an all-Negro program.

The Freedom Democratic Party suggests that we think very carefully about the best ways to involve the eligible white people who did not attend the meeting on the 7th of March at the Court House and who might feel now that they have no spearheaders representing them.

3. One of the main beliefs of the Freedom Democratic Party is that each man should have one vote which is equal in power to the vote of every other man. It looks as if the districts that are set up now are mostly rural and that the person who lives in a town is not getting a vote equal with the voting power of the voter in the rurals.

For example, the community of Holly Grove was added to the list at Monday's meeting. There are only about 50 families in Holly Grove, but there are more than 100 families in Pecan Grove in Lexington and the same is true of Balance Due. Even more families live in School House Bottom. The Freedom Democratic Party cannot estimate how many eligible families live in white neighborhoods, but it is clear from what has been said above that the voting power of a person in Holly Grove is many times larger than the voting power of a person in Lexington.

The Freedom Democratic Party would like to suggest that this problem might be corrected by allowing one representative for every 1,000 people, roughly speaking. Very small communities like Holly Grove could be added to neighboring communities like Mount Olive where there is already a natural feeling of belonging together.

If small neighboring rural communities were joined together to make districts of about 1,000, there would be room for new communities to be recognized in towns. Lexington, for example, with a population of 3,198 (according to the Mississippi State Highway Department Map of 1960) would then have three representatives. One of those communities might be the area south of the Court House. Another might be the area North East of the Court House, and the last might be the area North West of the Court House.

Durant would have two spearheaders (and Policy Making Board members) because of its population of 2,311. The communities might be East and West of Highway 51.

Tchula has a population of 927 and even more counting Gwin and would qualify under this plan for one representative.

Goodman has 878 people and with its surrounding area it would qualify for one representative. The same ideas could be used for areas like Pickens/Ebenezer and Cruger/Meeks/Garden Chapel.

That would mean about 8 representatives from towns and 21 from rural communities. Of course, it would not be possible to have exactly 1,000 in every district, but it would be possible not to go more than about 150 above or below a thousand.

The Freedom Democratic Party suggests that once the Spearheaders are chosen on a population basis, a meeting be called of this committee and all of the Spearheaders to work out the rules for the community elections, and the times and places of those elections.

The Freedom Democratic Party believes that the elections should then be held two weeks after all final plans have been made for the elections.

FDP POSITION PAPER

The Freedom Democratic Party suggests that in order to give members of this committee enough time to prepare for meetings, that we adopt a rule today that says that all meetings must be announced to the members of this committee at least three days before the meeting, and that longer notice be given if possible.

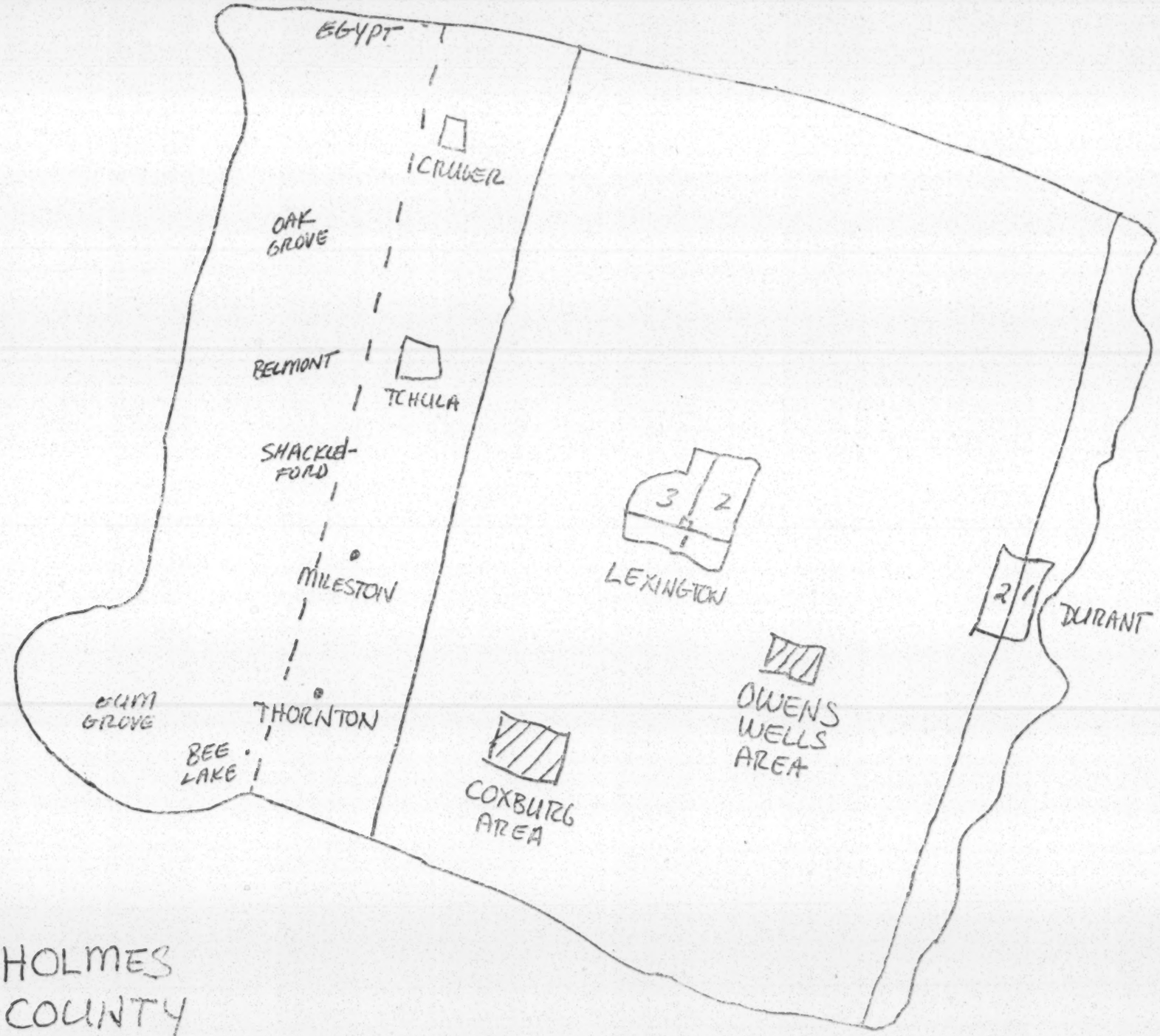
If an emergency call meeting becomes necessary, then we suggest that this committee adopts a rule that a majority of the members of this committee could call the meeting without the 3 day notice.

The Freedom Democratic Party would also like to suggest that meetings of this committee be open to the public and that public notice be given on the radio and in the newspapers about the meeting times and places. In this way we believe that more people will have an understanding of what the Community Action Program means and that this will increase their confidence in the Program.

Finally, the Freedom Democratic Party would like to suggest that at least one more meeting of this committee be called to make the new districts necessary after the members of this committee have had time to study the population of the county and make recommendations of district boundaries and nominate candidates for spearheaders.

The Freedom Democratic Party would like to take this opportunity to thank everyone present for their kind attention to these proposals.

Ralthus Hayes, Chairman
Holmes County Freedom Democratic Party



HOLMES COUNTY

SOME THINGS TO TALK ABOUT IN A COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM
(From the Community Center proposal Mrs. Daisy Lewis read at the Court House)

PART 1 -- "LET'S TALK ABOUT THE POVERTY PROGRAM"

QUESTION: WHAT IS THE POVERTY PROGRAM?

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN 1965 PASSED A LAW CALLED THE POVERTY LAW TO GIVE MONEY TO COMMUNITIES AND GROUPS TRYING TO HELP THE POOR PEOPLES. POOR PEOPLES LIVE IN POVERTY. POVERTY MEANS BEING POOR. THE POVERTY LAW IS NOT ONLY TO HELP POOR PEOPLES BUT TO TRY TO END THE PROBLEMS THAT CAUSE POVERTY. WHAT ARE SOME OF THE THINGS THAT CAUSE POVERTY?

QUESTION: WHAT IS THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM?

ONE OF THE THINGS THE POVERTY LAW ALLOWS FOR IS A COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM (THE SHORT WAY TO SAY COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM IS CAP) A COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM IS SUPPOSED TO JOIN ALL THE GROUPS IN AN AREA LIKE A COUNTY OR GROUP OF COUNTIES TOGETHER IN A FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY.

SCHOOL BOARDS AND WELFARE AGENCIES AND HEALTH DEPARTMENTS ARE SUPPOSED TO WORK ALONG WITH POOR PEOPLES TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF THE POOR. IF THEY CAN'T HELP THE POOR THE CAP ASKS THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FOR HELP.

POOR PEOPLES ARE SUPPOSED TO DO AS MUCH OF THE WORK IN A CAP AS POSSIBLE. AND THEY ARE SUPPOSED TO BE ABLE TO ELECT THEIR OWN REPRESENTATIVES TO SPEAK FOR THEM IN THE CAP. POOR PEOPLES ARE SUPPOSED TO BE ABLE TO GET TOGETHER IN THEIR COMMUNITIES AND DECIDE WHAT THEY WANT THE CAP TO DO.

UNDER THE POVERTY LAW THERE CAN BE NO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN A COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM. ALL THE POOR, BOTH NEGRO AND WHITE, ARE SUPPOSED TO WORK EQUALLY AND VOTE EQUALLY IN THIS PROGRAM.

WE ALL KNOW WHAT A POOR MAN IS. A POOR MAN DOES NOT GET ENOUGH FOOD TO EAT. A POOR MAN DOES NOT HAVE ENOUGH MONEY TO HAVE HIS BABIES BORN IN A HOSPITAL AND A POOR MAN HAS TO WATCH MANY OF HIS BABIES DIE. A POOR MAN HAS TO LIVE IN HOUSES WHICH ARE NOT AS GOOD AS MANY BARNS. A POOR MAN HAS TO EAT GRITS AND GREENS INSTEAD OF SOLID FOOD LIKE MEAT AND HEALTHY FOOD LIKE ORANGES. A POOR MAN CANNOT AFFORD TO SEND HIS CHILDREN TO SCHOOL. A POOR MAN HAS A LEAKY ROOF. A POOR MAN GETS ALMOST NO HELP FROM THE LAW. A POOR MAN HAS ALMOST NO MONEY.

ARE YOU A POOR MAN OR WOMAN?

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SAYS THAT A FAMILY OF 4 WHICH GETS LESS THAN $3,000 A YEAR IS A POOR FAMILY. THAT IS LESS THAN $57.00 A WEEK. DOES YOUR FAMILY GET LESS THAN $57.00 A WEEK? THEN THE POVERTY PROGRAM IS FOR YOU.

IF A MAN HAD MONEY HE WOULD NOT BE POOR. IF A MAN HAD MONEY HE COULD BUY GOOD FOOD. IF A MAN HAD MONEY HE COULD SEND HIS CHILDREN TO SCHOOL. IF A MAN HAS MONEY HE CAN SEND HIS WIFE TO A HOSPITAL WHEN SHE IS GOING TO HAVE A BABY. IF A MAN HAS MONEY HE CAN BUY A GOOD HOUSE AND FIX THE LEAKY ROOF. IF A MAN HAS MONEY HIS FAMILY CAN EAT MEAT AND ORANGES. IF A MAN HAS MONEY HE CAN BE PROUD OF HIS FAMILY AND LIVE IN DIGNITY.

WE HAVE TO START TALKING ABOUT HOW WE CAN ORGANIZE TO STOP BEING POOR. WE HAVE TO TALK ABOUT ORGANIZING OUR COMMUNITIES TO GET WHAT WE NEED:

WE NEED MONEY, EDUCATION, HEALTH AND WELFARE, FOOD, HOUSES, LEGAL PROTECTION, AND VOTING.

WE NEED TO ORGANIZE OUR OWN COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM.

POSITION PAPER

OF THE HOLMES COUNTY FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY

CONCERNING THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM OF HOLMES COUNTY

THE FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS VERY HAPPY TO SEE THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM IN HOLMES COUNTY BECAUSE WE NEED IT HERE. HOLMES COUNTY IS ONE OF THE POOREST COUNTIES IN THE WHOLE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

~~THE FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY, BECAUSE IT IS A POLITICAL PARTY, DOES NOT WANT TO BE DIRECTLY IN THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM. BUT A POLITICAL PARTY DOES HAVE A VERY IMPORTANT PART TO PLAY -- AS WATCHDOG OF THE PROGRAM.~~

THE FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY KNOWS SOME OF THE PROBLEMS OTHER COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS HAVE HAD IN THE PAST. VERY OFTEN THE RICH PEOPLE AND THE POWER STRUCTURE TRY TO TAKE OVER THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM FOR THEIR OWN BENEFIT. THE FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS GOING TO MAKE SURE THAT THOSE MISTAKES ARE NOT REPEATED HERE IN HOLMES COUNTY. THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM IN HOLMES COUNTY WILL NOT BE RUN BY AND FOR THE RICH.

THE RICH DO NOT KNOW THE PROBLEMS OF THE POOR, NO MATTER HOW MUCH THEY READ AND STUDY, BECAUSE THEY DO NOT LIVE THE LIFE OF THE POOR. IN THE PAST IN HOLMES COUNTY, THE RICH HAVE NOT CARED ONE BIT ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF THE POOR, WHETHER THEY WERE POOR WHITES OR POOR NEGROES. NOW THE RICH PEOPLE HAVE CALLED THIS MEETING IN ORDER TO MAKE SURE THE RICH CAN GET CONTROL OF WHATEVER FEDERAL ANTI*POVERTY MONEY COMES INTO HOLMES COUNTY.

BUT THE FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY BELIEVES THAT THE JOB OF THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM IS TO END POVERTY IN HOLMES COUNTY, AND THAT THIS SHOULD BE DONE ACCORDING TO THE WISHES OF THE POOR AND USING POOR PEOPLE TO DO AS MUCH OF THE WORK AS POSSIBLE.

THIS MEANS THAT EACH MAN, RICH AND POOR, SHOULD HAVE AN EQUAL VOICE. THE MOTTO OF THE FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS THE SAME AS THE MAIN IDEA OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION AND ITS AMENDMENTS AND SUPREME COURT DECISIONS: ONE MAN - ONE VOTE.

THE FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY EXPECTS THAT ALL IMPORTANT DECISIONS TAKEN UNDER THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM WILL BE DONE ON THE DEMOCRATIC BASIS OF ONE MAN, ONE VOTE, WITH THE POOR PEOPLE GETTING THEIR FULL CHANCE TO SPEAK AND BE HEARD.

THE FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY SEES THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM AS ELECTED SERVANTS OF THE PEOPLE OF HOLMES COUNTY AND BELIEVES THAT THE PEOPLE OF HOLMES COUNTY, IN COMMUNITY MEETINGS, SHOULD DECIDE WHAT IS DONE UNDER THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM. THE JOB OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM IS TO MAKE SURE THAT THE WORKERS IN THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM DO WHAT THE PEOPLE WANT.

SINCE THIS MEETING WAS CALLED TONIGHT AFTER SECRET MEETINGS WHERE LARGE GROUPS OF THE PEOPLE WERE NOT ALLOWED TO ATTEND, AND SINCE THE SO-CALLED BOARD WAS NOT ELECTED DEMOCRATICALLY, BUT APPOINTED BY A NON-REPRESENTATIVE GROUP WHICH DID NOT HAVE THE APPROVAL OF THE CITIZENS OF HOLMES COUNTY, THEREFORE (1) WE DO NOT RECOGNIZE AS OFFICIAL ANY MEETINGS WHICH TOOK PLACE

BEFORE TONIGHT'S MEETING, AND (2) WE DO NOT RECOGNIZE ANY COMMUNITY ACTION BOARD OTHER THAN WHAT MIGHT COME OUT OF THIS MEETING. AS FAR AS WE ARE CONCERNED, ALL OF THE SLIPPING AND SLIDING AROUND AND SECRET MANUEVERING OF THE PAST DOES NOT COUNT FOR ANYTHING. POOR PEOPLE OF ALL RACES HAVE BEEN KEPT AWAY FROM WHAT SHOULD BE THEIR OWN PROGRAM.

LOCAL BOARDS IN THE PAST HAVE FAILED IN THEIR DUTIES TO THE POOR IN HOLMES COUNTY. IF THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS, THE SCHOOL BOARD, THE WELFARE DEPARTMENT, AND ALL OTHER LOCAL BOARDS AND GOVERNMENTS HAD DONE THEIR JOB, WE WOULD NOT NEED THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM. THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM MEETING HAS BEEN CALLED TONIGHT BECAUSE OF THE WORK THE FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS BEEN DOING IN SMALL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS IN 13 COMMUNITY MEETINGS FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS IN TRYING TO MAKE A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL THE POOR IN HOLMES COUNTY.

THEREFORE, THE FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY WILL WATCH VERY CLOSELY WHAT THE LOCAL BOARDS AND OFFICIALS DO TO MAKE SURE THAT THEY NOW BEGIN TO DO WHAT THEY ARE SUPPOSED TO DO AND THAT THEY COOPERATE FULLY WITH THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM.

ONCE AGAIN, THE FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY WELCOMES THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM TO HOLMES COUNTY WHERE IT IS SO BADLY NEEDED.

THE JOB WILL BE DONE RIGHT. . .OR NOT AT ALL.

RALTHUS HAYES, CHAIRMAN
HOLMES COUNTY FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY

MARCH 7, 1966

TIME OF TROUBLE IN GRENADA AGAIN

Mississippi

Negroes Charge Harassing at Integrated Schools

10/30/66

By JOHN CORRY

Special to The New York Times

GRENADA, Miss., Oct. 28—There were 1,899 Negroes who were absent from school today. Whites were impatient, and the Mississippi Highway Patrol roamed the streets. It was a time of trouble again.

On Oct. 21, Negro students walked out of classes at the integrated John Rundle High School and Lizzie Horn Elementary School. They said they had been intimidated and bothered by students and teachers, and in particular they criticized Earl Wallick, principal of the elementary school.

Mr. Wallick, they said, called them "nigger," and did not allow them to sit near the white children. Several teachers in the elementary school, they said, refused to call on them in class and would not allow them to share bathroom facilities with the white pupils.

The students from the high school said that the teachers had not tried to separate them from the whites, but that their language had been abusive. Furthermore, the white students, they said, had threatened them. A Negro girl says she was told things like:

"Nigger, if you don't watch out you're likely to get hung."

276 Leave Classes

In all, 276 Negro children, including some from two all-Negro schools, left their classes. Led by workers from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, they marched, singing and shouting, on the integrated schools.

When they declined to turn back, about 200 were arrested for refusing to obey officers and for obstructing traffic. Those under 12 years of age were subsequently released; those over 12 were told to post bonds of $125 each.

Few had the money, and they were dispersed in jails in Grenada and the surrounding communities, including the state penitentiary at Parchman.

About five workers from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference say that after their arrests that day they were beaten in the city jail, one by one, by four highway patrolmen and a Grenada policeman. The officers, they say, removed their badges and name tags first.

Earlier this week, there were more demonstrations and more arrests. Lawyers for the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., say that the authorities refused to tell them who was imprisoned, or what prisons were being used. However, Bradford Dye, the Grenada city attorney, said today that about 250 students had been jailed.

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Slapping Is Charged

Meanwhile, the mother of a 7-year-old Negro girl says that Mr. Wallick slapped her child when the demonstrations began, and a boy says that Mr. Wallick grabbed him the other day and tore his jacket.

Mr. Wallick denies that he slapped the child, and his friends say the incident with the boy was an unfortunate accident, that Mr. Wallick was only trying to enforce discipline.

This week, the civil rights lawyers filed a Federal suit asking that the students be released from prison. The city of Grenada also filed a Federal suit, asking that further demonstrations be forbidden.

Last September, when all grades in the John Rundle and Lizzie Horn schools were integrated, whites assaulted Negro children with chains and tire irons.

"The town," a prominent citizen said, "went mad."

Now, everyone talks about the boycott, which left only 702 of the 2,601 Negro students in school today, but the madness seems to have passed.

When a bus with 44 Negro students reached the city auditorium where they were arraigned, a handful of whites gathered to watch. They stared, and some of them moved their lips, but there were no threats, no epithets.

Monotonous Regularity

In the courtroom, each student was asked with monotonous regularity, "How do you spell your name? How do you plead? How old are you? Do you go to school? Do you have a parent present?"

The students were released then, and they passed outside into the pleasant streets. Some white moderates who for years had practiced a benevolent paternalism toward Negroes looked at them, and one said he just could not understand what the "nigger kids" wanted.

He feared, he said, for the future. There is scant unemployment in this town of 8,000, which has made a successful transition from a farm to an industrial economy.

What, the man wondered, would happen now?

Another man said "we pride ourselves on our understanding of the races." Someone with a teen-age daughter said she had told him that her generation would never tolerate Negroes the way her father's had.

Grenada does not look entirely like the country that William Faulkner wrote about. There are acres of tumbledown shacks for Negroes, but there are also pleasant new homes that Negroes can buy for $6,500.

There are also sophisticated whites like the chairman of the school board, who once attended the Chicago Institute of Art, and the businessmen who charter planes to go to football games in Dallas and New Orleans. None of them, however, were exactly sure what would happen now.

UNPAID TUTORS AID GRENADA NEGROES

MISSISSIPPI

College Volunteers Hope to Widen Children's Outlook

NYT 12/28/66

GRENADA, Miss., Dec. 27 (AP) — Volunteer tutors from two major universities have set up Christmas holiday cram courses in hopes of broadening the educational and cultural sights of some of Grenada's Negro children.

A major aim of the program is to step up the backgrounds of those Negro children who desegregated formerly white schools.

"Maybe we can supply the keys that will unlock a lot of doors," said one of the 14 volunteers.

The group came to Grenada a week before Christmas. By the middle of last week they had classes organized in subjects ranging from Negro history to drama.

Ten tutors came from California, supported by donations of students and faculty members of the University of California, Los Angeles, and religious and labor organizations. Four others came from Georgetown University in Washington.

All live with Negro families. They participate in almost daily demonstrations in downtown Grenada.

Help Them Catch Up

Desegregation of Grenada public schools earlier this year was marked by violence. Negro children were beaten by whites.

There are about 70 Negroes attending two previously white schools in this Mississippi town north of Jackson.

"We have to help them catch up," said one volunteer, while another said, "The primary thing we are helping kids with is schoolwork."

Keith A. Winsell, 26 years old, said, "We're trying to get them to think, and also to overcome the tendency to strict rote learning."

Mr. Winsell, a teaching assistant at U.C.L.A., is a candidate for a doctorate in American history. He hopes to specialize in Negro history.

Peter J. Loewenberg, 33, a professor of history at U.C.L.A., criticized history books used in Grenada schools.

"They get the humiliation and degradation but there's not much inspiration," he said.

Mr. Lowenberg also said "There is a tremendous lack of what we call culture." Another volunteer said, "There is no art or drama in the schools, no zoo, no real theater or real music."

The volunteers say they hope they can instill in the youngsters an interest in subjects beyond the three R's. They have one more week of work here. The U.C.L.A. group leaves Jan. 5, while the Georgetown group is due back for classwork tomorrow.

Figures for Desegregation Triple in Arkansas in '66

ARK NYT 12/28/66

LITTLE ROCK, Dec. 27 (UPI) —There was three times more desegregation in Arkansas schools this year than last, figures submitted to the United States Office of Education and the State Education Department showed today.

The reports said 19,500 Negroes went to school with whites this year compared with 6,100 last year.

They also listed 119 white teachers in predominantly Negro schools in 151 of the 222 biracial districts. There were 203 Negro teachers in predominantly white schools.

MISSISSIPPI

1/22/67 NYT

MISSISSIPPI SCANS GOVERNOR'S RACE

Drive to Keep Barnett From Regaining Seat Expected

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 21 — Mississippi's gubernatorial race, still eight months away from election time, shapes up as a battle to keep Ross R. Barnett from winning back the chair he held in 1960-64.

Mr. Barnett, now 69 years old, has not yet formally announced that he will be a candidate. But he has been speaking all over the state for months and made no secret of his intentions. The election will be on Aug. 8.

Early this month State Treasurer William Winter, who is expected to be the best hope of the state's moderates to turn back Mr. Barnett and keep Mississippi on a course of racial peace, announced his candidacy for the Governor's office.

Mr. Winter, a 43-year-old lawyer who has 20 years' experience in state government, had planned to seek the Lieutenant Governor's spot this yerr until Lieut. Gov. Carroll Gartin died last month.

Mr. Gartin had already announced as a candidate for Governor and was expected to be the standard-bearer of the anti-Barnett camp from which Mr. Winter also comes.

The New York Times

Ross R. Barnett

Also lined up with Mr. Gartin had been the forces of incumbent Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr., who broke with Mr. Barnett after winning the Governor's office with Mr. Barnett's support in 1963.

Much of the Gartin support is expected to go to Mr. Winter, but it is not known yet if Governor Johnson and his forces will back him. It seems certain, however, that Mr. Johnson will not support Mr. Barnett.

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Mr. Winter, whom Mr. Barnett will seek to brand as a "liberal," declared in his opening announcement that he would run as a "responsible conservative" opposed to "reckless reaction."

Indicating he would tackle Mr. Barnett on the latter's handling of racial matters and particularly the University of Mississippi desegregation crisis in 1962, Mr. Winter said "Mississippi simply cannot endure leadership that carries us into blind allies and confuses and disillusions our people."

Industry and business are expected to unite behind Mr. Winter because of the fear built up against Mr. Barnett by the business community following the university riot, which hurt Mississippi's national image in seeking outside capital investment.

Mr. Winter comes out of the political faction in Mississippi that had been headed by former Gov. J. P. Coleman, now a member of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. This faction forms the only nucleus of national Democratic party loyalty in the state. Judge Coleman has removed himself from politics.

In the last two Presidential elections, Mississippi, once a faithful member of the solid South, bolted the Democratic ticket, voting for Mr. Barnett's unpledged electors in 1960 and for Barry Goldwater in 1964.

The question of Mississippi's stance in the 1968 Presidential race is bound to be a key issue around which the 1967 Mississippi gubernatorial election will revolve. They key figure in that discussion undoubtedly will be Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

Wallace for President signs and bumper stickers already are appearing on Mississippi's highways, and the prospect now is for every candidate from town constable to Governor to embrace the Alabamian as the next President.

In the vanguard of these Wallace advocates will be Mr. Barnett, who can lay claim to being a long-standing fellow confederate of the Alabama Governor.

Mr. Barnett has also made a bid to become identified with Georgia's new Governor, Lester G. Maddox, by attending Mr. Maddox's inauguration.

Mr. Winter was formerly state tax collector, the highest paying job in state government, which was abolished by the Legislature three years ago at his recommendation. He was elected State Treasurer in 1963 with ease after holding the tax collector's post for seven years. Before that he was a member of the State Legislature from Grenada County.

Already in the gubernatorial race before Mr. Winter announced was William Waller, Hinds County District Attorney the 40-year-old prosecutor who twice failed to convict Byron De La Beckwith of the murder of Negro leader Medgar W. Evers.

A third announced candidate is Jimmy Swan, Hattieburg radio man, a country music singer and self-styled anti-Communist.

12

MISSISSIPPI

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1967.

Williams Enters Race for Governor of Mississippi

Special to The New York Times

RAYMOND, Miss., Feb. 11—Representative John Bell Williams, a segregationist who was stripped of his seniority in Congress, announced today his candidacy in the Democratic race for Governor.

He pledged that if elected he would lead a delagation to the 1968 Democratic National Convention in support of George C. Wallace, former Governor of Alabama, for President.

His announcement under a warm winter sun at Court House Square here pits him against five other announced candidates, including former Gov. Ross R. Barnett, another segregationist supporter of Mr. Wallace, and the state treasurer, William Winter, a racial moderate.

Wearing a white carnation and standing nea ra banner that read "There's Only One John Bell," Mr. Williams made it clear that he thinks his loss of seniority in Congress will be an asset rather than a liability in the campaign for Governor.

"I am the object of recrimination at the hands of the liberals in the Democratic party for having committed the crime of political and intellectual honesty in the 1964 Presidential election," he said. "My head may be bloody—but believe me it is unbowed."

Bolted to Goldwater

The Democratic caucus of the House of Representatives took away his seniority on House committees early in 1965 after he had bolted the Democratic party in the 1964 Presidential election to openly support and raise funds for Barry Goldwater, the Republican nominee.

RepresentativeWilliams made efforts last month to regain his seniority, but the caucus decided against reinstating him to his former position on House committees, including the vice chairmanship of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Mr. Williams said today that one of his chief aims in running for Governor was to gain a forum from which he could "bring some sanity back" to the national Democratic party. Both he and former Governor Barnett are opponents of the national party leadership, consider themselves "Mississippi Democrats," and supported unpledged electors in the Presidential campaign of 1960 and Mr. Goldwater in 1964.

United Press International

John Bell Williams

Mr. Winter, if elected, is expected to work within the framework of the national party.

Representative Williams's entry into the race poses a problem for many of Mississippi's ardent segregationists, such as members of the White Citizens Councils, who admire both the Congressman and Mr. Barnett.

But it delights many of Mr. Winter's moderate supporters. They feel that the segregationist vote, including that of citizen council members, is certain to be sharply split.

Mr. Williams made no mention of Mr. Winter today, but he made a tongue-in-cheek attack on former Governor Barnett, charging that Mr. Barnett had promised in 1959 to support him in future elections if he (Mr. Williams) did not oppose him that year.

"All I want to do is to be Governor once — you are young, and if you let me be Governor this time I'll support and vote for you next time," Mr. Williams mimicked Mr. Barnett as saying.

'Baptist Just Like Me'

"Now Barnett is a Baptist just like me and a Mason just like me," he went on, "and I know he'd tell the truth."

The campaign promises to be a heated one. Representative Williams, who lost an arm in a plane crash in South America during World War II, is known throughout the state for the way he waves an empty coat sleeve while making slashing attacks against his opponents.

A native of Raymond, 12 miles from Jackson, he was elected to Congress in 1946 at the age of 27, and prides himself upon his defense of what he regards as states's rights and the Southern way of life.

He did not refer to segregation today, but made repeated references to states' rights and charged that President Johnson and liberal Democrats were undermining the Constitution. He does not plan to resign when he is elected.

In his announcement speech a week ago, Mr. Barnett, who led the unsuccessful fight in 1962 to keep the University of Mississippi desegregated, also steered away from talk of segregation and promised an administration built around economic progress.

Mr. Winter said in his opening speech two weeks earlier that "Mississippians simply cannot endure leadership that carries into blind alleys and confuses and disillusions our people."

Other candidates in the race for Governor are William Waller, the Hinds County district attorney who twice unsuccessfully prosecuted Byron De La Beckwith, who was charged with murdering Medgar W. Evans, the civil rights Negro leader; Jimmy Swan, a country music singer from Hattiesburg, and V. E. Brown, tax assessor of Stone County.

Mrs. Paul Johnson, wife of the state's present Governor, had been endorsed by some of her husband's supporters as a candidate to succeed him. But yesterday she held a press conference to announce that she had no gubernatorial ambitions.

Several races other than the gubernatorial campaign are expected to be heated. Mr. De La Beckwith has said he may run for Lieutenant Governor. And Cecil Price, deputy sheriff of Neshoba County, has announced as a candidate for sheriff. He faces trial on Federal charges growing out of the slaying of three civil rights workers near Philadelphia, Miss. in 1964.

Negro Unopposed in Primary

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, Feb. 11 (UPI)—Hugh Frost, a Negro school board member, was left unopposed today for the Republican mayoral nomination when the last of three other candidates withdrew from the May primary. A sheriff's captain, Dan Magnetti, said he had withdrawn "not because of any pressure but for the sake of party unity."

In Mississippi Delta, More Pay Means Less Work

2/13/67

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

GREENVILLE, Miss., Feb. 9 —Mississippi cotton growers are planning sharp cutbacks in their Negro labor force this year to lessen the impact of the new $1-an-hour minimum wage for farm workers.

The Delta Council, an organization of cotton planters, said thousands of workers would be replaced by chemical weed killers and an even more intensive use of mechanical cotton pickers.

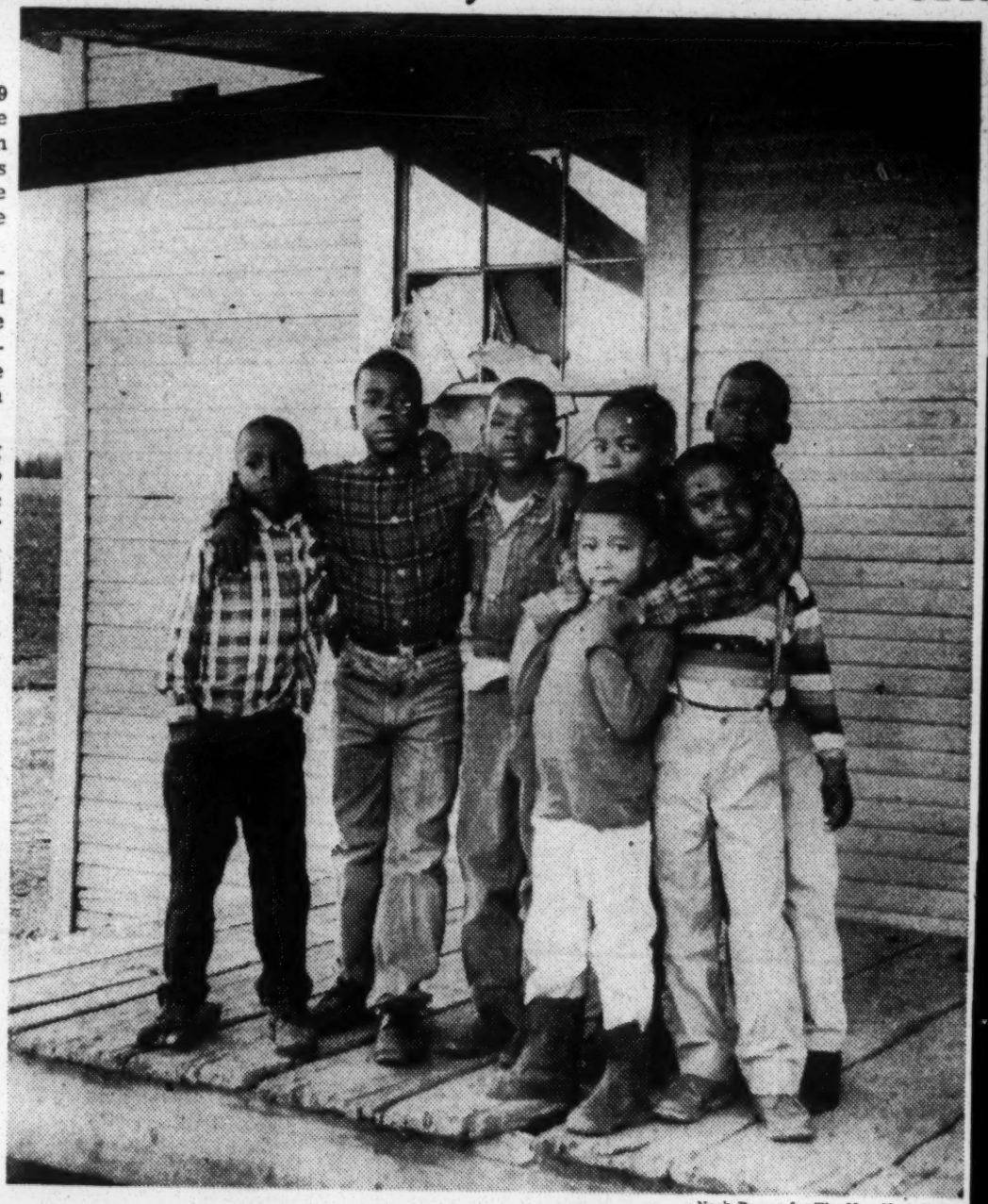
This means another in a long series of upheavals for Negro farm workers, whose ranks have been depleted almost every year during the last decade by automation and Federally imposed reductions in cotton acreage.

Knowing they had small chance of finding employment in Mississippi's glutted job market, some newly displaced farm workers have already moved to Northern cities, joining thousands of other displaced Mississippi Negroes who have left the state since World War II.

Still others, and perhaps the great majority, of this year's displaced workers are remaining on the farms and in rent-free cabins for the present and subsisting on surplus farm commodities supplied by the United States Department of Agriculture. But they have been told by landowners that they can expect almost no work this year.

"The margin of profit is low in cotton," said B. F. Smith, executive director of the Delta

Continued on Page 36, Column 1



Nash Basom for The New York Times

Children of cotton-farm workers on their porch in Mississippi Delta. To offset minimum wage raise, many farm owners will charge rent for workers' homes that they supplied free.

Cotton Choppers' Lot: Higher Pay Means No Jobs

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

Council, "and planters cannot afford to have much chopping done at $1 an hour. They will be making greater use of chemical weeders than they have done in the past."

Spokesmen for the United States Departments of Labor and Agriculture said they did not know whether the wage law, which was extended to agricultural workers by Congress last year, would have a similar impact elsewhere in the country.

Some speed-up in the already rapid pace of farm automation and mechanization is possible, according to the agriculture official. But he said that farmers would eventually take this step anyway, with or without the minimum wage law.

Formula for Wages

Under the new law, any farmer who hired more than 500 man-days of labor in any calendar quarter in 1966 now has to pay his workers $1 an hour.

This compares with last year's prevailing wage rate of $3 to $4 for a 10-hour day for men and women who chopped cotton in the Delta, the alluvial plain that embraces all or part of 18 counties in Mississippi.

The jump will not be as great for tractor drivers who received $6 to $8 last year for a 10-hour day. Although they now must be paid at least $10 for the same amount of work, many planters plan to offset the raise in part by charging rent for houses that they supplied rent-free to workers last year.

Meanwhile, estimates on how many workers will be displaced this year vary widely, although all of them range into the thousands.

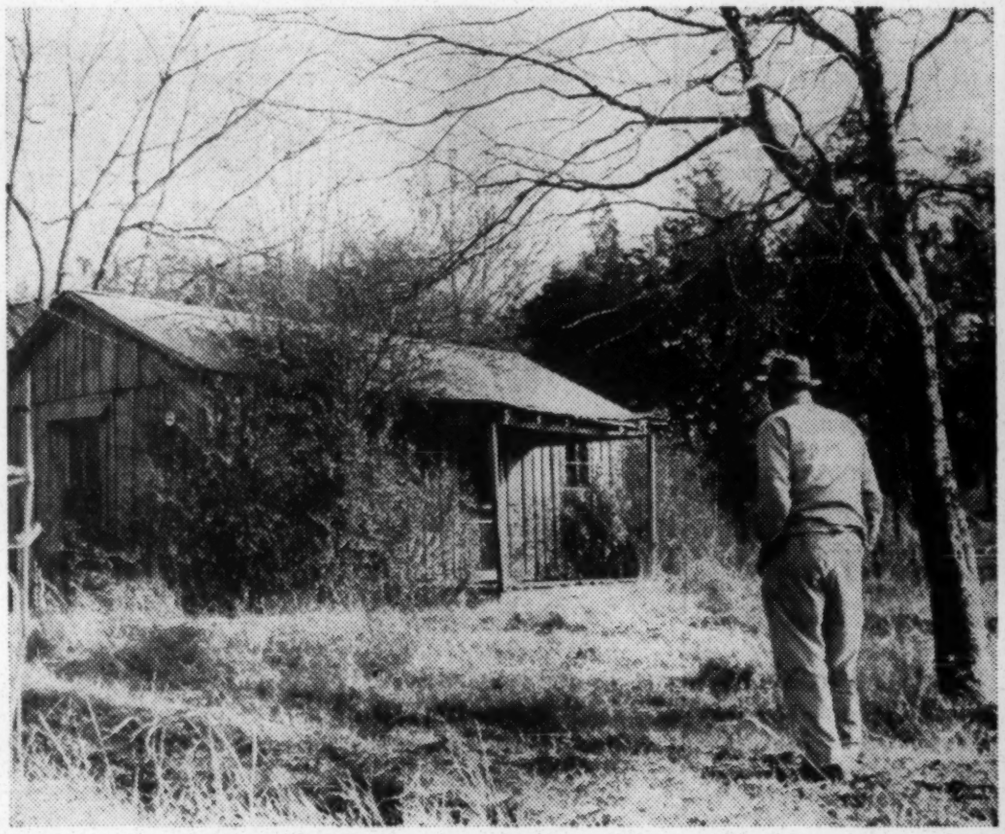
100,000 May Lose Income

Alvin Bronstein, chief Southern counsel for the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, said spot checks by civil rights workers indicated that 100,000 people—when wives and children are counted—would be deprived of all farm income this year.

Not counting dependents, Mr. Smith said, about 8,000 cotton choppers will probably be displaced. Another 8,000 choppers will find at least some work, he said, and all of the Delta's tractor drivers and mechanical force of about 26,000 will remain on the farms.

Most cotton fields, according to Mr. Smith, will have to be chopped over once, compared with two or three times on some farms last year, even though chemical weed controls are used.

But he added that almost 100 per cent of the Delta cotton would be machine-picked this year, compared with about 90 per cent last year.



Farm worker in Mississippi Delta views home abandoned by neighbor, one of the region's Negro workers who have moved because of the planned cutbacks in the local labor force.

There has been a steady decline in work for farm workers, Mr. Smith said, usually because of automation and Federal cutbacks in cotton production.

"We're seeing more of an evolution than a revolution," he went on. Last year, for example, a cutback of 25 to 30 per cent in cotton production sharply reduced the work available to Delta Negroes.

"I didn't hardly work at all last year," said Locket Mayze, a 59-year-old Negro, who moved from a farm six weeks ago to live in an abandoned house owned by a Negro friend.

"When the cap'n told me he wouldn't even have that much work for me this year, I up and left. The best week I had last year was $15, and that was a mighty unusual week."

Mr. Mayze said he could not remember when he last had a dollar in his pocket or when—with the exception of a hog's head given him by a friend—his wife and eight children had eaten anything other than surplus farm commodities.

"I never had me hardly any schooling," Mr. Mayze continued, "and all I know is farm work. I don't know what I'll do now."

Down a gravel road three miles out from Mound Bayo, Tommy Washington, a 56-year-old Negro, said two families had left his neighborhood within the last three weeks for a Northern city.

"They was gaing to someplace that sounded like Peayore-ye," Mr. Washington said. "There was several head of them that went—Henrietta McKnight and her boy named Robert and two grandbabies and Lewis Carry and his wife and their three children."

"I come to live on this road seven years ago and they was here when I got here," he went on, "and then all of a sudden they was gone."

4-6-67

MISSISSIPPI DEATH LAID TO KLANSMEN

Killing Called Plan to Draw Attention From Meredith

NATCHEZ, Miss., April 6 UPI) —Ku Klux Klansmen and members of the "Cottonmouth Moccasin Gang" killed a Negro to divert attention from James Meredith's 1966 march through Mississippi, according to a statement read today at a murder trial.

Sheriff Odell Anders said the statement was given to him in July by James L. Jones, 52 years old, who is on trial for the murder of the Negro, Ben Chester White, 65.

The sheriff read the statement while the jury was out of the room. Circuit Judge James Toerry was to decide later whether to allow the jury to hear it.

First of 3 on Trial

Jones is the first of three whites to go on trial for the slaying of the old farmhand, whose body was pulled out of Pretty Creek last June. The other two, Ernest Avants and Claude Fuller, were both identified as members of the Klan last year by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In the statement, Jones allegedly confessed because he was "deep in sin" and wanted to "get it off my conscience . . . and if it costs me my life, I believe I will be in heaven."

The statement quoted Jones as saying Fuller — a member of something he called the "Cottonmouth Moccasin Gang" — told him that "he had orders from higher up that the old darky had to go."

The murder, according to the statement, was intended to draw attention "off the march up there." It said Fuller mentioned that "we might get Martin Luther King."

Mr. Jones was killed on June 10, shortly after Mr. Meredith was slightly wounded from ambush as he began to march from Memphis to Jackson, Miss. His wounding drew civil rights leaders from throughout the country to Mississippi.

Motive is Hinted

The statement was the first indication of any motive in Mr. White's death. He had never taken part in civil rights work, not even registering to vote.

But the statement said that Jones, Fuller and two other men went to his house two weeks before the killing — apparently with the intent to kill him then.

Fuller allegedly asked him, "Don't you feel the children should go to school with the whites and don't you believe they all ought to go swimming together?" The statement said "the old darky was agreeing with him."

The statement said Mr. White wasn't killed then because there were other Negroes narby. But were other Negroes nearby. But Jones, "See, he is really involved deep in civil rights work. He's got to be got rid of."

Maddox Calls for Visitors

ATLANTA, April 5 (UPI)— Gov. Lester G. Maddox invited all Georgians Wednesday to drop by the mansion April 16 for a visit. He said that the doors would be open from 4 P.M. until 6 P.M. on April 16 and that he and Mrs. Maddox would greet all.

MISSISSIPPI

HEAD START WINS POINT AT HEARING

Spending Gap in Mississippi Called 'Relatively Minor'

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., April 10—A battle scarred Head Start program, accused by critics of misusing hundreds of thousands of Federal dollars, has won an auditor's finding that "the amount of disallowance, if any, will be relatively minor in amount."

A hearing held Monday by a Senate subcommittee investigating the antipoverty program produced a report carrying that conclusion by Ernst & Ernst, a national firm of accountants.

The firm had audited the expenditure of two grants totaling $7.1-million made by the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Child Development Group of Mississippi. The group conducts health and school orientation programs for five-year-olds and their parents.

New York's two Senators, members of the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty, read portions of the report after Senator John Stennis, Democrat of Mississippi, had for 40 minutes denounced the development group as a "national scandal."

Will Seek Surplus Food

Other witnesses so impressed the Senators with testimony of starvation among Negroes, particularly in the cotton counties of the Delta, that they agreed to call upon Washington immediately to send surplus food. Senator George Murphy, Republican of California, said the appeal should be made directly to President Johnson, not to the Agriculture Department.

Dr. A. B. Britton, a Negro physician of Jackson, put education "way down the list" of immediate human needs in Mississippi. The primary needs, he said, were food, housing and jobs. Deaths of babies under one month old were twice as high for Negroes as for whites — 912 to 460 in 1964, he said.

Mississippi is 42 per cent Negro but only 2 per cent of the state's physicians are Negroes, Dr. Britton said. Field hands are forced out of work by mechanization and then have to leave home so their families can qualify for welfare benefits, the physician added.

Stennis Makes Charges

The hearing drew 800 to 1,000 persons, most of them Negroes, to a ballroom in the Hotel Heidelberg.

Senator Stennis, a critic of the child development group almost from its beginning in May, 1965, charged it with "throwing away money, payment of exorbitant sums for rent—three or four or five times what it should be—" and unauthorized use of automobiles. He has charged in the past that project cars were used to carry civil rights marchers and that payments to churches for renovation of facilities for Head Start classes were lavish.

In the fiscal year 1965, he said, more than $500,000 could not be accounted for.

"In the second year, $600,000 disappeared," he added.

Washington had not heard such high figures before. The highest total of unaccounted funds ever mentioned by the Office of Economic Opportunity was around $650,000, and that figure was accompanied by the notation that that was not an accusation of theft but evidence

Associated Press Wirephoto

IN THE MISSISSIPPI DELTA: Senator Robert F. Kennedy, New York Democrat, chats with local residents outside a general store near Greenville during tour of poverty-stricken areas. Holding child is Kenneth Dean of Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

Mary Holmes Junior College, at West Point, Miss., a United Presbyterian Church institution that sponsors the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

"Does it pass on the rights to do this spending?" asked Senator Stennis. "My information is that it does not pass on the rights to make those expenditures. It's a mighty late date if it bears out what you say."

Copies of the report were not immediately available, but a Senatorial staff employe said that Senator Stennis was right in saying that the report did not pass on the right to make all the expenditures and that $65,000 was still in question.

According to the staff source, the Office of Economic Opportunity disallowed $14,000 for the fiscal year 1965, and in 1966 there was $653 in "unbudgeted and unsupported expenditures."

2 SENATORS VISIT MISSISSIPPI POOR

Clark and Kennedy Inspect Shacks in 'Freedom City'

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

GREENVILLE, Miss., April 11—Two Senators investigating the antipoverty program saw evidence today of extreme deprivation and malnutrition, if not the starvation they heard about in hearings yesterday.

The traveling investigators were Senators Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania and Robert F. Kennedy of New York, both Democratic member of the Subcommittee on Employment Manpower and Poverty.

At one of their stops, they saw 13 families of displaced plantation workers living a communal life in a collection of shacks they call Freedom City. The families subsist on grits, rice, soybeans, and "whatever is donated," with a serving of chicken or other meat about once a month, according to John Bradford, the director of the antipoverty project a few miles from this Mississippi Delta city.

Inspection Along Way

Freedom City includes 48 children but there is "no money for milk, or eggs, or juice," said Mr. Bradford, a 26-year-old Negro who was graduated from Ohio University as a sociology major.

Mr. Clark and Mr. Kennedy flew here from Jackson and inspected training projects in a half-dozen communities as they drove north through the Delta. They headed back to Washington tonight.

Everywhere the crowd focuse on Senator Kennedy. Before leaving Jackson this morning, a bystander handed him a right-wing newspaper that carried his picture on Page 1.

The headline said "Bobby Kennedy will be Murdered." Under it was a dispatch with a Chicago dateline purporting to quote a writer in some publication called National Insider.

At Clarksdale, at least 1,000 young Negroes loudly greeted Mr. Kennedy in front of al old bowling alley that had been turned into a neighborhood center under the Office of Economic Opportunity program.

Mr. Kennedy stood on the hood of an automobile and spoke briefly to the crowd, which surged forward and nearly trampled several persons while trying to touch the Senator's hand.

Senator Clark, after ending the tour, said:

"I thought that what we have seen is disturbing and challenging and we must do something to improve the conditions of these people.

"I don't want to indicate a smug attitude. There is plenty of poverty in both Pennsylvania and New York, but conditions here are deplorable. I don't want to blame the executives of the poverty program, but the program needs strengthening badly. It needs additional funding and that should have the highes priority.

"We have seen substantial evidence of malnutrition and hunger although we saw no persons with evidence of starvation. Back in Washington we will make an analysis and prepare a factual report for the White House."

At Freedom City the men were in the fields working on the soy bean, wheat and vegetable crops. The 400-acre project is under the sponsorship of the Delta ministry for the National Council of Churches.

Mr. Bradford said the residents did not have enough money for the food stamps necessary to exchange for Federal food surpluses. A local clergyman said the people in Freedom City did not qualify as welfare recipients because they used common facilities instead of the traditional family stove, which he described as "the index" of welfare qualifications.

There are six buildings, some constructed of new, unpainted wood without sides.

The grounds were dirt or mud, but orderly. A woman who identified herself as Mrs. Thompson showed the visitors a clean, neat bedroom. The bed cover was fresh. "Best place I ever lived in in my life," she said.

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"In the second year, $600,000 disappeared," he added.

Washington had not heard such high figures before. The highest total of unaccounted funds ever mentioned by the Office of Economic Opportunity was around $650,000, and that figure was accompanied by the notation that that was not an accusation of theft but evidence of poor record keeping and that an audit might account for most of it.

Says Third Wasn't Recorded

The first grant made to the program was for summer classes in 1965 and amounted to $1.5-million. According to Senator Stennis's figures Monday, one-third of that was unaccounted for.

Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, made the first mention of the Ernst & Ernst report, which apparently had not been brought to the Senators' attention until they came to Jackson. Senator Joseph S. Clark, Democrat of Pennsylvania, the subcommittee chairman, had said Sunday the subcommittee did not intend to go into the development group issue on this trip.

"Minds and hearts must be kept open," Senator Javits said, until there was an opportunity to reply to Senator Stennis.

Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Democrat of New York, picked up the report and read a sentence about disallowances, if any, being minor.

"Has that been filed with the Appropriations Committee?" asked Senator Stennis. He is a member of that group. "It has not been called to my attention."

Senator Kennedy replied that it was filed on March 15 with

C+d file

MISSISSIPPI

REPORT ON POVERTY April 24, 1967

The following is a statement having to do with poverty in the State of Mississippi. It is prepared by Kenneth L. Dean, Executive Director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

Using an economic standard, Mississippi is the poorest State in the Republic. The fact that we receive more Office of Economic Opportunity poverty program funds per capita than any other State, and, in that during the month of March, 1967, 405,500 people received food assistance, indicate that there is a widespread problem of poverty that could, at any given moment, turn into acute hunger or a slow starvation if federal programs are not upgraded in keeping with population trends and employment problems of a more recent development. The question is not, "Do we have hungry people?". Rather, the question is, "How well are we meeting the problem of hunger and is this problem so extreme as to be classified as starvation?". The Council on Human Relations has made spot checks in a number of counties in order to determine the degree of hunger, and perhaps learn something of the cause of this problem. The counties in which samples were taken are Hinds, Bolivar, Washington, Yalobusha, Grenada, Lafayette and Madison.

Our sample shows that there are three poverty situations that are of such an extreme nature that the people involved do not have adequate food, adequate housing, adequate clothing, or adequate health care. Sufficient study has not been done to determine the number of people involved in the following poverty situations, but each situation is common enough to show that the hunger situation is widespread.

While there are poor White people in the State, the most acute problems of poverty are found among the Negro population, and the remarks of this report have to do

solely with poverty among Negroes. These remarks are not judgmental. They are intended to be sympathetic to the subjects of poverty, and may be considered only as descriptive material.

SITUATION ONE

The most acute problem of hunger, and the most common situation is the middle age mother, without a husband, in a small, two-room shack, caring for somewhere between four and fifteen children. Most of the children will be of school age, but many will not be attending school. If the older children are daughters, one or two of them may have two or three children and no husband; and these children, too, will be living as a part of the family. In some cases, an elderly male, usually a grandfather, will also reside with the family.

The diet of such a family usually consists of a breakfast of grits, molasses and biscuit. For lunch, the adults will eat nothing, and the children who are at home will be given a piece of bread and a drink of kool-aid or water. The evening meal usually consists of boiled beans and corn bread. Sometimes boiled rice, dry peanut butter, or a canned meat substitute from the commodity program will supplement the evening meal. As oftee as not, the living conditions are such that there is no electricity or refrigeration facilities. Surplus commodities are usually stacked in brown paper bags in the dark corner of one room, where they are not protected from rats or insects. Cooking facilities are usually a small wood-type stove that used for both cooking and heating. Most of the time, there is running water, but frequently no toilet facilities. These shacks, which are found both in groups in the towns and in isolated spots in the rural areas, are often surrounded by open sewers, stagnant pools of water, and dirt yards that are cluttered with junk of various kinds. The houses that are wired for electrical services are usually poorly constructed and represent a constant fire hazard. There are usually no windows, but a constant draft of urine saturated air that comes from cracks in the floors and walls. There is usually no table on which to eat, and what little food there is, is eaten by hand out of a bowl or from a newspaper on the floor. Bits of food that are dropped end up in the cracks of the poorly constructed flooring. This gives rise to a constant stench that is almost unbearable.

A check into the school situation for these families reveals that many of the children do not have adequate clothing, so as to be able to attend school. In one situation, five of nine children were too filthy to get near, and it would not be

advisable for them to be a part of a regular school group, unless some provision was made for bathing. They were literally too filthy to touch, their bodies having gone unwashed for so long that their arms and legs reflected a blue-gray clay-like color. This family is actually too poor to participate in a poverty program. This type of situation represents hunger at its worst. A continued observation of such a family often reveals that the adult members are of such a destroyed mental, physical and emotional state, that they are incapable of caring for either themselves or their offspring. They are barely communicative. Some of these people have been destroyed to the extent that they fluctuate between the human and the subhuman level.

The younger children in these families usually go barefoot the year round. More often than not, their only clothing consists of a pari of undershorts, or a cheap pair of jeans or petticoat. Their stomachs are usually swollen, due to the lack of proper diet. Many of these children will have a nasal drip, resulting from respiratory infections that have been with them so long, that sores have formed around their nose and mouth. The younger of these children may be found sitting on the floor of a dark room, playing with a filthy rag or the crumbs from cornbread. One child sat in this manner, and when approached by a visiting adult, made no response whatsoever. The child was completely lethargic, and seemed to be unaware of his surroundings, or people who tried to make contact with him. A high percentage of these children suffer from congenital defects of one kind or another. Hernias, cataracts, speech impediments and mental retardation are quite common.

It is important to note that this kind of situation is the result of the many years during which the Negro was considered to be inferior to the Whites, and by many to be just a shade below the human level. In that many considered these people to be inately inferior, the normal social customs, religious laws, and civil rights of community were neither allowed nor expected of these people. It is this kind of past that has produced this middle age Negro woman, whose only pleasure is found in those brief moments of free expression in sex relations with a partially destroyed male who also has a pattern of behavior that has developed outside the norms of society. This woman, having her intellectual, emotion, and social dimensions of personality denied development, has been reduced to the condition of primitive man, and can not be condemned for failing to appreciate or recognize the social norms of community. On the surface, it may appear that this type of situation is so chaotic and degenerate that it can not be considered to have norms, but such is not the case. This woman considers the father of her children

to be her man, and lives for the weekend, at which time they will be able to withdraw into the privacy of their own understanding of home. Both the woman and the man know that, more often than not, they are unable to meet the social and economic requirements for maintaining even the most meager facsimile of the American home. They understand that they have been stripped of their abilities to compete and have been denied the development of their earning powers. Faced by a situation of hopelesness, that is accompanied by an almost total ignorance, these people find their lives shaped and determined by the few basic desires that can not be denied without taking their very life from them.

These people, while not starving in the extreme sense of the word, are suffering from acute hunger. This hunger could be called starvation, in that peoples' bodies actually are being denied proper sustenance, which causes the mortality rate of the children to be much higher than that of Whites, and which also shortens the life span of the adults considerably. It might also be considered starvation, in that the systems of the body that must be maintained in order to ward off disease and infection, are denied the necessary food elements. Medical doctors who work among these people say that these people never know the depth of their hunger, for from the time of birth on, they never have anough to eat.

The spot check in seven counties revealed that there are a number of these husbandless families and that they are not a new phenomenon. Most of these mothers say that they were born on a farm or a plantation, but left in the middle 40's to move into town. Their condition of poverty and near starvation has grown increasingly worse with the addition of each child. Most of them have not returned to the farm as day laborers, nor do they have a history of permanent work as domestics. Few of them work any at all, but in a few cases, their teenage daughters are now doing domestic work.

SITUATION TWO

A second poverty situation has to do with the sharecropper or day laborer who has been dismissed from his work due to farm mechanization or minimum wage laws. Many of the plantation owners are allowing these people to remain in the plantation shacks until they are able to relocate. It is not uncommon for this situation to result in the break-up of a family, with the husband leaving for St. Louis, Memphis, Chicago, or New Orleans, to search for work, leaving the wife and children behind. At the present it is too early to tell the extent, but there is substantial evidence that this development is exerting tremendous pressure on the family structure and will likely result in the break-up of numerous families.

It was once thought that all of these people would leave Mississippi for the Northern ghettos, but there is now evidence that the trend is changing. Large numbers of these people are moving into towns inside the State. It is likely, that as more and more families are forced to leave the plantation, that a number of the Mississippi towns will become poverty impact areas.

While the semi-slavery of the plantation and sharecropper method has crippled the Negro, and some poor Whites, in most cases the plantation family is a bit better off than the unwed mother with a large number of children. The people who have experience on the plantation seem to have had more involvement in the normal socialization process. This usually means that they are more communicative and eligible for employment. Many of these people are picking up part-time work as day laborers in small towns and are managing to buy food stamps. While they do not represent the most extreme cases of hunger and poverty, if present trends continue, their situation will grow worse instead of better. The problem of housing will become increasingly worse, and their opportunity for part-time labor will continue to decrease.

SITUATION THREE

A third type of poverty situation is that of the elderly poor, who, because of age and health, are not eligible for employment. These people are found throughout the State, in both the rural areas and in the cities. A typical family consists of a husband and/or wife, a brother or sister, and, in some instances, two or three grandchildren that may have been left behind when a son or daughter moved North. A small Social Security or welfare check is usually their only source of income. Sometimes they irregularly receive a small check from a son or daughter in the North. The bulk of this is often spent for minimum housing and medical needs. While these people do not usually receive much public attention, often it is they who become the victims of the food stamp program. In most cases, they depend on handouts for a substantial part of their food. Few of them understand the workings of the food stamp program. Most of them seem to think that in their late years, the need for food is preceded by medical, housing, and clothing needs. A number of these people say that in their old age, they can get by with very little to eat, but that their one wish would be to live out their last days in a decent house or room.

SUMMARY COMMENT

It is not accurate to describe these victims of poverty as starving. It is fair to say that large numbers of people do not have a balanced diet or adequate food for normal physical, psychological, and intellectual development. It is also fair to say that the food commodity program, the food stamp program,

and the welfare checks make the difference between these people being poorly fed and actually starving. While policies that govern the welfare programs are inadequate, and in that various food assistance programs are often used as political leverage, it is misleading to conclude that it is the fault of these agencies or programs that we have such widespread poverty.

It is also misleading to conclude that the problem of poverty in Mississippi is the result of farm mechanization and the minimum wage law. Most of the people who are poor now and are being dismissed from the plantations, were almost as poor when they were working. Even when they were employed, it was the food assistance programs that meant the difference in their being poorly fed or starving. It is no secret that the plantation owner has used the food assistance program to tide over his plantation workers during the lean winter months. These programs have been little more than economic patronage for the plantation owner to his workers. The displacement of these people from the plantation is creating a problem of housing, more than a problem of food.

The problem of hunger in Mississippi is not a freak accident. It is something that could have been uncovered years ago. Just as some will want to blame the immediate problem on minimum wage laws, others will want to denounce the problem as the result of undisciplined sexual behavoir on the part of Negroes. This is absurd, for the problem of family planning in the Negro community can be traced back to the evils of racism, just as the lack of job training can be. One can not expect a man, be he black or white, who is denied the opportunity to develop his skills and sell his labor, to accept the responsibility for the economic well-being of his offspring. It is the people of this Country, both North and South, who have denied the Negro male his rights in this regard; therefore, it is natural for the Negro male to expect the people of the State to see after his offspring. The same can be said for the Negro woman. Most Negro women caught in the poverty cycle say that they would like to be able to better plan the size of their families.

The comprehensive program of the Economic Opportunity Act provides us with the vehicle for attacking the problem of poverty, even in its most acute form. However, the present operation of the program represents a sporadic and fragmented attempt. We are not yet dealing with families as a whole, nor with communities as a whole. Just as the plantation owner has commited the unpardonable sin, the federal government is now involved in the same kind of act. On the one hand, a given poverty program demands racial equality, while another federal supported program in the same community will be a segregated country club, created through the guarantee of an FHA loan. This same situation could be multiplied numerous times if one were to list the segregated programs supported by various government agencies. The sad part of this situation is that the country club is not a program of seasonal duration, rather, it is a long lasting institution that fosters

a climate of racism. This kind of cross purpose on the part of the federal government often rules ineffective the attempt of the poverty program to get at the root causes of poverty.

All poverty situations stem from the alienation of groups or individuals from community. Jobs, education and food assistance programs are all needed, but these only represent attacks on poverty as a resultant. These programs do not get at the cause, which is the alienation of people from the opportunities and benefits of society because of their race.

The past five years of activity in the State have left us with many reasons to be hopeful as regards overcoming poverty. We have learned that it is possible to move from a posture of segregation to desegregation, and then to the actual integration of public facilities and institutions. The full implementation of this possibility is not yet realized, but enough has been accomplished to let us know that we can be successful.

Secondly, we have learned that the victims of the most extreme cases of poverty are not totally destroyed people. We have moved from no school to Freedom school and then to Headstart. The children do respond when you begin with an identification with the entire family. Not only can the children be saved, but the experience of the COFO, the FDP and the Delta Ministry have shown us that the adult victims of poverty can be brought into the socialization process in a meaningful way. Through the media of group discussion and the town meeting (mass meeting), and with a minimum of individual attention, many adult victims of poverty have moved from a station of shame, fear and isolation to the point that they can not only make decisions in meetings, but can call and conduct public meetings.

Thirdly, we have learned that both federal and state programs will work as regards their relevancy to the problem of poverty. An example is the low income public housing project in Canton, Mississippi. The business and political leaders of this town readily admit to the success of the program, but refuse to expand it for fear that the young Negroes will no longer move away. The food commodity programs have warded off starvation, and the medical program of Headstart has corrected numerous physical defects. Citizenship education and voter registration programs on the part of the Southern Regional Council and the AFL-CIO, with the help of federal registration examiners, have been successful in bringing the poor into the political arena.

The attack on poverty has been successful in every instance that an effort has been made. But the degree of success in each case is directly proportional to the extent of the effort. Thus far, we have only proved that poverty can be overcome. To overcome poverty? We have not yet made that effort.

MISSISSIPPI

MISSISSIPPI VOTE IS 3-WAY BATTLE

Barnett Tries for Comeback in Primary on Tuesday

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 5 — A three-way battle for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, with former Gov. Ross R. Barnett in an underdog role, looms as Mississippians vote Tuesday in primary elections.

Mr. Barnett, 69 years old, who gained national attention for his defiance of Federal authority when James H. Meredith broke the color barrier at the University of Mississippi in 1962, is seeking a comeback after an absence of four years from the Governor's chair.

But two other names—State Treasurer William Winter, 44, the favorite of the moderates, and Representative John Bell Williams, 48—have been overshadowing Mr. Barnett in preprimary forecasts as the top contenders to go into an Aug. 29 runoff for the nomination.

In Mississippi, Democratic nomination is still almost automatic assurance of election. No candidate, however, is expected to win the nomination in the gubernatorial race in the first primary on Tuesday.

Little G.O.P. Threat

Although the Republican Party has been offering stouter opposition in recent years, it is not expected to offer a major threat to the Democratic nominee. The winner of the Democratic nomination in August will face a Jackson lawyer, Rubel Phillips, 42, the Republican nominee, in the Nov. 7 general election.

Most political observers concede one of the Democratic gubernatorial runoff spots to Mr. Winter and Mr. Williams is the favorite for the other.

The winner of the race will succeed Gov. Paul Johnson, who is barred by the constitution from immediate succession to office.

Governor Johnson, whose administration has been marked by moderation, is running for lieutenant governor in Tuesday's primary.

Despite the general acceptance of Mr. Johnson's administration, his bid to step down to the number two spot is in for rough sledding. He has three major opponents in the battle for lieutenant governor.

Big Rise in Voters

A vote of some 675,000, a huge increase over the record of 474,000 set four years ago, is looked for in Tuesday's Democratic balloting.

Voter registration has increased an estimated 300,000 over 1963. The new Negro vote, now estimated at 195,000 as compared with 29,500 four years ago, accounts for a good part of the increase.

But registration of white voters in the meantime has risen a corresponding amount, partly because the abolition of the poll tax has benefited many poor whites as well as Negroes.

Mr. Barnett, in the final week of the campaign, has made a vigorous effort to prevent Mr. Williams, with whom he is vying for segregationist support, from reaching the runoff.

The former Governor is also battling Jimmy Swan, a country music entertainer and radio man from Hattiesburg who is making a strong bid for racist support.

Backed by Klan

Mr. Swan, 54, has reached thousands of rural voters with a daily radio talk in the last several months. The Ku Klux Klan is among the groups backing Mr. Swan, who says that "Communists are right here among us." He promises to establish a "free, segregated private school system" for Mississippians who are confronted with more extensive desegregation this fall.

Observers here believe that almost every vote Mr. Swan gets will come from Mr. Barnett's potential backers and will hurt Mr. Williams to some extent.

A fifth candidate in the gubernatorial race is William L. Waller, Jackson district attorney who was the prosecutor in the murder of Medgar Evers, Negro civil rights leader, in 1963.

Byron de la Beckwith, the former fertilizer salesman from Greenwood who was twice tried in the killing of Mr. Evers, is a candidate for lieutenant governor. In each trial the jury failed to reach a verdict.

In the race for lieutenant governor, those opposing Gov. Johnson besides Mr. Beckwith are State Representative Roy Black, a civic and church leader; Troy Watkins, former Mayor of Natchez; Charles L. Sullivan, a Clarksdale attorney, and Aubrey Henson, a Jackson businessman.

Called a 'Liberal'

Mr. Winter, a veteran of 20 years in legislative and state offices, is identified in Mississippi's political spectrum with the forces of former Gov. J. P. Coleman and the late Lieut. Gov. Carroll Gartin.

Mr. Winter's chief foes — Mr. Williams and Mr. Barnett —have called him a "liberal," a label that is considered damning in Mississippi politics.

Four years ago Mississippi was still undergoing the trauma of the desegregation crisis of the University of Mississippi and the "invasion" of the campus by United States Army troops.

The handling of that situation by Mr. Barnett is the key factor in the decision by Mississippians on his attempt to become Governor again. Many who supported him in 1962 are now believed to oppose him because they feel he bungled the affair.

The most bizarre development of the campaign has been the reappearance of Mr. Meredith on the scene as an advocate of the election of Mr. Barnett, his old antagonist at Ole Miss.

Mr. Meredith ran an advertisement a week ago in a Jackson newspaper calling on Negroes to vote for Mr. Barnett as Governor and Mr. Johnson as Lieutenant Governor. He has been swinging around the state this last week holding political talks with Negro groups.

Mr. Meredith says that none of the candidates offer any real attraction for Negroes, but that Mr. Barnett has shown he has an industrial program that will provide jobs for Negroes.

Mr. Meredith also reasons that Mr. Barnett, because of his segregationist image, will cause more Negroes to take an active part in politics in the state.

While Negroes are not running a candidate for Governor or other state offices, they have at least 125 candidates for local offices and the Legislature.

In a half dozen counties, Negro candidates for sheriff and such offices as county supervisor are considered to have a strong chance because of the substantial edge that Negroes hold in voter registration in at least 12 counties.

Continental Airlines Elects

William N. Hahn, has been named deputy to the chairman of Continental Air Services, a subsidiary of Continental Airlines that operates in Southeast Asia. At the same time he was named assistant to the vice president for international affairs of the parent company.

Rec'd 8/21/67

VJ
Ret PW

P.O. Box 398
Sunflower, 1967
August 16, 1967

Dear Friends,

Margaret, Kibbee, the White Volunteer, who has been down here for two years and had planned to run for sheriff in the November the seventh election, now has decided to pull down sometime in September, because there are only about 6,000 Nagroes registered to the 8,000 Whitrs registered, also she could not afford to hire a staff to do her campaign work because of the lacking for money.

Also, we feel this is no time to play around with something that you cannot do when you could be doing something else.

This chart is telling what office Negroes ran for, also how many won, run-off, Loss, and how many ran in the Independent Election.

Office	No. Won	Run-Offs	Lost	Independents
Supervisors	3	6	12	19
Justice of the Peace	7	2	8	11
Constables	4	4	11	10
Lagislators	0	0	5	6
Chancery Clerks	1	1	0	0
Sheriffs	0	4	1	2
Supt. of Education	0	1	1	0
Tax Assessors	0	0	1	0
Corners	1	0	0	0
Totals	16	20	40	49

The total Negro Candidates - 125

The Freedom School has been well attended in the city of Sunflower for the pass few weeks. The number of children that has been attending ranges from 35 to 45, at first we started off by picking certain Negro sub jects to teach, but later on we are going to start letting them take books homes to read and when they return the next day we will let different ones have a particular topic to tell about what they read, as they do in regular school.

The Welfare progress has been slow this month, we have only gotten eight people to get welfare.

The Sewing CO-OP have closed down for two weeks, while Sammie Simmons and Margaret Kibbee go off to advertise and seek finance.

The Head Start School has started back in the county , something like on a testing base for six weeks to see how well they can run their own center as an independent agent with proverty money, and if they function well enough they will get the money.

Some of the children need clothes and the sizes range from(3-6)three to six.

Yours for Victory.

Sunflower County Improvement Assn.
P. O. Box 398
Sunflower, Mississippi 38778

Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Negro Leaders Admit Friction But Deny Movement Disrupted

JACKSON, Miss. (AP) — Negro leaders today said there was friction among civil rights groups in Mississippi but not enough to disrupt the movement.

Aaron Henry, president of the state National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said he expects the result will be more NAACP activity in the state.

Henry, a Clarksdale druggist, was commenting on disputed reported that the coordinating Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) was on its last legs.

Henry said some branches of the NAACP had complained of 'negative experiences' with COFO workers—but that he expects the council to remain an active factor.

In New York, NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins said a recommendation had been received that the Mississippi NAACP pull out of COFO. No action will be taken prior to the board of directors meeting Jan. 4, he added.

Reports were that the NAACP and the Rev. Martin Luther Kings Southern Christian Leadership Conference were now counted out of COFO.

In Chicago, the Rev. Dr. King said: 'SCLC has not withdrawn its support from COFO and has no intention of doing so."

COFO was formed by the NAACP, SCLS, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

Last summers civil rights drive in Mississippi, which brought hundreds of college students in to help in voter registration efforts was a COFO project.

Three civil rights workers were killed near Philadelphia, Miss., last July during the project. No arrests were made.

Wilkins said COFO had become 'almost solely a SNCC operation. We believe if this is to be a joint effort, all organizations represented in the council should have something to say about policy, strategy and programs."

Henry said the best way for the NAACP to insure itself a larger voice on the council would be to provide it with more staff workers.

The Weather

MISSISSIPPI: Fair and not so cold through Wednesday. Lows tonight 26-34. Highs Wednesday 48-56.

TEMPERATURE

Today Max. 46 Min. 22
Sunrise 6:47
Sunset 4:52
River Stage 21.18

134-MAGAZINE

.. .. LA MOTHE
MAG-COFO-SMITH-:-8 on 9½ x 13-:

By PAT WATTERS

RULEVILLE, Miss.

DECEMBER had brought the first severe cold, a sudden sinking of temperature to 24 degrees. The fireplace in the Ruleville Freedom School was smoking, it certainly was not heating the classroom. The toilet was frozen. Moreover, one of the staff members had just been given a traffic ticket by police who had been following his integrated car through a neighboring town. And there was a rumor (false, as it turned out) that the owner of the building which houses the school insisted it be vacated the next day. The climate of adversity was undoubtedly different from what it had been during Mississippi's summer of tensions and violence—but it was still there.

The Ruleville Freedom School is run by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO, pronounced "Cofoe"), which is a local alliance of four civil-rights groups: the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C., pronounced "Snick"), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (S.C.L.C.) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.).

Last summer, when 700 volunteers flocked in from across the nation to help run them, there were 47 such schools throughout the state. There still are 34, including the one here, though enrollment is sharply down from the summer peak of 2,000 Mississippi Negroes. About 150 volunteers have stayed on. They work alongside some 200 paid staff members of the civil-rights organizations.

~~With the passing months, the curriculum of the schools has changed, too. It began with emphasis on standardized academic work—the idea being to enable Negroes to pass voter-registration tests. Now greater stress is placed on helping individuals to understand themselves and their own worth—to use whatever academic skills and knowledge they may acquire to articulate their self-realization, their ambitions and their discontents. It is, in short, an attempt to work a peaceful revolution. ??????????~~

A VISIT to the Ruleville school is illuminating. The town, deep in the cotton-growing Delta, is in Senator James Eastland's cotton-plantation homeland, Sunflower County. Population is 934 whites and 961 Negroes.

The school itself is not the largest, and COFO spokesmen say it is not necessarily the best, though it is better organized than most. (There is, they insist, no typical school.)

It has a kindergarten (~~the only one in town, white or black~~) every morning with 6

With the passing months, the curriculum of the schools has changed, too. It began with emphasis on the three R's—the idea being to enable Negroes to pass voter-registration tests. There was also an effort to help them to understand themselves, and thereby to understand their society and the need to change it. Now this aspect, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx primarxxemphasixxx~~ rather than straight academic work, has come to receive primary emphasis. The idea is to teach Negro Mississippians to take themselves seriously, to articulate their ambitions and their discontents—in short, to instill political awareness.

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The school itself is not the largest, and COFO spokesmen say it is not necessarily the best, though it is better organized than most. (There is, they insist, no typical school.)

It has a kindergarten (~~the only one in town, white or black~~) every morning, with four to 12 children attending. Each afternoon, it offers a supervised-play session for grade-schoolers (there was a brief effort to give the children formal classes, but they seemed too tired after regular school to benefit). On Monday and Wednesday nights, there are discussion sessions for young people, which attract 15 to 20; on Tuesday and Thursday nights, classes for adults, attended by half a dozen to 14, depending on the weather. Mass meetings, with all the Negro community invited, are held on Friday nights.

Linda Davis, 20, one of three white workers at Ruleville, is in charge of the school. She is short and pretty, with brownish blond hair. She was a sophomore last year at Oberlin College in Ohio, worked as a summer volunteer in Ruleville, and stayed on for at least a year as a paid ($10 a week) S.N.C.C. ~~staff member~~. Her father, a Winnetka, Ill., attorney, visited her recently in Ruleville. "He was very impressed," she said. "He met some people he'll never forget."

The two other white volunteers are John Tillotson, 21, a University of Minnesota drama student, slim and tall, his brown hair crewcut, who arrived in Mississippi in mid-November, and Kathy Ruble, 23, a pretty brunette with short hair, who came in September from Los Angeles where she had been doing clerical work. Both say they will stay as long as they can take it. Kathy said her father urged her not to come. Her reply: "Oh—Daddy!"

(none is offered in public schools) 4

worker.

135-MAGAZINE

Another assistant is Cophus Smith, 19, of Ruleville, a Negro. ~~Slim, with big shoulders,~~ he was on the football, basketball and track teams before graduating from high school. He wants to organize a course in Negro history before leaving to start college next month.

Charles McLauren, called "Mac," a Negro who directed COFO activities in Sunflower County during the summer, also is attached to the staff while waiting to start college in January. He wears the sophisticated clothes, dark glasses and confident air of a veteran S.N.C.C. worker.

Af T least until the end of this month, the school is housed in a building on Quiver Street, a highway near the edge of town. ~~At the~~ rear ~~entrance,~~ the only one used, ~~a bright colored totem pole and a screen door~~ with pop-art decorations stand on the porch, incongruous in a neighborhood of ~~dark houses, dirt roads and weathered backyard sheds. The door~~ enters into a heatless hall containing a pay telephone, a citizens-band radio, a duplicating machine and an old sewing machine with a typewriter on top. There are civil-rights and election posters on the walls, and a bulletin board covered with newspaper and magazine clippings.

The hall opens into the room with the smoky fireplace. The fireplace is augmented by a portable electric heater. The ceiling has been insulated with cardboard from boxes. Three walls and the mantel are lined with books. There are Degas and Gaugin prints, and posters with maps and information about various states, and two maps of the United States. The floor is covered with speckled linoleum. The fireplace bricks have been chalked red, green and purple. Shades left up during the day, but drawn at night. This is where classes and activities are held.

An adjoining room is for reading. It is similarly decorated and lined with books, but not heated. The books are all classified ~~with tags on the shelves~~. They have been donated, and sent on by the central COFO office.

The afternoon recreation program begins at 3:30. Four grammar-school boys appeared for it on the first day of the cold snap. Some days the schedule calls for basketball or some other game; this time it was drum practice. The drums were made from metal cans, about a foot high, brightly painted. Each had lettered on it initials of a civil-rights organization: S.N.C.C., CORE, S.C.L.C. The boys had whittled drumsticks

The drums would be too loud inside, everyone agreed, so they moved out to the front porch where they pounded away ~~with the red sun near to setting across the flat horizon. One 12-year-old, with a red hat and prominent front teeth, was a real drummer, beating out complicated rhythms that left the others stumbling behind. They created quite a din.~~ Neighbors looked over, one old Negro lady seeming to scowl. John kept telling them they needed to play together, instead of doing all that good, but uncoordinated, banging. Finally, they settled into a simple beat in unison.

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INSIDE, Kathy was reading before the fire to two little children who had slipped in, a girl about 5, with tight pigtails, and a smaller boy in a blue overcoat, his eyes still watering from the outdoor cold. The drummers came in and joined them, and listened to the story about a princess and her suitors.

The little girl hid her face in a teddy bear when a stranger tried to talk with her. One of the boys, an 11-year-old, said his father works on a cotton plantation. He didn't know what kind of work he wanted to do. Would it be the same as his father? "No." Another, 10, said he hoped to go to college. He added that he would like to live in St. Louis, where a brother is. (A major goal of the Freedom Schools is to change the common desire of young Negroes to leave Mississippi; they argue that conditions for Negroes elsewhere are little better.)

Two more boys, 11 and 12, joined the reading circle. As Kathy finished one story, someone would hurry to get another book. It began to grow dark; the shades were pulled, and Linda began making arrangements to get the children home for supper.

136-MAGAZINE

The COFO staff avoids Ruleville's segregated white restaurants and its Negro bars. They are left with one Negro restaurant. It is operated by James King, a young man whose chief trade is that of plumber, and who has lost business to white competitors since his identification with the movement. ~~He came striding into the restaurant while some of the staff were eating, greeted them, and headed toward the kitchen to see his wife. One of their children, about 8, grabbed his leg, and they walked along at the same fast pace, both laughing.~~

He said he got "interested in feeding the people" when the summer volunteers first came. "I think it's right to feed people, regardless of who they are. People are human beings, no matter the color. I never saw any people nicer than these."

He put Johnson-Humphrey posters in the restaurant window during the Presidential campaign—probably the only merchant in Ruleville to do so. A brick was thrown through the window, and later a pellet gun was fired into it. The holes are still there. "I try to do right, regardless of the consequences," Mr. King said. "When I learn better, I do better. If I know better, I do better. If a person learns better, but doesn't do better, something's wrong."

AFTER dinner that cold night, five girls and 11 boys came for the youth class. They included grammar-school children (the four drummers were there), as well as high-schoolers.

Linda and John led the discussion. A high-school girl said they felt discouraged. She waved a hand at those present. "This is all the kids we'll get for a long time," she said.

They talked of how—until this year—Negro children had been expected to pick cotton for one day each year to raise money for their public school. Linda asked if white students had ever had to do this. No, the group said. Where does school money come from? The superintendent, they answered her. Where does he get it? From the Government. Where does the Government get it? From taxes. What does taxes mean? Giggles. Do you pay a sales tax? Four cents on the dollar. Do your parents pay taxes? House taxes.

"So all the money comes from the people," Linda said. "If you pay money for schools and you don't like the way the schools are run, why can't you do something and change things?"

She asked what they would change if they had the power. Answers included providing free lunch, a better library,

137-MAGAZINE

Linda said the police would stop that at her school. Would they here? "They'd beat you up." Would anyone help you? "No one outside you-all." Who is we-all? "You're the only somebodies I see here will do it." John said the President would send United States marshals to help them, because "the law says you have every right to go to that school."

Soon he closed the meeting, promising next time "some ideas about what you might be able to do. So you won't be discouraged . . ."

He asked for someone to help clean up. A thin little girl, about 10, wearing blue jeans under her dress, said softly to a girl about 7: "Come on, let's get a broom and sweep." They did, very thoroughly.

LINDA showed some themes the class had written. When she had overheard some of the youngsters talking about why they did not trust their teachers, she had asked them to write about it. Most of the papers concerned failures of the teachers to keep confidences. One high-school girl wrote: "I would like to have some teachers I could go to and discuss my personal problems and they will try to help me and not make fun of me."

There were also themes about picking cotton. A 15-year-old boy wrote: "You sea white people ride by and laft and say look at that Negro picking that cotton and getting sun burnt."

An 11-year-old girl wrote: "I was 6 years old when I started picking cotton. Picking cotton is a nasty job. In the morning the dew be on and you have to go out there and get wet. The worms are mashed up and that nasty green stuff be coming out. Up in the day it be very hot and you be sweating away. . . ."

Linda told of pictures the adults had painted—a bird, a duck, a tree with bright red apples. She sent one of a cotton field to an artist friend in Italy. Kathy said the women had felt silly at first about painting. Then they came to love it. One had cried out, like a kindergartener: "More paper. More paper."

THE kindergarten was there in full force the next morning—eight children, including a girl of 4 in a wonderful purple cap full of flashing spangles and frills. It was still cold, the room still full of smoke. They danced the hokey-pokey, putting their left shoulders in, left shoulders out, shake it all about. Then, sitting in their winter wraps on the linoleum floor, they pasted dyed rice onto construction paper in their versions of circles and squares. There was a bit of rice throwing, and even some dancing on spilled rice, but a lot of conscientious effort to sweep up and put back a spilled jar of it.

A girl of 5 went out to

pay taxes? House taxes.

"So all the money comes from the people," Linda said. "If you pay money for schools and you don't like the way the schools are run, why can't you do something and change things?"

She asked what they would change if they had the power. Answers included providing free lunch, a better library, more subjects, a business course, a larger science lab.

A high-school girl said: "Those teachers — they don't know how to teach. If they get a good teacher, she doesn't stay long. They go somewhere else for more money. I was learning to type real good. I could do 30 or 40 words a minute without looking at the keyboard. Then the teacher left." Her family picks cotton for a living.

Someone said a Negro school official wouldn't speak up for the children or teachers. "Why?" asked John. "Is he bad?" There was a murmur of affirmation, but one voice said above it: "No. He's not a bad man." Would he do differently if he could? "Yes," the same voice said. "He's under all those others."

Would it be a good idea to fight for better things at the white schools as well as at the Negro ones? Yes, came the answer. Why? "We don't do people like they us." And there was a murmur: "Do unto others . . ."

Linda suggested another reason: They could go to the white schools. Why aren't you there now? she asked. "If somebody was to go there," a grammar-school boy said, "he wouldn't make it back unless someone drug him." You mean he'd be beaten up? Why would they beat you up? "Because you're a Negro," the boy said.

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A girl of 5 went out to wash paste off her hands, using a spigot on the porch whose leaking during the night had left big formations of ice. She came back in with her hands wet and, uncomplaining, let them dry in the air of the smokey room.

"Linda, put our names on them," they cried when they had finished the dyed-rice creations. Then they clamored for their walk. Down the dirt roads of the neighborhood in the sparkling sun they went, skipping and running, Linda in their midst, skipping and running, too. They passed a house with its front yard fenced with plastic bleach containers—red, yellow and green. They passed a big Negro man climbing into his truck. "Hup, hup," they shouted. "Hup, hup, hup," he called after them, laughing.

They skipped and ran to a filling station, and had cookies in silence inside it, Linda paying the white proprietor. Then they skipped and ran back to the Freedom School. "I got some red shoes. Some red, red, red shoes," cried a girl. "Look at that big old truck," yelled a boy. "Oh, oh, oh, oh." With the toe of her shoe one girl broke the ice in the open drainage ditch running in front of the houses.

138-MAGAZINE

THAT night, because of the cold and smoke, the adult class met in a nearby church, the Williams Street chapel. It is an old structure, ark-shaped, with two pictures of Jesus and an American flag behind the pulpit. An attempt to bomb it was made shortly after the summer volunteers arrived.

Linda's hair was neatly combed, and she wore make-up, tiny earrings, and a skirt and blouse for this meeting. The 14 women who had come sat with her in a circle. Most were old, wearing glasses. They turned solemn eyes above wide humorous mouths on Linda and John, also spruced up for the occasion.

They took turns reading aloud from The Freedom Primer, a mimeographed COFO publication intended for the November elections, which had arrived late in Ruleville. The Primer, with humorous line drawings, describes the Freedom Vote campaign whereby Mississippi Negroes are urged to participate in mock elections. It says this is necessary because they are not allowed to vote in regular elections. It lays the blame for this on the "regular Democratic party" in the state, and then traces the history of Reconstruction Negro suffrage and the development afterward of methods of Negro disenfranchisement. The primer says the Freedom Democratic party will show people everywhere "that Negroes are working together again all over Mississippi — just like after the Civil War."

The ladies read all of it. Their voices were rhythmical and musical — eloquent reproach sounding when they came to the parts about violence to prevent Negroes from voting.

They said this was a problem, as are administrative difficulties, and the clerks who just say you failed the test, without telling why. In Ruleville, at the beginning of the summer, 30 Negroes were registered to vote. Some have been added since. But Mac said 90 per cent have tried, some many times. A Federal court suit is pending seeking simplification of the application rules in Sunflower County.

What if every Negro in Mississippi could vote, Linda asked? "We would outvote them." What would that mean? "We could change the system." What would that mean? "We could elect who we want. We could elect some Negroes in office." A middle-aged woman continued in a metallic, almost bass voice: "Some could be judge. Some could be sheriff. Some could be . . . could maybe be President."

139-MAGAZINE

He said any Negro who could pass the test could vote, and that more money went into Negro schools locally than white ones, because Negro enrollment is higher. He also spoke of the need for improvement of education for both races.

"They've sent some of the trashiest people down here," he went on. "Those two little girls over there now don't represent American womanhood. . . . Wallowing around Negro men who need a bath is degrading to their sex."

Asked about an integrated training program held in the city for two local sewing plants, he said its results were disappointing. Of 11 Negroes who enrolled, only four qualified, and only two of them are still working. He did not discuss the burning of a cross before his home, apparently because of the training program. There was some little criticism, he said, but he blamed it on COFO's presence and the hardening of attitudes it has caused. The Williams Street chapel hadn't been bombed, he said, just burned with a little gasoline—by COFO itself. He said COFO was killing the old good relations, where white people wouldn't let Negroes freeze or starve. "Now each can must stand on its own bottom. If they can't stand, they'll have to go."

Linda said that there has been no real communication with the local white people, even though she banks in the town and shops there. On the few occasions when local whites have tried to talk with the workers at the Freedom School, police have appeared and sent them away.

Nf EGRO reception is harder to gauge. Obviously, the classes attract few Negroes. The mass meetings attract more, usually 60 or 70. The Freedom Democratic vote, which is a less perilous way for Negroes to show support, was 400 in Ruleville on election day. The COFO workers and Negroes in the movement say that many others would like to join them but, because they live on plantations or otherwise are economically vulnerable, are afraid to. Still others have just become discouraged, they said.

Another dimension of Negro response is evident in the

For Negroes

Ruleville

uc

Mississippi could vote, Linda asked. "We would outvote them." What would that mean? "We could change the system." What would that mean? "We could elect who we want. We could elect some Negroes in office." A middle-aged woman continued in a metallic, almost bass voice: "Some could be judge. Some could be sheriff. Some could be . . . could maybe be President."

Mac took the floor at this point with announcements, about voting in ~~an agriculture~~ committee election, about a petition to replace the Negro policeman in town because Negroes were displeased with him, about a mock election of county officers coming in January. ~~He read to them from a Citizens Council document, making fun of it. The ladies seemed relieved to laugh with him.~~

At the session's end, Linda passed out workbooks for improvement of handwriting, and suggested that next meeting they might paint Christmas cards to send to the volunteers who had gone home. The old women, still in their circle, looking to this 20-year-old girl, all nodded, smiling. The idea pleased them. They sat awhile longer in silence, seeming to hate to leave.

Of NLY a few Negro families in Ruleville have anything to do with the Freedom School, said Mayor Charles M. Dorrough, who is also president of the Mississippi Municipal Association. He sat at his desk in City Hall, having just ordered ~~[illegible]~~ bulbs for the annual town Christmas lighting, and he spoke what might be regarded as the prevalent white attitude—even a little moderately.

"We don't see a need for what they're doing. The big thing that is needed is to create ambition in Negras." He said that at a local Negro school with an enrollment of 1,300 the average daily attendance is 1,100. "They think nothing of staying out of school."

The mass meetings attract more, usually 60 or 70. The Freedom Democratic vote, which is a less perilous way for Negroes to show support, was 400 in Ruleville on election day. The COFO workers and Negroes in the movement say that many others would like to join them but, because they live on plantations or otherwise are economically vulnerable, are afraid to. Still others have just become discouraged, they said.

Another dimension of Negro response is evident in the homes where the white volunteers live with Negro families. Kathy's hostess, a middle-aged widow, commented on this dangerously novel kind of living arrangement in Ruleville: "There's nothing bad about it. We stay in the houses from sun to sun anyhow when we work for them. People tell you things to frighten you. But we needed help and if we don't let these young people stay with us, they can't stay. If they blow us away for it, we'll just have to go."

She was sitting at an ancient foot-pedal sewing machine, making star patterns for a quilt she will sell to Northerners through COFO. She showed completed quilts in patterns with ancient names: Mistress's Flower Garden, Joseph's Coat, Butterfly. Her face, brown and broad, was entirely relaxed, free of fear or worry. Kathy, who worries about the danger she may bring, had tensed up. The Negro woman laughed and laughed. "Why, you know if I'd believed that when they said about bombing us, I'd of waked you right then and said, 'Let's go,'" she said. The laughter went on, and Kathy finally smiled.

Such moments demonstrate, among other things, just who on many occasions in the Mississippi movement is taking care of whom, and how learning and teaching are reciprocal. That seems to be what the Ruleville Freedom School is really all about.

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

FROM: Benjamin Muse, Box 312, Manassas, Virginia

RE : The Problem of Law Enforcement in Mississippi

(Enlargement of remarks to Mr. Dulles in Jackson, June 25)

The deteriorating situation with respect to the public peace in Mississippi makes it necessary to examine realistically the law-enforcement capability of that state in conditions of racial turmoil.

What are the possibilities of halting the burnings, bombings, floggings and occasional killings? In the event of a massive interracial clash, what reliance could be placed upon Mississippi police to restrain a white mob?

We need first to consider the Mississippi theory of law enforcement in the area of race relations. In Mississippi, "law enforcement" means control of Negroes. Protection of Negroes and restraint of their white attackers are not included in the concept.

Public tranquility is expected to be preserved by intimidating -- if not terrorizing -- Negroes. The state attorney general expressed the aim quite naturally when he said to me: "The Negroes have to be restrained so they won't provoke irresponsible whites." White outrages are deplored and the danger of anti-Negro mobs is feared -- at least at the highest official levels -- but they are to be prevented by keeping the Negroes from giving "provocation." The rigorous surveillance of Negroes by the Jackson police, for instance, is born of a deep fear, not of Negro excesses, but of a

possible rampage by white fanatics whom Negroes might "provoke." Police brutality is condoned by much of the public if it is directed toward keeping the Negroes "restrained." When the Negro is subdued, there is peace. That is the philosophy of a large element of the state's political leadership; it is deeply ingrained in the law-enforcement personnel.

An even more vicious sentiment is present among the now numerous members of the Ku Klux Klan and Americans for the Preservation of the White Race and other extremists. These feel that it is salutary to make an example of the few Negroes, or "nigger-lovers" now and then. They are not shocked at the beatings, even the killings, of a Negro somewhere in the woods. Rather this is regarded as a contribution to a good cause -- that of keeping the Negro reminded that the white man is in control.

This one-sided system had kept a kind of peace in Mississippi for many decades past; the Negro minority was successfully intimidated. But it will not work in the 1960's. Apart from moral considerations, Mississippi has not yet grasped the fact that the old system will no longer work. White Mississippians do not understand the new Negro. They do not realize that he will not submit. Will never submit again.

We have thus a deadly collision of an obsolete concept of "law enforcement" with an irrepressible upsurge on the part of the people against whom it is directed.

To reinforce the official machinery for repression of the Negro minority, two secret vigilante organizations have recently grown to ominous proportions. The revived Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi claims a membership of 91,000, and it probably has more than half that number in fact. Estimates of the membership of the new Americans for the Preservation of the White Race are not available, but it is substantial and growing. (At the rally in the Jackson Coliseum June 25, when Governor Wallace spoke, introduced by Governor Johnson, the programs were distributed by young people wearing APWR badges.)

The state administration is plainly disturbed over the burgeoning vigilante movement, though the numbers involved induce caution from a political point of view. The governors has given the KKK and the APWR no encouragement; he has said that he believes their strength to have been exaggerated. But he aboids condemning them by name. He denounces "extremists on both sides." (When extremists are demounded in Mississippi, it is politically necessary to refer to "both sides," although the Negroes initiate no violence.)

The Jackson Alarm Ledger, which is close to the administration, reports: "Many state officials have privately expressed alarm at the formation of 'vigilante' groups of whites in some parts of Mississippi."

Somewhat ironically the most outspoken attack upon the racist vigilantes -- and some of the healthiest advice to the public in the matter of public order -- has come from the State

Sovereignty Commission. The SSC, headed by the governor, is usually devoted to defending state rights and the "Mississippi way of life."

Erle Johnston, Jr., State Sovereignty Commission director, addressed a white civic club in Canton, a center of race tension, on May 13, saying:

"I would like to suggest to you and to all other Mississippians that you can do a greater service to your state and be more effective in helping to meet this challenge by co-operating with your county, municipal and state law-enforcement agencies, rather than joining any secret organization which might have well-meaning motives, but could get out of hand under emotional leadership."

The reference to the KKK and the APWR was transparent. It was so interpreted in the press. The sensitive APWR issued a blast in reply.

Erle Johnson has incurred the wrath of extremists by his whole attitude of "softness" toward the civil rights "invaders." In his conversation with me Johnston displayed auger at several instances where police "got out of line" in harassing the visitors, though he quickly explained that these were "exceptional" cases. The arrest of civil rights workers for traffic violations, etc., he said had been in the regular line of duty. He was himself arrested for speeding last week! In spite

of his defensive attitude in talking to me, it was evident that he is gravely concerned and is exerting some pressure to improve the attitude of police -- also that he reflects the personal concern of the governor. Johnston said repeatedly: "We are only voicing the views of the governor. We are doing what he tells us to do."

The generally inflammatory Hederman newspapers have been surprisingly conciliatory in editorials about the Summer Freedom Project. The Mississippi Economic Council includes the state's leading corporation executives and, though over-ceutious, this is the most powerful moderate influence in the state. Following a meeting of the MEA executive committee, June 18, its president issued the following statement

> Within the next few weeks the patience and self-control of Mississippians will, no doubt, be taxed to an extreme degree by the unfriendly activities of many outside students and adults coming into our state.
>
> It is imperative that we conduct ourselves with dignity, poise, forbearance, and, if possible, even good humor. We should not gather into curious crowds or allow ourselves to be provoked into impulsive acts that would reflect discredit of our state. We should support the governor in his declarations that law and order will be maintained and leave law enforcement duties in the hands of those trained to handle these matters.

We have great confidence that the sound judgement, self-control and good sense of all our people of all races will prevail so the goodwill and good feelings which have always existed will continue among the races.

We urge the citizenship in every community to be alerted to the importance of these matters.

The Jackson Daily News quoted the MEA statement on its editorial page, terming it "a timely and common-sense appeal," which "makes an excellent editorial in itself."

Governor Johnson, addressing a grocers' convention in Biloxi on the 19th, warned that all must obey Mississippi's laws whether they are "black, white or spotted."

But all this is very little and very late.

In addition to the prevailing concept of law-enforcement we have to consider the prevailing concept of wrong-doing -- in the area of race relations. A suggestion that a prominent white man favors racial integration, for instance, is matter-of-factly referred to in the press as an "indictment." From time immemorial, "stirring up the niggers" has been regarded as one of the most heinous of all crimes. Today the crime which arouses white indignation more than all others is that of "racial agitation." Physical assault, even murder, if committed by whites against Negroes, are relatively minor offenses. They are

considered exceesable by many -- even desirable by some -- as a contribution to the general effort to keep the Negro under control. Any Negro, or white civil-rights worker who is engaged in activity classed as "agitators" is a public enemy who can be harassed with a large measure of impunity. Police officers arrest such persons on a veriety of frivolous charges; they look the other way when white hoodlums belabor them.

The Summer Freedom Project has aroused fears in some quarters comparable to the ancient terror of a slave uprising. It is regarded by a majority of Mississippians as an "invasion" by a wicked scheming band -- "agents of Satan," communists, etc. -- who from a variety of evil motives are seeking to foment strife in this state.

What reliance can be placed on the individuals and organizations responsible for law enforcement to protect these civil- rights workers and Mississippi Negroes generally? How strong is the bulwark against interracial anarchy in Mississippi?

The most reliable -- or the only reliable -- force is the Mississippi National Guard. The National Guard met the test of combat with white fanatics in the insurrenction at "Ole Miss" and behaved admirably. The Guardsmen who participated in the action have suffered some odium and abuse from their neighbors since; on the other hand, some of these Guardsmen conceived a lasting disgust for racist fanatics. At any rate the discipline and

integrity of the Mississippi National Guard are a safeguard in the type of situation in which the Guard might be used.

The State Highway Patrol has been made available for police functions, and its authorized strength has been increased from 275 to 475 men. Legislation was also enacted last spring to enable localities to merge their law-enforcement resources in time of crisis. In the argument for these measures the need was related to the racial tensions and the impressionswas given that they were aimed at containing the civil rights movement. I am told, however, that the governor had very much in mind the danger from white vigilantes and said as much privately to some leaders of the legislature.

(The danger of Negro aggression in Mississippi being insignificant,) the criterion of the effectiveness of any law-enforcement agency must be the degree to which it can be relied upon to restrain whites. In this respect the performance of the Highway Patrol at "Ole Miss," of course was lamentable. Would these troopers again turn away from white rioters or fraternize with them?

State Treasurer William Winter is deeply apprehensive over the outlook in Mississippi, and he speaks frankly to me. He thinks under clearer political direction the Patrol would have done better at "Ole Miss." He said that a nucleous of veteran Patrolmen is well-disciplined and reliable. Some of these had told him they were ashamed of what happened at "Ole Miss." He said

their commander, Col. T. B. Birdsong, is a capable officer, with a National Guard background and an instinctive sense of discipline and duty.

Former Governor J. P. Coleman, whom I discussed the whole matter of law enforcement, also spoke well of Birdsong, although the latter was a political opponent. Coleman is a warm personal friend, but his remarks have to be judged in the light of his habitual propensity to depend all Mississippi institutions. I remarked that I had heard from various sources that dubious characters had gotten into the Patrol in recent years. He said no, the Patrol's "high standard" had been maintained. He added that applicants complete a six-weeks course of training, after which recruits are selected on the basis of competition examination. I asked the former governor flatly: "Would the Highway Patrol do its duty in the event of a massive white attack upon Negroes?" After some hesitation, he answered that it would if the governor's wishes were clearly expressed and if his orders were firm.

The Jackson city police force is notorious for its brutality in handling Negroes, and in many instances -- some of them well publicized -- policemen have stood idly by while Negroes were beaten and kicked by white hoodlums. The police forces is, however, efficient, and it should have learned some discipline in the course of its intensive training. Major Allen Thompson has sought to reassure the public with many boastful statements about the invincibility of his police force, but these are

generally couched in slurs on the civil rights movement and they include no word of caution for white trouble-makers. Some Jackson financial magnates who feel that they are close to the mayor, say that, "when the time comes," he intends to use the police with all vigor against any white mob. But the Jackson police have had no psychological preparationsfor such a duty. Moreover, Thompson is an ambitious politician with thoughts of running for governor; he would be extremely loath to give the impression of being a protector of Negroes and civil rights "agitators."

In some of the smaller cities local community leadership has brought about a realtively stable law-enforcement situation, as in Tupelo and Greenville. Other cities like McComb, Greenwood, Canton, etc., are pestering sores. Incidentally, I am told that the "auxiliary police" in many of these cities is a liability and a menace in case of interracial turmoil.

Of all areas of law enforcement, it is in the rural counties that protection for Negroes is most alarmingly lacking. Some sheriffs and deputy sheriffs are said to be members of extremist organizations; none would like to affront them or offend their racist constituents. The anti-Negro ruffian herd is protected by the concealment of woods and swamps, by the sympathy of many of his neighbors and by a paralysis of law enforcement.

The desperate need in Mississippi is not for more policemen, but for something far more difficult to secure -- a

reorientation of law enforcement. One distinguished observer (Marquis Childs) said the state's whole law-enforcement apparatus would have to be "reorganized from top to bottom."

I find it the opinion of all who speak fraknly that the worst is yet to come. Ultimate federal military intervention is foreseen by many (non-Mississippi) newspaper men as inevitable.

Robert Ezelle, president elect of the Jackson chamber of commerce, believes that outrages against Negroes will continue and get worse, but that at some point the public will be shocked into a revolution of feeling. He says that odium will descend upon the extremists as it did upon the Ku Klux Klan of old, and that stability and decency will return to Mississippi by this route.

Governor Coleman was very serious when we came, at the end of our talk, to the outlook for this state. He thinks the change will come dramatically. "Mississippi will have to have a catharsis," he said. It will be a massive convulsion which will shake the entire state. After that Mississippi will come to itself and go forward to its great future. (This is a widely-held view.)

Many thoughtful people here can see no ray of light. My own pessimism is tempered by several hopeful considerations.

The FBI is popular in Mississippi as a symbol of anti-Communism. FBI agents are more acceptable than any other element

of federal authority. Whatever their tangible accomplishment, their presence is a stimulus to proper police activity and a reminder of the meaning of even-handed law enforcement.

There is no element of clash between the state administration and the federal government in the present situation. Notwithstanding Paul Johnson's seconding of Barnette in the "Ole Miss" crisis in 1962, the posture of defiance of the federal government is foreign to Johnson's temperament and it has been absent from his performance as governor. There is no talk of resistance in the manner attempted on occasion by Barnette, Faubus and Wallace. For all the fulminations and lamentations over civil rights agitation, the precise spirit of defiance of the federal government has faded in this state. It has not been significantly present in this year's legislature. All the planning of the governor and legislators for evasion of school desegregation has contemplated compliance with the letter of federal court orders.

I believe there is a possibility of developing a co-operative federal state relationship in the area of law enforcement.

BENJAMIN MUSE

MATERIALS NEEDED FOR MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT

I. Major Equipment

1. Typewriters -- preferably in good condition
2. Duplicating machines
   Rexograph
   Mimeograph
   Ditto
   Photocopy types

Note: send the stencils, paper, ink, fluid, etc. that each kind of of machine requires as well as the machine, please.

3. Tape recorders. Also recording tapes.
4. Phonographs. Also records.
5. Tele-trainers (N.Y. Bell Telephone Co.)
6. Film projectors. Screens. Films.
7. Strip projectors. Film strips.
8. Blackboards. Chalk. Erasers.
9. Bulletin boards.

II. Supplies.

1. Paper -- lined, unlined, poster, oak tag, graph paper, construction paper, rolls of newsprint (unused ends can be procured from newspaper companies), tracing paper, paper for various duplicating machines, second sheets, etc.
2. manilla folders and envelopes
3. pencils, crayons, ball point pens, magic markers (all colors, but especially red, black and blue), paints.
4. scissors, scotch tape, masking tape, paste, thumb tacks, paper clips, pencil erasers, chalk, chalk erasers, mimeo correction fluid.
5. Stapling machines, staples, staple removers, pencil sharpeners.
6. Stencils, mastercopies, ink, etc. for various duplicators.

III. Printed materials.

1. Magazines: Life, Ebony, Jet, National Geographic, American Heritage, etc.
2. Classic comics (Company must be contacted for donations)
3. Workbooks--all subjects, and all levels.
4. Maps--wall and desk size
5. Prints of artistic works.
6. Official forms, such as social security, job applications mail order, etc.
7. Reference works--dictionaries, encyclopedias, etc.
8. "News for You"--published on three levels (Box 131, Syracuse, N.Y. 13210)
9. Books--fiction
10. Books--specific titles. See book list.

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Books

MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT
RUNNING SUMMARY OF INCIDENTS

JUNE 16: Philadelphia: Mt. Zion Baptist Church burns to ground. Fire starts soon after Negro mass meeting adjourns. Three Negroes beaten by whites. This was freedom school site.

State-wide: Negroes attempt to attend Democratic Party precinct conventions for the first time in this century. Results vary. Two Negroes, two whites elected in Jackson.

JUNE 17: Vicksburg: Summer volunteer arrested for driving while intoxicated. Not allowed phone call. Held overnight. Aquitted at trial next day.

JUNE 20: Fayette: Police, citizens order SNCC worker out of his house. He flees, but when car recovered two days later his camera, food, and personal documents are missing.

JUNE 21: Brandon (Rankin Co.) Molotov cocktail explodes in basement of Sweet Rest Church of Christ Holiness. Fire; minor damage.

McComb: Homes of two civil rights workers planning to house summer volunteers bombed. One damaged extensively. Seven dynamite sticks left on lawn of third home with no CR ties.

Meridian: Three civil rights workers missing after short trip to Philadelphia. (See separate report for more details.)

JUNE 22: Clarksdale: Four volunteers arrested on vagrancy charges while engaged in voter registration work. Held 3 1/2 hours, released.

Brandon: Negro youth killed in hit-and-run accident.

JUNE 23: Philadelphia: Missing car found burned; no sign of 3 workers. Car was on list circulated by Canton White Citizens Council.

Jackson: Shots fired at home of Rev. R.L.T. Smith. White man escapes on foot, reportedly picked up by a city truck.

Moss Point: Knights of Pythias Hall firebombed. Arson attempt on side of building. Damage slight. Used for voter rallies.

Moss Point: Two summer volunteers picked up as they leave cafe relax on private lawn. Taken by police at 85 m.p.h. without lights at night to Pascagoula jail. Held in "protective custody" overnight, then released. (Separate reports available with details.)

Jackson: Civil rights worker held 8 hours after receiving $5 change for a $20 bill.

Jackson: White car fires shots at Henderson's cafe. Negroes pursue. Three shots fired, hitting one Negro in head twice.

Clarksdale: Local pastor, a civil rights leader, arrested for reckless and drunk driving.

State-wide: Negroes try to attend Democratic Party county conventions. Systematically discouraged from participating.

Ruleville: LOOK, TIME reporters cover voter rally at Williams chapel, chased out of town by car at speeds up to 85 m.p.h. Early next morning, nine Negro homes, cars hit by bottles thrown from similar car.

(more)

JUNE 24: Meridian: Threat: "You G.D. people are going to get bombed."

Hollandale: Police, mayor tell summer volunteer he can't live in Negro section of town and register voters.

Drew: 30 volunteers, staff workers engaged in voter registration meet open hostility from whites. Weapons shown.

Canton: Civil rights car hit by bullet.

Collins: 40 M-1 rifles, 1,000 rounds of ammunition stolen from National Guard armory.

JUNE 25: Ruleville: Williams Chapel firebombed. Damage slight. Eight plastic bags with gasoline found later outside building.

Jackson: Two separate arrests of volunteers on minor traffic charges. Seven questionned in one case; charges dropped in other. (Law student presented his own case.)

Philadelphia: Newsman's car deliberatedly rammed by local citizen. Newsman gets two tickets.

Itta Bena: Two volunteers working with local Negro, handing out literature for voter registration rally, taken to gas station-bus stop by four white men who tell them: "If you speak in town tonight, you'll never leave here."

Greenville: Federal building demonstration. No harrassment.

Durant: Civil rights worker's car stopped on highway for repairs. Driver charged with illegal parking. $60 bond paid.

JUNE 26: Hattiesburg: Hate literature from whites: "Beware good Negro citizens. When we come to get the agitators, stay away."

Columbus: Seven voter registration workers arrested for distributing literature without a city permit. Bond: $400 each.

Itta Bena: FBI arrests three local residents for June 25 incident. Two are released on $2,000 bail, one on $1,000.

Clinton: Church of Holy Ghost arson. Kerosene spilled on floor, lit after local white pastor speaks to Negro Bible class. (Fifth firebombing in 10 days.)

Holmes County: Two staffers detained for illegal parking, no Mississippi permit. One arrested. Bond $60.

Holly Springs: Harrassment: beer cans tossed, tires slashed.

Greenwood: Freedom House call: "You'd better not go to sleep or you won't get up."

Greenwood: Voter registration worker picked up bu police, released after questionning.

Jackson: Ed Hollander, CORE field secretary, beaten at Hinds County jail while a federal prisoner. Third beating of a civil rights worker at same jail in two months, second of federal prisoner.

Canton: Two volunteers picked up by police, told all out-of town visitors must register with them. Registered, released.

Belzoni: Three arrested for disturbing the peace. Two released without charges, third held on $100 bond.

(more)

JUNE 27: Batesville: Local person helping voter registration gets obvious harrassment ticket for illegal parking outside courthouse

Vicksburg: Threatening call: "We're going to get you."

Philadelphia: Local Negro contact has bottle thrown through window of home. Threatening note attached.

Greenwood: Several phone harrassments; bomb threat.

Doddsville: Highway patrol kills 34-year-old Negro with history of mental illness. Local deputy who knew Negro with patrol man. Mother asks to see body. Police reply: "Get that hollering woman away. Ruled "justifiable homicide" in 17 hours.

Jackson: Two phone threats: "We're going to kill you white SOBs

JUNE 28: Jackson: Civil rights worker held 8½ hours without charges. stopped for no reason while driving near COFO office. (mississippi law permits holding for 72 hours "for investigation.")

Vicksburg: High school girl tells friends COFO "going to get it

Canton: Threatening calls throughout the night.

Ruleville: Mayor tells visiting Methodist chaplain he cannot attend Methodist services. "You came here tp live with Negroes, so you can go to church with them, too." He does, with 3 others

B tesville: Report local Negro man beaten, missing.

Jackson: "Hospitality Month" in Mississippi: White volunteer kicked over from behind, slugged on arrival from Oxford at local train station.

JUNE 29: Hattiesburg: Two cars owned by volunteers shot by four whites in pickup truck at 1 a.m. No injuries, $100 damage to each car. Three witnesses. (Men were sleeping two blocks away.)

Columbus: Six carloads of whites drive up on lawn of Freedom House. Five flee before police arrive. Police question, release two men in sixth car.

Hattiesburg: Civil rights worker charged with reckless driving, failure to give proper signal. Held overnight, paid fine.

Biloxi: Volunteers in white project turned away from hotel.

Hattiesburg: Phone rings. Volunteer hears tape recording of last 20 seconds of his previous conversation. Someone goofed!

Columbus: Restaurants serving volunteers threatened.

JUNE 30: Vicksburg: Negro woman threatened for registering to vote.

Ruleville: Man loses job for housing white volunteers.

Jackson: Car circles office with gun, threatens teen-ager: "Want to shoot some pool, nigger?"

Jackson: Volunteer charged with reckless driving. Fine $34. (He moved from one traffice lane to another in integrated car.)

Holly Springs: White teen-agers scream profanities, throw rocks at office from passing car.

Hattiesburg: Whites in pick up truck with guns visible drive past office several times. FBI checks June 29 car shooting.

Holly Springs: SNCC staff worker jumped by local white, who threatens to shoot both him and his office with 12-gage shotgun.

(more)

JUNE 30: (Contd) Tchula: Two carloads of highway patrolmen start excessively close watch on volunteer. Ended 48 hours later.

Oaklamd: Police find body of white man, badly mangled by hit-run driver, no identification at all. (Later found no CR ti

Greenville: Report that on June 19 a Negro porter at Greenville General Hospital was beated by policeman with billy club there Porter charged with resisting arrest and disturbing the peace

JULY 1: Holly Springs: Justice of Pezce (and Mayor) has local farmer arrested on assault and battery charges in June 30 incident. Bail set at $1,000.

Clarksdale: Pick up truck tries to run down SNCC worker and volunteer. License plates hidden.

Gulfport: Police threaten to hurt children of lady housing civil rights workers. So they plan to move elsewhere.

JULY 2: Harmony: Sheriff, school superintendent tell community abandoned buildings may not be used for freedom school. Cross burned, tacks strewn in Negro community. (On June 30, superintendent had announced Negro summer session--- the first in memory of local residents---in another effort to block the freedom school)

Hattiesburg: Two vote registration canvassers followed and questionned by men describing themselves as state officials.

Hattiesburg: School superintendent threatens all janitors who participate in civil rights activity. Ditto at Holiday Inn.

Hattiesburg: Local police stop ~~fixx~~ Negro girl, five white boys en route home. Policeman curses, threatens arrest, slaps one boy.

Batesville: Panola County Sheriff Carl Hubbard detains several persons housing civil rights workers, spends most of night in courtyard where many workers are living.

Meridian: White teen-age girl throws bottle at civil rights group outside church, cuts leg of local Negro girl.

Canton: Local police turn on sirens, play music on loudspeaker near COFO office, fail to answer phone calls or highway patrol.

Gulfport: Two voter registration workers threatened: "Things are fine around here; we don't want them to change." Man grabs volunteer's shirt: "I'm going to whip your ass." Workers run.

JULY 3: Meridian: Volunteer's car goes through green light, hits local station wagon. Volunteer charged with running light, reckless driving. Bond $122.

So So: The "Greasy Spoon," a Negro grocery and teen spot, is bombed. Damage minor. Sheriff's deputy says there is no civil right motive for the bombing, calls it "senseless."

Greenwood: Three visiting Congressmen witness voter registration, call it discriminatory.

Tougaloo: En route to Canton, four civil rights girls are chased by two cars driven by whites. They decide to stop here for safety

Jackson: Lots of phone harrassment. WATS line goes dead, then rings---a technical impossibility.

Columbus: Police impound volunteer's car---claim it's stolen because transfer papers are not notarized.

Itta Bena: Police question two volunteers about robbery, say they were only ones in vicinity. No charges filed.

(more)

JULY 3: (Contd) Greenwood: Two tagless cars drive continually past office

Moss Point: Police, white citizens pressure Negro cafe owners not to serve civil rights workers. Policeman says white racist in town has gun on his person, grenade in a satchel.

Harmony: Sheriff, superintendent post "no trespassing" sign at abandoned school. Local citizens move books, other materials to Negro church. Police flash lights on homes.

JULY 4: Laurel: Police barely prevent large racial clash after two Negroes, two white injured in attempt to integrate drive-in. Police fail to respond to calls for help from injured Negroes.

Clarksdale: Local manager says Negroes going to court house will be discharged: "I have a large contract with the head of the White Citizens Council, and I'm not going to lose thousands of dollars for one of you."

Batesville: Volunteer, local worker chased 30 miles by car.

Batesville: Racist slugs Negro as he leaves court house.

JULY 5: Greenville: Local citizens test several restaurants. The eating places are closed either before or after testing.

Auleville: Local segregationist visits COFO office, has a very friendly argumentwith civil rights workers. Police ask him to leave. He refuses. Charged with disorderly conduct.Fine

Laurel: Lester McKinney, who witnessed and reported the July fourth incident, arrested by police, who say he has 4-6 months left to serve on previous sentence.

Columbus: St. Louis Negro beaten by whites who mistake him for a Freedom Rider. En route to a funeral, he's fined $75.

Laurel: Two volunteers questioned by police, who stop their integrated car as it leaves Sunday school. Charges dropped against driver, but passenger arrested on vagrancy charge. She left pocketbook in car at police station. 10 days, suspende

Jackson: NAACP integrates local hotels without major incident. Individuals integrate many other places on their own.

Jackson: Local woman's leg cut by bottle thrown at COFO office.

JULY 6: Jackson: Voter registration group harrassed by police, who say "one man, one vote" sticker has been found on city car. They threaten arrest for trespassing if anyone will sign charge

Jackson: McGraven-Hill Missionary Baptist Church damaged by kerosene fire. Church has no ties to civil rights movement.

Clarksdale: Station wagon plays "chicken" with CRWs going home.

Jackson: Negro youth slugged by white, who flees in truck.

Moss Point: Negro woman shot twice at voter rally, singing "We Shall Overcome" Three Negroes arrested when they pursue car from which they believe shots were fired. White car not checked.

Greenwood: Harrassment call: "I just shot one of your workers...

Vicksburg: Whites chase, shoot at Negro on motorcycle. Miss.(7/2

Itta Bena: Local police, sheriff hold civil rights worker incommunicado, trigger wide search by federal authorities, SNCC.

Hattiesburg: Owner's wife pulls pistol as 15-25 youngsters try to integrate drive-in. Youngsters run, are arrested and put in drunk tank by police. Three are roughed up.

Raleigh: Methodist and Baptist churches burned to ground.

(more)

JULY 7: Shaw: Stores refuse to cash volunteer's travelers check.

Shaw: Police ask all volunteers to register. Only four do not.

Gulfport: Tires of volunteer's car slashed after she's seen taking people to register at the courthouse.

Clarksdale: Sheriff asks minister, driving integrated car: "Are you married to them niggers? You ain't no minister, you're a SOB troublemaker....I'm gonna stay on your back until I get you."

Vicksburg: White boys throw bottle, break windshield of car waiting to pick up freedom school student.

Greenwood: Six young students picketing jailhouse ("Stop Police Brutality," "One Man, One Vote") arrested. So are three others with them are, too.

JULY 8: McComb: SNCC Freedom House bombed; two injured. Despite numerous requests by Congressmen, attorneys, pastors (and a personal visit with the mayor---who also heads the White Citizens Council), no local police were seen in the area prior to the bombing. 15 FBI agents, several packing pistols, show up during day. 150 attend rally same night.

Hattiesburg: Rev. Robert Beech of National Council of Churches arrested on false pretense charge after allegedly overdrawing his bank account $70. Bail set at $2000.

Ruleville: Volunteer bodily ejected from county circuit clerk's office for accompanying local woman to voter registration.

Columbus: Three volunteers arrested on trespass charges after stopping at a gas station for a soft drink. Friendly conversation there until attendant says, "You boys should be on the road." They leave immediately. He files charges. Bail $500 to $1000 each.

Clarksdale: Bomb threat.

Hattiesburg: Bottle thrown at picnic by passing car. No plates.

Holly Springs: Civil rights worker arrested. Reckless driving. $250.

Clarksdale: Police chief in Lafayette tells Negro cafes not to serve volunteers.

Vicksburg: Bomb threat.

JULY 9: Greenwood: Local insurance salesman slugs volunteer during voter canvas. Follows in car and repeats.

Yazoo City: Folksinger arrested for reckless driving. Quick fine

Clarksdale: Volunteer arrested for taking pictures in courtroom. Photos taken in hall after police chief sprayed room deodorant on two girls.

Gulfport: Four ~~xxxxxxx~~ arrested for refusing to leave local people and cross street on police orders as they near court house. Held on $500 bond for violating anti-picketing law.

Vicksburg: Freedom school students stoned en route to class.

Moss Point: Five Negroes fired from jobs for attending mass rally. Woman fired from work for housing two volunteers.

Clarksdale: Police chief visits office when another white man comes to turn off electricity

Gulfport: Police urge volunteer to leave for his own protection, officer ~~xxxxx~~ inciting to riot.

JULY 10: Clarksdale: Books removed from libraries. NAACP youths refused service at two restaurants.

Hattiesburg: Rabbi Arthur Lelyveld, two volunteers, two local teenagers attacked by two men as they walked in uninhabited area. Assailants escape after attacking three men. In emerging from hospital, rabbi says Jews in Mississippi should "stand up for decency and freedom with all the risks involved" or leave the state.

Vicksburg: Four civil rights workers chased by two cars, one of which has a man with a revolver.

(more)

JULY 10: Jackson: J. Edgar Hoover opens Jackson FBI office, first state-
(Contd) wide center since 1946. Says 136 agents now in state. Cites efficiency as reason for new office

. Says FBI can give CRWs "no protection" (beyond reports based on complaints and directions for investigation from civil rights division of Justice Department).

Greenwood: SNCC staff member arrested on public profanity charge. Policeman overheard him say, "We've got to get some damn organization." Bail: $15.

Moss Point: Howard Kirschenbaum, only volunteer to leave the MSP because of arrests and harrassment, returns with $2000 from New York

JULY 11: Shaw: Local Negro offered $400 by five whites to bomb SNCC Freedom House, $40 for list of residents' home addresses.

Laurel: Four young Negroes injured during and after attempts to integrate Kresses lunch counter, where Negroes had eaten earlier

Canton: Small firebomb thrown at Freedom House lawn.

Vicksburg: Amateur bomb thrown through window of Negro cafe.

Canton: Volunteer arrested on traffic charges while delivering freedom school books.

Browning: Pleasant Plain Missionary Baptist Church burns to ground. Whites sought to buy it, Negroes would not sell.

Laurel: Local NAACP president received two July 19 death threats.

Holly Springs: Integrated staff picnic broken up by police.

Clarksdale: NAACP member testing barber shop driven out at gun point

Harmony: Police visit local Negroes who have had contact with COFO volunteers, staff, forcing them to sign peace bonds. Police come armed with a warrant to search for liquor.

Greenwood: Local Negro woman hit in chest by white man, while accompanied by two volunteers. No police cooperation in getting assailants.

JULY 12: Canton: Two summer volunteers, visitor refused admission to First Methodist Church. Volunteers had been welcomed a week earlier
Greenwood: Bomb threat.

Jackson: Body found in Mississippi identified as Charles Moore, former Alcorn A&M student. Second body found in river.

Jackson: White teen-agers slash Negro woman's tires, spit in face of volunteer co-ed after integrated group eats at drive-in.

Jackson: Elderly man attacks Negro woman at Greyhound coffee shop. She is treated for cut head, hand, then charged with disturbing the peace. Out on $50 bond.. Assailant escapes.

Biloxi: Volunteer picked up while canvassing, informed of complaints by local residents, released.

Itta Bena: Local woman attacked by two white boys while begging by sitting. Both her arms cut
Natchez: Jerusalem Baptist and Bethel Methodist Churches burned to ground. Home of Negro contractor in Natchez firebombed.

JULY 13: Clarksdale: Negro volunteer chased out of white laundromat, picked up by police for failure to signal turn, taken to jail and beaten. Sheriff Collins: "You're a nigger and you're going to stay a nigger." Charged with resisting arrest, out on $64 bond.

Clarksdale: Chief voter registrar closes courthouse for next few days. Stated reason: court in session, no time for registration.

Clarksdale: Owner of electric company has project leader pointed out to him, then fingers knife in his presence.

(more)

JULY 14: Canton: Man threatened with job loss if youngster continues in freedom school. Youngster stays.

Drew: ~~xxxxx~~ Police chief, local citizens protest Albuquerque Journal article based on volunteer's letter home. Volunteer says letter was edited

Hattiesburg: State Sovereignty Commisssion visits office

Vicksburg: Milkman's assistant loses job because he attends the freedom school

Vicksburg: SNCC team confirms burning of Bolvina Church 7/7

Drew: Police pick up James Dann for distributing literature without permit. (Later) Seven people arrested for distributing literature without a permit and blocking the sidewalk. 100-$200 bo

Holly Springs: Oxford Police Chief told civil rights worker he should not come back to town. Threatened to hit Negro over head, especially if he did not speak to others with proper respect. (No major changes.)

Laurel: Gas bomb thrown at local Negro's home

Batesville: Movie which had upstairs for Negroes, now offers admission only to whites.

Canton: Three white men pursue five CRWs in car en route home.

JULY 15: Biloxi: Two ~~xxxx~~ arrested in traffic harrassment case

Clarksdale: Another traffic arrest. Improper turn.

McComb: Freedom school enrolls 35 here.

Drew: 23 arrested for willfully and unlawfully using the sidewalks and the streets during voter registration rally. Citizens Council met at 9 a.

Gulfport: Civil rights worker arrested for putting posters ~~on a tele~~ on pole. City ordinance. Bond $50.00

JULY 16: Canton: Volunteers report they were beaten by police last night following arrest with truck carrying freedom registration supplies, books, miscellany. Bond set at $150 each

Greenwood: Freedom Day---111 arrests, including 13 juveniles Group includes 98 adults, of whom nine were SNCC staff and 13 volunte

Vicksburg: White man comes to door of home where volunteer staying. Has pistol showing in holster. Asks to see owner of house. At another home housing workers, car circles block 10-15 minutes.
Greenwood: Silas McGhee, local resident, picked up by three whites, forced to enter cab of their pickup truck at gunpoint, then beaten with pipe and plank. Incident occurs just after he leaves FBI office. He returns there, agents take him to hospital. He has been active in attempts to integrate theatre.
Greenville: Freedom Day: 101 people took test, ~~xxxxx~~ 100 more came too late. No arrests.
Hattiesburg: Two voter canvassers stopped by police.

Hattiesburg: Police question those who complain about inadequate protection for those going to freedom school; may charge them. with threatening mayor.

Ruleville: Total arrested in Drew yesterday 25, not 23. This includes 10 women at county jail and 15 men at county farm near Indianola. Superintendent of farm tells lawyer he can't guarantee safety of those at the farm. FBI advised

Laurel: Volunteer canvassing accosted by two white boys, who accuse him of not being from Mississippi, knock materials from hand, and run.

Cleveland: Freedom Day: 25 to 30 picket without incident. About 20 of 25 from Shaw group Shaw register. More than 50 from other communities came, of whom 30 registered. Process slow but polite. Ten regular and 45 auxiliary police allow only those registering or picketing on courthouse grounds.

(more to come later)

PREPARED BY: COMMUNICATIONS STAFF
MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT, 1017
LYNCH STREET, JACKSON, MISS. 601-352-9605 or 352-9788 AREA CODE 601

WE MUST BE ALLIES...

RACE HAS LED US BOTH TO POVERTY.

COFO's experimental white community project in Biloxi has forced an inescapable conclusion: our existing experience organizing the white poor of Mississippi must be developed into a major portion of the COFO program in the coming year. No matter how difficult the task, every effort must be made, by those of us who share the dream of an interracial movement of the poor, to establish programs in white communities in twenty counties by the end of next year.

This means that we need people, i.e. personnel and leadership to undertake a most difficult, dangerous, and fascinating task of community organization. There are a few requirements for these people. They must have an understanding of the poverty of the Southern white poor. They must be able to communicate a concern for that poverty without precipitating or reinforcing fear and hostility toward the Negro and the freedom movement. They must have training in the field under COFO's sophisticated programs. The leadership must be willing to stay in the field for several years; the personnel, for several months. White skin is required only of those who have the initial task of sounding out the potential community leadership as unobtrusively as possible. If enough of those leaders respond favorably to the idea of COFO programs with which to fight their own poverty, then they will invite COFO staff in to help them run their program.

PLEASE SEEK OUT people who are interested in working with this program and get them in touch with White Folks Program, 1017 Lynch St. Jackson, Mississippi. There is a great freedom of choice over jobs in this movement. Its bureaucracy does not bite, does not stick people into convenient cogs. People are encouraged to do the job they think they can do best. No one should have the fear that his humanness will be sacrificed to the cause.

The important work to be done is with poor folks and not with moderates and liberals. The white poor have the political need of decent jobs, housing, education, and health. The movement must go to them and help them develop their own leadership rather than demand that the moderates and the liberals fight their political battles for them. The greatest thing about the freedom movement in Mississippi (and what the rest of the country should consider very seriously) is that the people themselves are voicing their own political needs.

Both politically and in human terms, the freedom movement has no other choice but to develop the white folks program. The resistance in the past within the movement to the white poor program has not been to the idea or to the necessity, but has reflected a frank recognition that people who know how to do the job are not available and that the hostility of the white poor to the movement makes it a near impossible task. The populist movement and the labor movement both failed to resolve the issue of race. It is the responsibility of the freedom movement, before the threat of the movement to the white poor further increases, to include them in our efforts.

Politically, the freedom movement cannot succeed as a Negro movement for two reasons: First, a solid black vote can never be a political majority of the state or the South. Neither can a solid voting block of the white poor. Only 42.3% of Mississippi and roughly 20% of the South is Negro. In only 27 of 82 counties in Mississippi are Negroes a majority, and in eleven of those, they are bare majorities of less than 60%. Negro political control of these counties would eventually lead to partition (Pakistan was created out of Muslim sections of India). Separate black societies is an impossible solution in as interdependent a society as ours.

Secondly, a racial political order can never be a stable one. Not only would that order create a chaotic stand-still in legislative chambers, it would also create nothing less than a racial war among the people. For the freedom movement to follow the insane path toward that order would create a revengeful Samson who destroys himself in order to destroy the nation which oppressed his people. Hopes for human rights would suffer a destructive blow if race were to block the possibility of the South solving its problems of poverty. It is important to note that the creation of a political voice of poor folks stands to improve the economy for all. There is no reason for the middle and upper classes to be threatened by the development of decent jobs, education, housing, and health for all.

In human terms, the freedom movement has the clear imperative to include the white poor chained to the Negro at the bottom of the economic ladder. It is clear from the U.S. Census of Mississippi (p 132) that this is true:

Negro family income of less than $1000/yr.--	65,711	households
" " " from $1000 to $2000/yr.--	51,640	
Total-- 28% of population.	117,351	
White family income of less than $1000/yr.--	32,751	households
" " " from $1000 to $2000/yr.--	38,622	
Total-- 12.7% of population.	71,373	

Almost one-third of the really poor folks in the state are white.

Personnel for the program will come from interested staff and volunteers a couple of months experience in the movement. Hopefully, white SNCC and CORE field secretaries will undertake the leadership of this program in Mississippi and the rest of the South. Disgusted labor organizers who want a fresh approach provide a second resource. The experimental projects now underway of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) may develop some good community organizers they could spare for sork in the South, as could the Hazard movement. Highlander Folk School, in all probability, would continue to provide orientation and workshops for the White Folk's Program. Effort will not be spared to recruit personnel from Southern colleges (even in Mississippi) as well as from Northern and Western schools. Hopefully, this recruiting effort will mean that one-third of COFO's work in Mississippi by the end of three years will be with white poor folks.

Northerner and Southerner, black and white, should be encouraged to join this effort. The white task force which moves into the community first will spend a couple of months finding the potential leadership of the program by talking to people individually, and disassociated from COFO, in the bars and restaurants, churches and ballgames. The task force should interest the people in decent jobs, etc. for poor folks, overcome their hostility to the movement, and encourage them to organize and run their own program. COFO would provide the financial and personnel resources to make the program work. COFO would draw on both white and black sources of people to establish interracial programs to fight the battle for decent jobs, etc. That fight will eventually draw the two groups together.

Guidelines for this kind of community organizing have been developed from the experience in Biloxi. Eighteen of us lived all together in one hotel for the month of July. We spent more time attempting to resolve the problems of our in-group than we did learning the problems of the community. Dress and controversial literature became major issues which absorbed several hours of heated discussions in meetings. Frustration with the project drove six people to leave it. From this experience, we concluded that the task force which moves into the community should number no more than three or four people and should preferably be less. The smaller the number of people the less time they will spend relating to each other and the more they will be forced by their isolation to relate to the people in the community. The same goes for eating out. You arn't in contact with the community if you are eating at home.

In August, the problem was partially settled. Six people moved to a house in a community called Point Cadet basically composed of Biloxi fishermen. Four stayed in the hotel. The six at Point Cadet continued to waste alot of time living in theri house, time wasted which later developments proved to be very costly. The white people we worked with during the month of July were principally moderates and liberals. We found that they were just as paralized in fear of retaliation from the rest of the community as the white poor folks were.

Two interest groups appeared in the Biloxi project. One was to set up a voice of moderation in the state, the other was to create an interracial movement of the poor. The four people who have remained in the state with the white folks program all feel neutral to the former idea, believing it should be a function of the National Council of Churches, the Southern Regional Council, the Mississippi Council of Human Relations, and the public relations office of COFO. Too much work needs to be done in actual community organization toward a poor folks movement.

At Point Cadet, the developments which proved to be costly were two rumors. One was that we civil rights workers(and therefore working for Negroes) were trying to get Negroes into white schools at Point Cadet. The other,and the fatal one, was that the building we had rented as an office was to be used as an employment bureau to get Negroes jobs at the point. These rumors would not have gotten started had we been skilled community organizers. For one thing, a skilled organizer would not let his identity be known until he had the backing of the key potential leaders in the community. For another, he would quickly inform the community about the nature of his program and not sit idly by to have rumors kill it before it gets started. He certainly wouldn't have put a SNCC sign in the office window or attempted to have a precinct meeting of the Freedom Democratic Party to get people curious enough about him to call the owner and make bomb threats. All this did happen though and the owner evicted us.

One more note on the Biloxi project. There is a familiar sociological idea that groups are more immoral than individuals. Our experience in Biloxi bore this out. We found that we could canvass successfully in the white community for the Freedom Democratic Party, even in integrated teams. The reaction of the people was not generally hostile but rather neutral. Many interesting conversations extended to one or two hours. The blind submission to the "Southern Line" about the civil rights movement was hardly evident in individual contacts. To realize that these same contacts were the same people who attacked Negroes at the beach wade-in of 1960 with chains and spent the three following days rifling at Negro homes from cars, is quite a shock.

The counties in which these programs will begin will be counties in which neither Negroes nor white poor folks are in a majority, but in which an alliance between the two groups is essential to form a political majority. A few counties where racial domination is a threat to one group and a few where the violence level of the white poor is high will be chosen to find out how to overcome those obstacles. An influx of volunteers in February is a necessity to meet the twenty-county goal. Please do all you can to recruit people.

Bruce Maxwell
White Folks Program

BILLS BY THE MISSISSIPPI LEGISLATURE AND SIGNED BY

GOVERNOR JOHNSON AT THIS SESSION

HOUSE BILL No 64 - Under this bill local or county police may --
- simply by declaring that law and order are threatened, order any citizen or group of citizens or others off of the streets.

- set curfews as to hours of movements of individuals or groups.

SENATE BILL No. 1517 - (new excessive penalties were set up)
- If a person resents the actions of police officers and refuses to obey,arrest my follow. Once in jail, a trial follows in municipal court.
- The sentence - $300.00 and 90 days in jail -- either or both. (Under the old law the penalties were $100 fines or 30 days in jail.)

HOUSE BILL No. 546 - Prohibits picketing of all public buildings, streets, sidewalks and other places belonging to state, county or city.
- Penalties - fine of $500 and six months in jail -- either or both.

SENATE BILL No. 1545 - (Inspired by the Negro boycott of Canton Merchants.)
- The penalty for handing out a circular or handbill promoting a boycott -- fine $500 or six months in jail.

SENATE BILL No. 1526 - If there is defiance of police authorities --
- police forces could be called upon from other places to put down the "uprising." The armed police have the authority to use fire power, tear gas, vicious dogs, and other equipment.

Kenneth Toler in The Commercial Appeal, in reporting on laws enacted this year in Mississippi states the Sovereignty Commission has sent out a bulletin to law enforcement officers throughout the state, calling attention to laws already on the books...

LAWS ON THE CODE SECTION:

Section 2087-5 - Congregate and refuse to disperse when so ordered by a law enforcement officer, make insulting remarks or use physical acts to cause a disturbance. Maximu fine $200 and/ or four months in jail. If any person is injured or killed as a result os such disturbance the maximum penalty is ten years in prison.

Section 2087-7 - Prohibits any person on the premises of another, including restaurants, stores, hotels and picture shows, to interfere with customers or operation of the ventures. Maximum fine $500 and/or six months in jail.

Section 2089-5 Disturb the public peace or peace of others by loud or boisterous conduct or language. Maximum fine $500 and/or six months in jail.

Section 2155-4 - Make false statements to Federal authorities -- courts, Department of Justice, FBI, Civil Rights Commission - as to denial of constitutional rights by the state or its agents. Maximum fine $1,000 and/or five years in prison.

Section 2155-5 - Issue false statement, affidavit or complaint to Federal authorities that the complainant or other persons have been or are about to be deprived of constitutional rights by any officials of the state or its political subdivisions. Maximum fine $1,000 and/or five years in prison.

Section 2292-5 - Obstruct by force or threats lawful arrest. Maximum fine $500 and/or six months in jail.

Section 2155-6 - Make sworn false statement to Federal authorities as to denial of constitutional rights by the state or its agents with intent to deceive or cause an investigation. Maximum fine $1,000 and/or five years in prison.

Section 2296-5 - Wilful obstruction of public streets, etc., or restraining traffic. Maximum fine $500 and/or six months in jail.

Section 2296-6 - Intentional obstruction of public streets, etc., by vehicular traffic. Maximum fine $400 and/or four months in jail.

Section 2409-5 - Encourage any other person to remain on premises of another when forbidden to do so. Maximum fine $500 and/or six months in jail.

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Bills before the Legislature but not yet passed

A bill to investigate Tougaloo Christian College.

A bill to add 200 additional highway patrolmen to be trained and armed for handling riots.

Rep. Walter Hester, Natchez, introduced a bill to establish a Resettlement and Rehabilitation Commission to assist through loans and grants those persons, white and Negro, desiring to leave Mississippi.

(Hazel Brannon Smith in the Northside Reporter, reminds Mississippians that if 90% of the Negroes would leave Mississippi, there would be a loss of 787,038 in population that would affect Southern representation in Congress and affect the political and economic life of the State and Nation.)

(Out-of-state cars are stopped and passengers are questioned. Non-residents who cannot give satisfactory answers of their presence in Mississippi are taken, without warrents, to jail.)

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

A.

PLAY

Written by the students of the Mileston Freedom School at the end of the summer of 1964 in order to concentrate dramatically the past of the so called American Negro. The play was edited, produced and directed by Lon Hamer aided greatly by other members of the Mileston Freedom School teaching staff.

The play consists of five scenes from different periods in Negro History. Each scene is preceded by a narrator. In the play, the students who wrote the parts of the narrators acted these parts on stage.

The play was first performed before the Holmes County convention of the Freedom Democratic Party, August 1964.

SCENE I

The first narrator comes before the curtain in contemporary dress A spotlight shines on him from below.

First narrator:

I am the American Negro. I am the mind of a race of millions Who have suffered three hundred years of mental and physical slavery. My mind is sore and it aches, since I have known the sins of two races, and carried the hate of one. I have stretched out my hand in brotherhood and had it burned. My soul has sought reconciliation, but has found only a black wall of hate. I have asked only that I be recognized as a man, and in return, I have been beaten like a dog. My mind is weary with thoughts of the past, of what i once was, and what I am now. (exit)

Enter second narrator dressed in rich looking robes and holding a scroll prophet-like in his hand. He carries himself with great dignity.

Second narrator:

I am the Negro before slavery. My home is in Timbuktoo. I am a free man, my people are free, and our leaders are known by the world. We are still a proud race and hope for peace in this world. (exit)

The curtain opens on a scene of a richly dressed prince leading his people in song, singing a poem of the merits of his civilization, his fathers and their achievements. The people are quite moved by the song and respond in chorus with great enthusiasm. The stage is bathed in light.

Prince: My father is a king,
And his father before him.
I am his proud prince.

Chorus: We are a dark and beautiful race,
And will rule the earth some day in light.

Prince: My father is just,
Our kings are just,
And the world honors our reign.

Chorus: (repeat above)

Prince: My father's Fathers were men of corn,
And knew the day more that the night.

Chorus:

Prince: My father is a learned man,
And knows the stars of night.

Chorus:

Prince: Our enemies are the sons of night.
They come at us as the silent moon.

Chorus:

Prince: But we are strong, our arms are strong,
And we have the sword taken from the stone.

Chorus:

Lights. Curtain.

SCENE II

The third narrator appears on stage in a very dim light. His hands are bound in chains which also bind his feet. He is very stooped, his voice is weary, his clothes are sparse rags. While he speaks the sound of ratteling chains and moaning can be heard.

Third narrator:

I am the Negro on my way to America,
land of the brave and the free.
My chains are those of slavery.
I have been dragged from my home, and torn from my wife and child. Men now beat me for being a man, and praise me for acting like a dog. (exit)

The curtain now opens on a dimly lit scene of a slave gully on a ship headed for America. The sounds of pain and suffering increase, and such phrases as "My Lord" and "Oh my God" can be heard distinctly above the groaning cries. (As each slave speaks, he stand and turns to the audience.)

First Slave: What have I done to deserve these chains?

Second Slave: Who will deliver us from this evil?

Third Slave: When will the hand of death come upon us and give us peace?

Fourth Slave: Where are we going in this darkness, darkness so black that we cannot see the whip that bites deep into our skin.

Fifth Slave: What will become of us all? What will become of us?

The curtain closes and the sounds of moaning and dragging chains slowly fades into nothing.

SCENE III

The fourth narrator appears on the stage. He is a wild phrophet-like man, dressed in the poorest clothing. He carries a long staff, like the staff o Moses. He speaks in a shrill, almost hysterical voice.

Fourth Narrator:

I am the Negro in slavery. I am a slave to the white cotton king. My name is Nat Turner, and I will be hung for trying to lead my people out of their bonds. My people live in the field, and have spilt their sweat and blood in the field working under the white master's whip. Our lives are so full of pain and suffering, that death has become our only hope. We look to the Promise Land for our deliverance For we know there will be no rest here. (exit)

The curtain now opens on a sunlit field. An old woman comes across the stage dragging a huge sack of cotton behind her. She stops, turns and beckons to a small child who comes slowly up to her. She bends over and kisses the child then sighs heavily.

Woman Slave: Chile, you stay'long clos to me.
Ole Mars bin beatin up everyone
sin ole Nat Turner try to revolt.
Stay long close to me chile. You

You all I got, Billy joe, an' I is afraid days gonna take you from me soon.

Child: No, mamma. I don' wanna leave you. I don' wanna go. Don' let 'em take me, Mamma. I bin good, ain't I mamma.

Woman: Das alright, Billie Joe. Das alright. Ain't nothin' happen to us now. Jus' you stay clos to me.

Just as the woman and her child are about to leave the stage, a stalky white man comes in with a whip.

White Man: Git on you lazy ole nigger woman. You ain't even earned your food yet. I'll learn you not to loaf while youse my slave. You ain't gonna have your baby boy much longer. (exit all three, the white man cracking his whip.)

SCENE V

The fifth narrator appears on stage carrying an American flag on a broken stick.

Fifth Narrator:

The Civil War came, and we thought our deliverance was at hand. When the troops from the north marched through this land, we joined them and fought in the army that was to liberate our people. Before the war, many of our people had run away to freedom in the north, but many more had to stay behind. After the war, it seemed as though we were free. We could vote, hold office, and walk the streets of this land, as free men, a free people. But we were deceived. After the soldiers from the north returned home, our old masters brought a new

slavery down upon us. It wore such names as segregation and inequality, and it was enforced with terror.
(exit)

The curtain opens on a barren stage decorated only by two posters, before which two men stand; the first sign reads; WHITE ONLY, and the second; NO NEGROES MAY REGISTER. The men trun to the audience and speak.

First man: (At the WHITE ONLY sign)

This sign means I am being denied priviliges which are mine to use. It does not mean separate but equal. It does mean separate and evil. This sign is a part of the new slavery. We call it Jim Crow.

Second Man:

This sign denies me my equal rights. I am not allowed to vote, but I am allowed to pay taxes. If I try to vote, I could lose my job, my home, and even my family. Would you vote?

Curtain:

SCENE V

The sixth narrator appears on stage dressed in a soldiers uniform. He takes of his hat and speaks;

Sixth narrator;

We have just helped fight World War I,
A war that was supposed to make the world safe for
Democracy. Mississippi must not be part of that
world, for after World War I, she became even more
of a terrorist state. In one year alone seventy of
our young men were hung. But, we only hung our heads
and cried. Our tears did not make anything better.
When we began to buy land, the white man's terror grew.
Again we hung our heads and cried and did nothing. But
there comes a time when we must stop running, a time
when we must turn around and face the man who kills our
sons in the night, who takes our daughters by day, and
who destroys our lives as we would live them year in and
year out. There comes a time when we must stop looking
upon ourselves as dogs, and realize that we too are human
beings and have dignity of our own to preserve. (exit)

The curtain now opens on a room, barren and cold looking.
Two men are talking across a table lit up only by an oil lan-
tern. The one man looks scared and the other defiant.

Jessie:

They killed my son! They ain't goin' to get away with that if
I can help it. It's time dey stop dere killin'. Ain't nobody
goin't to try an' stop 'em?

William:

Keep your voice down! You's talkin' crazy now, Jessie. Maybe
one of dem out der now listinin' to all you's sayin'. You know
it don't do no good to go on a talkin' dat way. You's crazy
man.

Jessie:

I ain't crazy! I'm jest sick, William, I'm sick and tired, and I'm sick and tired of being sick and tired! Dey got my boy, and I'm gonna demand dat somethin' be done about it. I ain't afraid no more, William, I ain't afraid no more. What you lookin' so scary about? you know what McWilliams son did to your daughter. Else where did she get that little yaller baby?

William:

You shut your mouth, Jessie, or you won't be talkin' anymore at all! I'm gettin' away from you and your crazy talk. It don't do no good Jesse, it just don't do no good. (he gets up and leaves the room.) (the lamp is blown out, and the curtain closes with jessie staring into darkness.)

The curtain opens on a half-moonlit scene in a forest. Voices are heard shouting taunts and Jessie is violently dragged on stage by a rope around his neck. His executors are dressed in the robe of the Klan.

First Klansman:
You've been talkin' mighty big, Jessie boy. Now why you wanna go an' upset all your friends wit all dat talk. We's goin' to hang you Jessie boy, jest to shut your mouth.

Second Klansman:
There's too many of you smart niggers these days. We won't here no more of it. Talkin' on about freedom and justice. We're the law here and we decide who get freedom and who get justice. What you got to say for yourself, boy?

Jessie:

Nothin', cept that some day we is gonna be free, wedder you dl like it or not. We're on the road to Freedom now and there's plenty of half men like you waiting to take us, but we're marching righ on now. Some day you'll see us all free as you if not freer.

Third Klansman:
Shut dat nigger up! He's too ignorant to live!

All together:
Kill the nigger! Lynch 'em!

The lights go out. A cracking sound is heard. The curtain closes and a spotlight from behind the curtain silhouettes Jessie's hanging bodyl The lights go off, and there is a long period of silence before the first narrator comes onstage under a spotlight.

First Narrator:

I am the American Negro. You have seen my past, you know my past, and have seen the troubles I've seen. Today we have seen many men die because they stood for their rights. Today we have seen three men die for joining in our fight. Tommorow many more will die, and many more will suffer, but we've begun, and we're not turning back, and some day, somehow, WE SHALL OVERCOME.

(First narrator leads audience in singing, "We shall overcome,"

THE END

COFO
1017 Lynch St.
Jackson, Mississippi

Memorandum

TO: MISSISSIPPI COMMUNITY CENTER WORKERS
FROM: Miss. Summer Project Staff
SUBJECT: Overview of the Community Centers

The community centers are conceived as a permanent institution rather than a summer "crash" program. The centers will ultimately provide a structure for a wide range of educational and recreational programs. In doing this, they will not only serve basic needs of Negro communities now virtually ignored by the social services provided by the State, but they will form a dynamic focus for developing community organization.

For the summer project, we hope to start community centers in 17 locations, spread over 16 counties. The arrangements are still not final in some of those locations, but most of them are assured (as of May 25). Community centers will start out in houses, old schoolhouses, and church basements, for the most part. One is in an old Day Care Center: another occupies the second story of a downtown business building. We hope that the community centers will eventually occupy permanent buildings, and two centers already have plans for such new buildings. Until the program is actually serving the community, however, we cannot attract the money for nice buildings.

The community centers are planned as a base for a battery of programs. Briefly, these programs are:

1. Library--a small lending library, averaging 10,000 volumes for each center.
2. Recreation--films and discussion groups for adults, dancing and sports (ping-pong, etc. inside, and outdoor sports such as baseball where there is a playing field) for teenagers.
3. Day care--singing, games and stories for small children. Refreshments where we can afford them.
4. Literacy and basic education--tutorial study for adults, and remedial study for students.
5. Citizenship--in four areas: voting regulations, duties of citizens, Negro history and American history.
6. Health--informal classes in the general areas of prenatal care, infant care, saniatation and public health services.
7. Drama, dancing, arts and crafts, music, etc,--depending upon the talents of the staff and interested local people.
8. Federal programsppeducational service to inform Mississippians of the help that is available to them if they apply for it.
9. Home improvement--home repair, sewing, etc.
10. Vocational training--probably will have to be deferred until the centers are well-established in the communities, and the employment situation is somewhat more open, but still a very large part of our conception of the community center programs.

The community centers pesitions should be regarded as jobs of initiating and training. Each center will start with a staff of 6-10 summer volunteers. During the summer, the staff will have the responsibility of organizing as many of these programs as there is need and resource for, so that there can be a good start.

FREEDOM PRIMER

NO. 2

The Freedom Vote

and

The Right to Vote

What is The Freedom Vote?

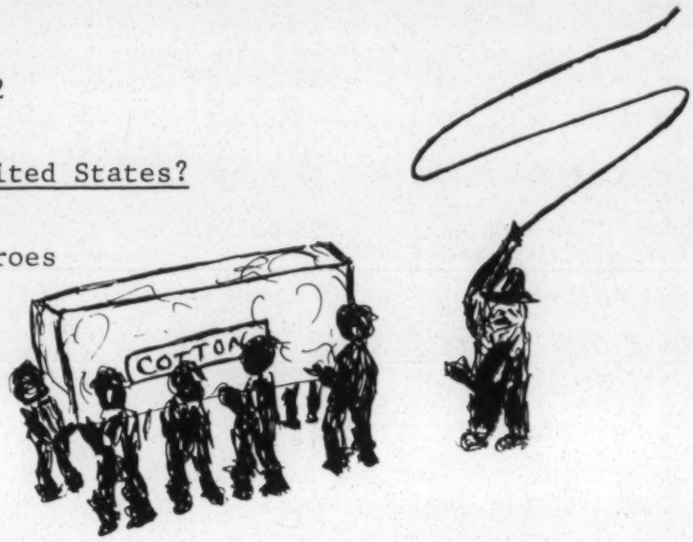
The FREEDOM VOTE is a special election October 30 and 31 and November 1 and 2. Anyone who is 21 years or older and lives in Mississippi can vote in the Freedom Vote. In the Freedom Vote it does not matter whether you are Negro or white. You do not have to be Registered at the Courthouse to vote in the Freedom Vote. And you do not have to pay poll tax either. Everyone who wants to vote can vote in the Freedom Vote.

Why is The Freedom Vote Necessary?

The Freedom Vote is necessary because most Negroes in Mississippi cannot vote in the Regular Election on November 3. They cannot vote because they are not allowed to REGISTER TO VOTE at the Courthouse. Because only a few Negroes are allowed to vote, most Negroes cannot help choose the people who are in the government.

That is why the Freedom Vote is necessary. Because you do not have to be Registered at the Courthouse to vote in the Freedom Vote, everybody in Mississippi can vote in the Freedom Vote to say who they think should be in the government.

Who has the Right To Vote in The United States?



Before the Civil War, most Negroes could not vote because they were slaves. But the slaves were freed in 1863 during the Civil War. So, at the end of the Civil War in 1865, Negroes in Mississippi and everywhere in the South began to vote. And in 1870 the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES was changed to say that no one could be stopped from voting just because they were Negro.

Then why can so many white people vote in Mississippi when so few Negroes are allowed to vote?

Who Decides Who Can Vote in Mississippi?

The Constitution of the United States does not say that everybody has the right to vote. The Constitution says that each state can decide who should be allowed to vote in that state. That means that the Government of Mississippi decides who should be allowed to vote in Mississippi.

But in Mississippi the government is controlled by the Regular Democratic Party. So, the Regular Democratic Party really decides who can vote in Mississippi.

How Does the Regular Democratic Party Stop Negroes from Voting?

There are many ways that the Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi stops Negroes from voting. The Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi makes people do many things before they can vote.

The most important thing that people have to do before they can vote

is to register at the courthouse. Both Negroes and whites are supposed to register before they can vote.

But most Negroes are not allowed to register at the Courthouse. Many times the sheriff or the police tells Negroes that they should not register. And sometimes the registrar or the county clerk won't let Negroes fill out the Registration Form.

The Regular Democratic Party put many questions on the Registration Form. They made some of the questions very hard to answer. You need to go to school many years to be able to know the answers to some of these questions. The Regular Democratic Party knows that many Negroes cannot go to school in Mississippi, and they know that the schools for Negroes are bad. They know that if they put hard questions on the Registration Form, it makes it hard for Negroes to pass the Registration Test.

Sometimes the registrar or county clerk just tells Negroes "You did not pass," and does not even say what answers were wrong on the test. Sometimes the registrar or county clerk even tells Negroes who have been to school for many years that they did not pass the test. The Regular Democratic Party does not want Negroes to vote, so the registrars tell Negroes that they do not pass the test, even if Negroes answer all the questions right.

And sometimes even if Negroes can register, they are not allowed to vote. To vote for sheriff or mayor or governor you have to pay the

poll tax. But many Negroes do not have enough to pay the poll tax. And sometimes the sheriff will not let them pay the poll tax even if they have the money.

So it is difficult and often dangerous for Negroes to try to Register and Vote in Mississippi. Sometimes people who try to register and vote are beaten at the courthouse. And sometimes they are arrested. And sometimes they are fired from their jobs.

Does the Regular Democratic Party Stop Negroes from Being in the Government?

To be in the government in Mississippi you have to be able to vote. So by stopping most Negroes in Mississippi from voting, the Regular Democratic Party also keeps most Negroes from running for government office. That means that it keeps Negroes from being candidates for sheriff, mayor, judge, governor, state representative and state senator.

But there are other ways that the Regular Democratic Party keeps Negroes from running for office. The Freedom Democratic Party candidates -- Aaron Henry, Fannie Lou Hamer, Annie Devine, and Victoria Gray -- all tried to be in the REGULAR ELECTION on NOVEMBER 3. They got many people who can vote to sign a paper called a PETITION saying that they should be on the ballot in November.

But the Regular Democratic Party leaders told the Freedom Democratic Party candidates that they had to have the county clerk or the registrar say that the names on the Petitions were all right. For a name to be all right, the person who signed had to be able to vote. Many registrars refused to say that the names on the Petitions were all right. So, Mr.

Henry, Mrs. Hamer, Mrs. Devine and Mrs. Gray probably will not be on the ballot in the Regular Election on November 3.

What Would Happen if Negroes could Vote in Mississippi?

In Mississippi there are almost as many Negro people as there are white people. So if Negroes could vote there would be almost as many Negro voters as white voters. But because most Negroes cannot register, there are 522,000 white people in Mississippi who can vote and only 28,000 Negroes who are allowed to vote.

If Negroes could vote in Mississippi, they would have as much say about who could be in the government as the white people. And if Negroes could vote, they could run for government offices, too. Then there would be Negro sheriffs, mayors, judges, and congressmen, too.

Were Negroes Ever Allowed to Vote in Mississippi?

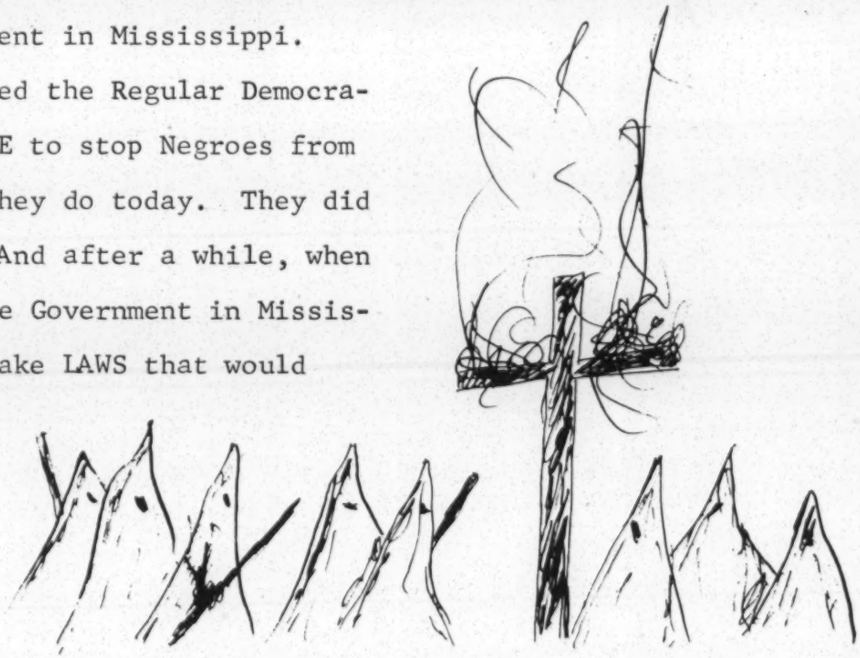
The leaders of the Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi are afraid to let Negroes vote. They know there was a time when Negroes were allowed to vote in Mississippi. At the end of the Civil War, in 1865, a great many Negroes began to vote in Mississippi and all over the South. Then Negroes and whites decided together who should be in the government.

When Negroes were allowed to vote, they also had the right to run for government office. And after the Civil War many Negroes did run for Government office. There were Negro sheriffs as well as white sheriffs, and there were Negro mayors and judges as well as white mayors and judges. Negro people and white people sat together in the Mississippi Government in Jackson. And Negroes and whites went together to Washington to

represent Mississippi in the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Why Did Negroes Stop Voting in Mississippi?

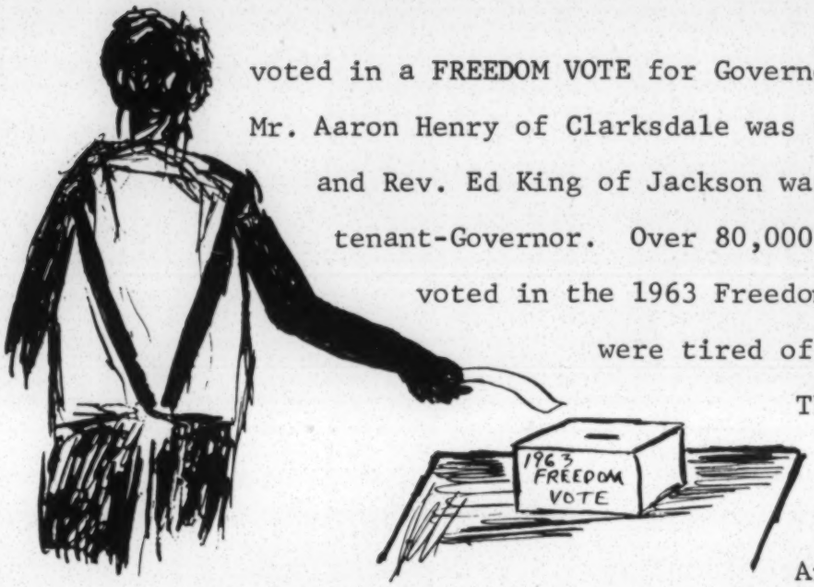
Negroes voted in Mississippi in all the elections for ten years -- from 1865 to 1875. But in 1875 the Regular Democratic Party began to get control of the Government in Mississippi. The people who supported the Regular Democratic Party used VIOLENCE to stop Negroes from voting, just the way they do today. They did this for many years. And after a while, when they had control of the Government in Mississippi, they began to make LAWS that would keep Negroes from voting. They made laws about registration and the poll tax so that Negroes and many poor white people would not be able to vote.



In 1890, the Regular Democratic Party changed the CONSTITUTION OF MISSISSIPPI so that most Negroes could not vote. And most Negroes have not been able to vote in the elections since then. For almost 75 years, Negroes have not been able to vote in Mississippi -- and the Regular Democratic Party has won all the elections.

What was the 1963 Freedom Vote?

But last year, in 1963, Negroes voted again in Mississippi. They



voted in a FREEDOM VOTE for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. Aaron Henry of Clarksdale was the candidate for Governor, and Rev. Ed King of Jackson was the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. Over 80,000 Negroes in Mississippi voted in the 1963 Freedom Vote to show that they were tired of not being able to vote. They said they wanted Aaron Henry and Ed King to be in the Government in Jackson. And they said they did not want Paul Johnson and the Regular Democratic Party.

The 1963 Freedom Vote was important in another way, too. Because after the Freedom Vote many people felt they wanted to keep on voting and running their own candidates. So they came together in Jackson in January of 1964 and they started the FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Why Was the Freedom Democratic Party Started?

The Freedom Democratic Party was started so that Negroes could say what they want the government to do -- just the way they did after the Civil War. The Freedom Democratic Party is working so that Negroes will be able to vote again and run for government office again in Mississippi.

The Freedom Democratic Party is open to all people in Mississippi -- black or white. And the Freedom Democratic Party says that all people should be allowed to vote in Mississippi, no matter what their color.

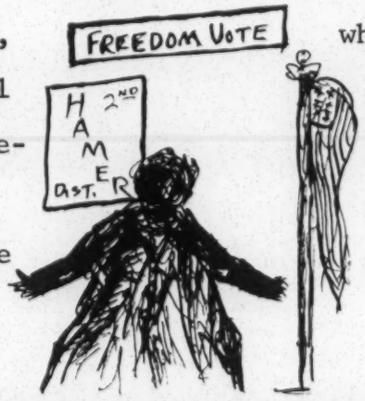
The Freedom Democratic Party wants

to give everybody a voice in Mississippi again. It wants everybody to take part in politics. That is why if you work in the Freedom Democratic Party it does not matter if you have any money, or if your family is well known, or if you have been to school very much. In the Freedom Democratic Party the only important thing is that you want to vote and that you are willing to work so you, and everybody else, can vote.

Who are the Freedom Democratic Party Candidates?

In the Freedom Vote the Freedom Democratic Party is running candidates for the Senate and the House of Representatives in Washington. All of the Freedom Democratic Party candidates have worked for many years so that they and everybody else can vote. They have all registered to vote. And they have all had difficulties because they tried to vote.

Aaron Henry, who is running for the Senate, has worked for many years to get people to register to vote. Mr. Henry has a Drug Store in Clarksdale. And because he has tried to get Negroes to register to vote, people have broken the windows in his drug store and shot into his house. But Mr. Henry keeps on working to get people to vote because he knows that that is the only way that Negroes in Mississippi can have a voice again.



Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, who is running for Congress in the Second Congressional District, used to be a plantation worker near Ruleville. But when she tried to register to vote, the plantation owner told her she couldn't work there any more. The police in Winona beat Mrs. Hamer because she works for voter registration. But Mrs. Hamer keeps on working so people can vote -- the same way Aaron Henry does.

Mrs. Annie Devine is a housewife in Canton. She knows how the police in Canton beat people who try to get Negroes to register to vote. And how people come at night to throw bombs and burn crosses at the homes of Negroes. But Mrs. Devine knows that she has to keep on working for the right to vote if Negroes are going to have a chance to help choose who is in the government -- the way they did after the Civil War.

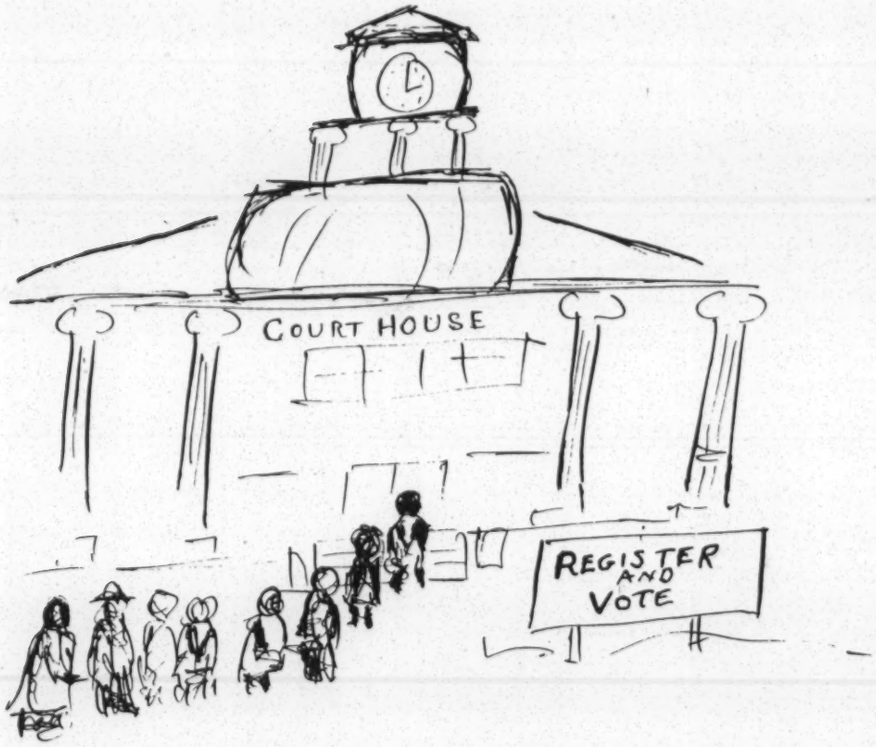
Mrs. Victoria Gray knows about the problems of voter registration and bad bad education for Negroes in Mississippi. Mrs. Gray used to teach school in Hattiesburg. She knows that Mississippi has the worst schools of any state in the country. And she knows that that is why so many people cannot read, and why so many Negroes cannot pass the voter registration test. Mrs. Gray was one of the first people to allow civil rights workers to use her home in Hattiesburg. Mrs. Gray knows that Negroes will have to be able to vote again before they can get good education and good houses and good jobs in Mississippi.

Why is it Important to Vote in the Freedom Vote?

The Freedom Vote on October 30, 31 and November 1 and 2 gives Negroes in Mississippi a chance again to say who they believe should be in the government. The Freedom Vote is one of the first chances in almost 100 years for all the people in Mississippi -- black or white -- to say "No!" to the Regular Democratic Party. And to say "Yes!" to the right of everyone in Mississippi to register at the courthouse and to vote.

If you vote in the Freedom Vote, all the people in Mississippi and in the United States will know that you want to vote again -- just like Negroes did between 1865 and 1875. And if you vote in the Freedom Vote, then people everywhere will know that Negroes are working together again all over Mississippi -- just like after the Civil War.

And that is what the Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi is most afraid of. Because it knows that if Negroes start working together and voting in the Freedom Vote, they won't ever stop. They will keep on working until everyone in Mississippi -- black and white -- can Register at the Courthouse and Vote.



WHAT IS COFO?

MISSISSIPPI:

STRUCTURE OF THE MOVEMENT

AND

PRESENT OPERATIONS

COFO PUBLICATION #6

Labor Donated

Mississippi: Structure of the Movement, Present Operations, and Prospectus for this summer.

What is COFO?

The Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations is a federation of all the national civil rights organizations active in Mississippi, local political and action groups and some fraternal and social organizations. Anyone active under any of these groupings is entitled to attend COFO conventions and participate in policy-making decisions of the organization. The COFO staff, consisting of anyone working full time with any civil rights organization in Mississippi, implements the decisions of the COFO conventions, and prepares recommendations for the consideration of the COFO convention. Below the level of the statewide COFO convention, there are district organizations corresponding to the five Congressional districts. These district organizations are presently in the planning stages for practical purposes. The staff, however, is broken down into Congressional districts, with five district directors; this organization structure actually functions. The state organization has four standing committees: Welfare and Relief, Political Action, Finance and Federal Programs. The district organizations have, or will have, similar standing committees. Dr. Aaron E. Henry of Clarksdale, State President of the NAACP, is President of the Council of Federated Organizations. Robert Moses, Field Secretary and Mississippi Project Director for SNCC, is the Program Director, who supervises the Mississippi staff and is elected by it. David Dennis, Mississippi Field Secretary for CORE, is Assistant Program Director, and is similarly elected.

How is COFO financed?

The expenses for COFO's projects are paid by direct grants from national civil rights groups as these groups volunteer to contribute. This accounts for nearly all of COFO's income. Expenses of staff workers are paid by the national civil rights groups also, the arrangements varying with the group. At present, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee supports COFO projects in the First, Second, Third, and Fifth Congressional Districts as well as the state COFO office in Jackson. The Congress of Racial Equality assumes responsibility, on a direct-to-the-project basis, for the Fourth Congressional District. COFO does not solicit funds for itself, by agreement with the civil rights organizations which support it, for it is felt that it would thus compete with the supporting groups. Negligible amounts are sent directly to COFO, however, and these moneys are not credited to any national civil rights organization. Usually such small donations are earmarked for particular projects, such as the book drive or welfare relief (Food for Freedom) funds, and are dispensed according to the direction of the donor.

What is COFO's relationship to National Civil Rights Organizations?

COFO represents the effort of all civil rights workers in Mississippi to coordinate their efforts in one direction for maximum efficiency. Staff members, however, are paid by separate organizations and do not lose the organizational identity or their affiliation with the national office of whatever organization they work for. SNCC and CORE workers work together on joint "COFO" projects, and thus must make all plans

and decisions in common; on the project they are not separate. But they maintain their special relationship with the organization which hired and pays them.

COFO - Short History

COFO has evolved through three distinct phases in its short history. In its first phase it was little more than an ad hoc committee called together after the Freedom Rides of 1961, in a successful effort to obtain a meeting with Governor Ross Barnett. This committee of Mississippi civil rights leaders proved a convenient vehicle for channeling the voter registration programs of the Voter Education Project into Mississippi. This injection of funds led to the second phase of COFO as an umbrella for voter registration drives in the Mississippi Delta, and other isolated citics in Mississippi. During this period, beginning in February 1962, COFO added a small full-time staff, mostly SNCC and a few CORE workers, and developed a voter registration program. The staff worked with local NAACP leaders, and SCLC citizenship teachers in an effort to give the Mississippi Negroes the broadest possible support. COFO continued essentially as a committee with a staff and a program until the fall of 1963. There were many doubts about the validity of COFO during this period; some thought it should be abandoned. But always, we come back to the inescapable fact that the Negro people in Mississippi needed some organization which could belong to them (as opposed to their belonging to it) which would serve as a unifying force among the isolated Negro communities. The emergence of the Ruleville Citizenship group, and the Holmes County Voters League, testified to the possibility of starting strong local groups. We felt the need to develop horizontal ties among these groups, with the strongest common denominator possible within the general aims of the Civil Rights Movement. Thus there was continuing effort on our part to cut across county and organizati al lines and have people from different areas meet with each other, t sponsor county, regional and statewide meetings, to bring students together from different parts of the state for workshops, to help send groups outside of the state to meetings, conferences, workshops and SCLC citizenship schools - anything to help break the despair of aloneness the isolated Mississippi Negro feels. During this second phase we began to feel more and more that the "Committee" could be based in a network of local adult groups sprung from the Movement as we worked the state.

We are presently in the third stage which really began with the Freedom Vote for Governor campaign of the fall of 1963. This marked our first statewide effort and coincided with the establishment of a t statewide office in Jackson and a trunk line to reach into the Mississippi Delta and hill country. During this stage we have broadene the staff to include more CORE and SNCC workers and more citizenship teachers of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, have estab shed working relationsh with a great many local organizations, and l established in our own minds the validity and necessity of COFO.

We envisage the fourth stage in which the funds, program and staff for the long pull are worked out with the major civil rights groups and other interested organizations and individuals across the count in which we reach down into every Negro community to organize and train local people to lead Mississippi through the next difficult years of transition.

What are COFO's programs?

COFO works in two major areas. Most of its resources are directed toward various voters' activities. It has a large and growing number of programs, however, which come under a classification of "educational and social". Each program can be described briefly.

The "educational and social" programs are the Freedom Schools, Federal Programs, Literacy, Work-Study, Food and Clothing, and Community Centers projects.

A. The Freedom Schools are planned for the summer of 1964. Freedom Schools will be geared to high-school age children and will run for six weeks during the summer. The students will be given remedial instruction in basic educational skills, and exposed to cultural influences which are not normally available to them, but the main emphasis of the schools will be to implant habits of free thinking and ideas of how a free society works. Hopefully, too, the schools will lay the groundwork for a statewide youth movement, which would coordinate projects of special interest to young people, such as a statewide school boycott in sympathy with voter registration efforts.

B. The goal of the federal programs project is to make the programs of the federal government which are designed to alleviate poverty and ignorance reach the people of Mississippi. Such programs as the Area Redevelopment Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act, and such bureaus as the Farmers Home Administration and the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training cannot benefit the people of Mississippi as things now stand because the normal channel of information, the State agencies, do not properly present these programs. The federal government insists that any federal aid be given on a nondiscriminatory and integrated basis, and the State of Mississippi is not reconciled to this. So private agencies must act as liason between the federal programs and the people they are designed to help. COFO projects in this program so far have included a Conference on Jobs and Job Training, where leading industrial and governmental officials discussed the expansion of job training opportunities in Mississippi in connection with the space facility now being built by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and a planned conference with the National Sharecroppers Fund to present agricultural opportunities to Mississippi farmers scheduled for the end of February.

C. The literacy project at Tougaloo College is a research project under the direction of John Diebold and Associates company, and is financed by an anonymous grant to Tougaloo College. The goal of the project is to write self-instructional materials which will teach adult illiterates in lower social and economic groups to read and write. Such educational materials do not now exist, and they must be developed before there can be any comprehensive program to eliminate illiteracy in Mississippi. Staff workers are being trained to develop these materials under the direction of the Diebold group.

D. The Work-Study project is an attempt to solve one of the more pressing staff problems in the Southern Movement, that of the conflict between full-time civil rights work and school for the college-age worker. Under the work-study program, students spend a year in full-time field work for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, under the direction of COFO field staff, and with special academic work designed to complement their field work and keep them familiar with learning and intelle-

tual discipline. After this year of field work, they get a full scholarship to Tougaloo College for one year. The academic expenses of the project, both the Toutaloo scholarships and the first-year scholastic program, are financed by a grant from the Field Foundation. Project and personal expenses of the work-study group during the first year of field work are financed by SNCC. the group plans to expand next year to other campuses, but this year it is based in Jackson and Tougaloo.

E. The food and clothing program is a privately-financed distribution program of the necessities of life for persons whose needs are so basic that they cannot feed their families one meal a day per person.

Food

The adequacy of dietary levels are measured by two criteria: caloric intake (quantity) and nutritional content (quality). The caloric intake of some--not all--poor rural Mississippians is at some--not all--times sufficient. These times are usually 1. when they receive government commodities, 2. when the tenant or low-income farmer receives money from his cotton and other minor crops, usually in early and mid-fall, and 3. when landlords give credit to tenant families, usually from late March to July. The rest of the time the poor rural families, the under- and un-employed, fare as best they can. Usually this means tightening their belts, surviving off one meal a day, adults going without so that children may eat--in short, it means starving. Even when people get enough feed, it is largely starches and fats. There is great reliance on corn bread, sweet potatoes, rice and fat or side pork. Even the government commodities are not sufficient for adequate nutrition. The poor in Mississippi do not get enough protein, calcium, essential vitamins and minerals for proper nutrition.

Our goal, of course, is to see that these people are ultimately paid a living wage--but malnutrition can be cut down by distribution of a few food commodities and massive distribution of inexpensive vitamins.

Clothing

The clothing situation of both the urban and rural poor is desperate. Mothers do not go around the house in dirty robes or ragged dresses or even in their slips because they are basically unclean, but because they have nothing to change into. Fathers don't lounge around in the filthy, smelly overalls they work in during the day because they are too lazy to change their clothes, but because they have nothing else to put on. Children do not walk around barefoot because they want to pat their feet in the Mississippi mud, but because their parents cannot buy them shoes And in the winter the Mississippi mud becomes hard, frozen ground.

Shelter

Many people in the deep South live in housing unfit for human habitation the 1960 census showed that in Mississippi over 50% of the rural occupied farm housing was classified as either deteriorating or dilapidated. Furthermore, more than 50% of the rural occupied homes have no piped water and more than 75% have no flush toilets, bathtubs or showers. For Negroes the housing situation is even worse. The 1960 census showed that in Mississippi, 66% of all Negro housing was "dilapidated or deteriorating"--71% in rural areas. More than 90% of rural Negro homes in Mississippi have neither flush toilets nor bathing or shower facilities

COFO's food and clothing program cannot cope with poverty this serious (State welfare aid is totally inadequate), but it helps, especially in

some especially pressing areas. The program gives special consideration to persons in need because of their participation in other COFO programs, such as attempting to register to vote. Food distribution is along the same lines as government commodity programs administered by the counties. There is presently no vitamin distribution, but it could probably be arranged if administrative difficulties could be resolved (i.e. securing the cooperation of doctors). Clothing distribution involves a national coordinating effort. Sympathetic persons and groups collect clothing in drives all over the country and ship them to Mississippi with the cooperation of a national relief agency. At present COFO has no program to deal with the housing conditions of Mississippi, but when the community centers are better organized, COFO can begin a program of home-repair workshops and volunteer youth corps assisting people to repair their homes, all working out of a community center.

F. The community centers program projects a network of community centers accross the state. Conceived as a long-range institution, these centers will provide a structure for a sweeping range of recreational and educational programs. In doing this, they will not only serve basic needs of Negro communities now ignored by the state's racist political structure, but will form a dynamic focus for the development of community organization. The educational features of the centers will include job training programs for the unskilled and unemployed, literacy and remedial programs for adults as well as young people, public health programs such as prenatal and infant care, basic nutrition, etc. to alleviate some of the serious health problems of Negro Mississippians (for instance, Negro infant mortality rates in some counties are so high as to invite comparison with "underdeveloped" nations.), adult education workshops which would deal with family relations, federal service programs, home improvement and other information vital to the needs of Negro communities, and also extracurricular programs for grade school and high school students which would not only supplement educational deficiencies but would provide opportunity for critical thought and creative expression. Each center would have a well-rounded library--to which Negroes in many communities now have no access.

Though the community centers program is primarily educational, some of each center's resources would be used to provide much-needed recreational facilities for the Negro community. In most communities in Mississippi the only recreation outside of taverns is the movies, and for Negroes this means segregated movies. If there is a movie theater in the Negro community, it is old, run down, and shows mostly out-of-date, third-rate Hollywood films. The film program of the centers will not only provide a more agreeable atmosphere for movies, it will bring films of serious content which are almost never shown in Mississippi, where ideas are rigidly controlled. Other recreational offerings will be music appreciation classes, arts and crafts workshops, drama groups, discussion clubs on current events, literature and Negro achievement, etc., pen pal clubs, organized sports (where equipment allows), and occasional special performances by outside entertainers, such as folk festivals, jazz concerts, etc. Organized story-telling for young children will be entertaining, and will introduce them to the resources of the center's library and to reading for pleasure in general.

The development of this wide range of social and educational programs has emerged almost inevitably out of the urgent necessity to create institutions outside the existing structure to meet the vastly neglected needs of the Negro communities of Mississippi. But COFO's primary objective remains in the area of voter education, because it is only by the creation of a broadly-based and informed electorate that Mississippi's system of racial oppression can be destroyed ultimately. Thus, most of COFO's staff work is presently in the area of voter registration. Through neighborhood canvassing, mass meetings, and citizenship classes teaching the difficult registration form, COFO's staff members work continuously to encourage as many Negroes as possible to register to vote. In areas where there are already local organizations COFO workers provide incentive and technical skill to voting efforts. But often the COFO worker must work in areas where there are no established community groups and in such places he must undertake the organization of the local people into a durable civic structure.

All this voter activity must operate under extremely hostile conditions In the past two years alone, hundreds of civil rights workers have been arrested in the course of promoting registration efforts: for distributing leaflets ("littering the sidewalks", "publishing libel", etc.), for picketing, and for an untold variety of trumped-up charges ranging from armed robbery to traffic violations. In addition, workers have been beaten frequently, often by local or state officials, and sometime even shot. (One, Jimmy Travis, missed death by inches last winter when he was hit with a bullet in the neck.) But local citizens are often the worst victims of the atmosphere of political oppression which exist in Mississippi, for they are not only subject to harassment, intimidation and arrest, but economic reprisals as well. Countless numbers have lost their jobs, been evicted from plantations, or had their credit suddenly discontinued for the simple act of attempting to register. But despite these conditions, thousands of Negroes, in the past two years have filed into county courthouses around the state in an effort to become qualified voters. In Mississippi, however, to attempt to register is rarely a guarentee of gaining the right to vote. By means of arbitrary powers endowed in local registrars, the state has ensured the systematic rejection of Negro applicants. For instance, one requirement for successful registration is a correct interpretation of a section of the Mississippi constitution. As a result, of some sixty thousand Negroes who have attempted to register in the past four years, only about six thousand have been inscribed on the voting rolls.

The frustration of regular efforts to register voters led to the "Freecom" concept of political action. In the fall of 1963, COFO held a statewide nominating convention to choose a candidate for Governor of Mississippi. Dr. Aaron Henry, state president of the NAACP, was nominated. His campaign was, of course, unofficial--COFO provided its own machinery for voting--but it served a number of very important purposes.

The first was to lay a groundwork for political organization around the state for serious candidates for public office. Secondly, the campaign dramatized a few basic truths about Negro participation in Mississippi politics.

1. The first contention was that Negroes do not vote because of justified fears of physical and economic intimidation and also

because of discriminatory registration practices, not because they are apathetic and have no idea of where their political interests lie. The Freedom Vote clearly supported this contention: when they were given a chance, 83,000 Negro Mississippians did in fact vote.

2. The second contention was that if Negroes were registered without discrimination and intimidation, they not only would vote, but that their votes would change the results of Mississippi elections, and therefore of the political structure of the state, now dominated by white, conservative racists. Aaron Henry's 83,000 votes certainly would have influenced an election where the losing official candidate received only about 130,000 votes, and the winner arount 200,000, if they had been registered.

The third reason for the campaign was to provide a forum for discussion of the real issues in Mississippi; discussion of this kind is not possible in the context of regular Mississippi political campaigns.

Perhaps the most significant result of the Freedom Vote campaign was in the area of organizational development. For the first time a genuinely statewide operation took effect. A central office was set up in Jackson to coordinate activities around the state. The five congressional district offices, established in September, became organizational bases for penetration of neighboring cities and towns and in practice expanded their operational scope beyond the city in which they were based. The campaign workers made contact with cities and towns previously untouched by the movemtnt.

The Freedom Registration program grew logically out of the Freedom Vote idea. The plan of the Freedom Registration is to register a large proportion of the 425,000 Negroes of voting age in Mississippi on the COFO Freedom Registration books, using COFO requirements, rather than the official state registration requirements. The COFO requirements would be the same as the state requirements concerning age, residence and good moral character, but COFO registration would have no literacy or poll tax requirements. Local people will serve as registrars in every community, under the supervision of a County Board of Registrars. Polling places will be put wherever people normally go--churches, business places, lodge halls, beauty parlors and barbershops, etc. Registration books would be open in the evenings and on Saturday and Sunday. The idea would be to encourage registration, not to make it difficult and inconvenient. This will be consistent with our belief that voting should by the civic authorities, as the taking of oral polio vaccine is.

In the fall elections, those persons who are freedom registered and who produce their freedom registration cards, will be entitled to vote in the freedom elections. Negro candidates will run against the regular party candidates in both the freedom and the official elections, and the comparison of totals is expected to prove that Negroes are now denied what would be a significant voice in Mississippi political affairs. In these political campaigns, where there is no question of actually winning public office, the question is raised as to why put forth all the effort. Besides the value of the campaigns in organizing Negro communities, and the dramatic demonstration of the denial of the right to vote, there is one more important reason. One of the most effective ways to create interest in voter registration is to have candidates

running who discuss the real issues publicly, and who attract the attention and interest of the Negro community simply because there is great novelty in a Negro candidate for public office. The discussion of the issues is especially important because regular party campaigns do not normally allow a forum for honest debate of the state's real problems. Also the mass communications media do not permit those who oppose the official economic and racial policies a wide audience for their views. A political campaign with federal guarantees of equal time is one of the few opportunities to reach a large audience with an accurate presentation of the COFO goals and programs. Negro candidates in this fall's elections will create this discussion, at least in the Negro community.

Related to the Freedom election activity is a planned challenge of the Mississippi Democratic party. In 1960, both parties published civil rights platforms which, if implemented, would have brought racial and economic justice closer to reality. They were, however, not enacted. In 1964, the civil rights organizations must bring this discrepancy of promise and accomplishment to the attention of the American public. There will be activity at the national conventions around this theme. COFO in Mississippi plans to send a "freedom" delegation to challenge the right of Eastland Democrats to represent the people of Mississippi. Beginning with precinct conventions in February which send delegates to the county conventions, then to the district and state conventions and finally to the Democratic National Convention, COFO plans to challenge the segregationist Democratic delegates on all levels and over as large an area as possible. The challenge will be based on: 1. attempts to participate in the regular party conventions, 2. presumed expulsion, 3. duplication of party conventions in rival, "freedom" proceedings, 4. election of rival, freedom delegates at all levels, and 5. presentation of the tate Freedom delegates at the National Democratic Convention to challenge the seating of the regular delegates. The most recent COFO convention also voted to challenge the Republican National Convention in some more modified manner, but more specific plans have not yet been made.

Much of this projected political and educational activity depends upon a staff much larger than is now in operation, or could be in permanent operation, on COFO's budget. COFO plans to provide the necessary manpower with a massive summer project, using college students from all over the country, but especially from Southern Negro colleges to organize the Mississippi Negro community, register voters both on the county and the Freedom books, operate the Freedom Schools, begin the community centers projects. The participants will be divided into three categories for administrative feasibility. The Freedom Schools would have one overall director for the state and district supervisors for each Congressional district. The community centers would be organized on the same basis. Political activity is already organized this way; the summer project would add to the present structure of political activity besides a general beef-up, two new categories: mobile unites of four men and a car which would fill gaps in the state political program plus moving into crisis areas if the regular staff is depleted; also two or three "saturation" areas where masses of field workers would concentrate on a city (as many as one worker to every twenty eligible Negroes.) to register every possible Negro, both official and freedom, and promote other protest activities.

COFO, 1017 Lynch, Jackson, Miss.

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Box 275, Ruleville, Mississippi
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MOLOTOV COCKTAIL HITS NEGRO CHURCH

June 25. Ruleville, Mississippi. Williams Chapel, Ruleville Negro church, was hit by a molotov cocktail at 2 am this morning. The church has been the scene of three Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) sponsored voter registration meetings this week. The fire was promptly put out by the Ruleville Fire Department: the Chapel stairs and front suffered minor charring. Eight gasoline-filled plastic bags spread around the church failed to ignite, saving the church from more extensive damages.

Negro Charles McLaurin, 23, of Jackson, Mississippi, director of the SNCC Sunflower County Summer Project and a staff worker for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, said this morning:

> The events of the last two nights have demonstrated the inadequacy of local law enforcement in Ruleville. After white bottle-throwers rampaged through the Negro community in the early morning hours yesterday, a delegation of civil rights workers met with Mayor Dorrough. He told them he was stepping up police vigilance. The arson of Williams Chapel this morning clearly indicated that local officials are incapable of controlling violence and that a federal presence is needed in Ruleville.

The fire was discovered at 2 am by Mr. Perry Hamer, Ruleville Negro and husband of Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, civil rights congressional candidate. It was reported by Dale Gronemeier, white college teacher from Los Angeles and SNCC summer volunteer.

Ruleville Mayor Charles Dorrough has told newsmen and the FBI that civil rights workers are responsible for the arson. McLaurin would only speculate: "The clear purpose of the arson seems to be to intimidate us in our work for voter registration. We will not back down because of the use of violence against us. The suggestion that civil rights workers are church-burners is so absurd it doesn't deserve a reply."

Memorandum

COFO
1017 Lynch St.
Jackson, Miss.
May 5

TO: MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM SCHOOL TEACHERS
FROM: Miss. Summer Project Staff
RE: SUBJECT: Overview of the Freedom Schools

The purpose of the Freedom schools is to provide an educational experience for students whcih will make it possible for them to challenge the myths of our society, to perceive more clearly its realities, and to find alternatives, and ultimately, new directions for action.

Just what forms this educational experience will take will vary from school to school and from teacher to teacher. We will not be able to provide all the facilities, materials and personnel we would like. This is a fact of our whole operation, and we are used to it. But we hope the curriculum will be flexible enough to overcome them.

The Freedom Schools will consist of from 5 to 15 teachers and 25 to 50 students. It does not now appear that we will be able to secure buildings for residential schools, so you will be working in day schools in churches, store fronts, homes, etc.

The kinds of activities you will be developing will fall into three general areas: 1) academic work, 2) recreation and cultural activite s, 3) leadership development. It is our hope that these three will be integrated into one learning experience, rather than being the kind of fragmented learning and living that characterize much of contemporary education. How this integration can occur will be suggested by the materials we will be sending you and by the orientation period.

Since the students academic experiences should relate directly to their real life in Mississippi, and since learning that involved real life experiences is, we think, most meaningful, we hope that the students will be involved in the political life of their communities. As the day's schedule below indicates, the students will work in various kinds of political activity in the evenings. The way students will work in various kinds of political activity in the evenings. The way students can participate in local voter registration should be worked out by the teachers and local COFO voter registration staff at a meeting before the opening of school. The teachers will be free to participate in these activities with the students, although you may need the time to prepare lessons, etc., and thus will want the local staff to supervise the students' canvassing, etc. It may also be the case that on some evenings the teachers or students will plan a special event and thus the students will not do political work on that night. Or it may happen that the need for canvassing for a special event will cause local staff to ask for part of the students' day for this purpose. It is important that voter registration staff and teachers stay in close touch with each other so these things can be worked out. An average day's schedule might look like this: Early morning (7-9): Concentrated individual work on areas of students' particular interest or need. Morning (9-12 or 1): Academic curriculum Afternoon (2-4 or 5): Non-academic cubriculum (recreation, cultural activites and

some tutoring). You will have to bear in mind that it is too hot in the afternoon for much concentrated work. Evening (7-9 or so): Work with voter registration activities, or special events like a visiting folk singer) on evenings when no political work is needed.

The development of a weekly schedule and a daily lesson plan will be left to the teachers and students of the school. All teachers will be at their school's site at least a week before the schools open July 7. This week should be used primarily for planning by the teaching group, as well as recruiting students and making community contacts. We will try to balance the schools' personnel so that various skills will be represented by different members of the teaching team.

The fact that you will do the actual development of a plan for each day means that you will have to be creative, resourceful, and flexible. To aid you in your task, we will be supplying you with the following material, either in the mail or at orientation:

1. Curriculum Guide for Freedom Schools, by Noel Day. This document will be your basic teaching material. It contains six units of study centered around values and social change. Each unit contains suggested content materials and teaching methods. It will be possible for you to center some of the writing and reading teaching around the subject matter of the units, and discussion will help students grow in public speaking ability.

2. Case studies are being prepared by various people. Some of these will relate directly to the curriculum suggested by the Curriculum Guide, some can be used as supplementary material. The Case Study Outline will explain how to use these studies of various problems related to civil rights and political change.

3. Papers on the teaching of science, math and remedial reading and writing (also short papers on teaching arts and crafts, dramatics, etc.)

Science will not relate directly to the subject matter of the curriculum guide, but it is important that students receive both a feeling for what real science is (which they do not receive in school) and tutorial help in specific scientific areas of study if they show interest. Any teachers who know this area should come prepared to do some special work with a few students and to handle a class session or two on a general "Wonders of Science" theme. The paper you will receive will give further ideas.

Math is an area of real difficulty for many students. Try to secure 11th and 12th grade (and earlier) math texts for use in tutoring. It will be difficult to develop class sessions around this subject, since students' abilities will vary greatly. The paper on teaching of this subject will help you see an approach for a classroom situation.

Remedial reading and writing work will be needed by nearly all students. Reading aloud is suggested in the Curriculum Guide as a source of theme topics. Students should be encouraged and guided in doing outside reading. Writing should be discussed with students individually with tutorial help directed toward writing improvement.

4. A paper on Leadership Development by Charlie Cobb will contain suggestions of the kinds of skills students should develop and suggest how these can be integrated into daily activities.

5. A paper suggesting recreational and cultural activities for students will be available.

IT IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL THAT YOU STUDY THESE MATERIALS CAREFULLY AND BRING THEM SOUTH WITH YOU. THEY WILL BE YOUR GUIDE FOR THE SUMMER. YOUR TIME HERE IS LIMITED AND YOU MUST PREPARE AHEAD OF TIME AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. We will NOT be able to replace curriculum materials if you fail to bring them with you.

We are glad you will be with the Mississippi Movement and hope that you share our excitement about the possibilities that the summer holds for real growth for you and Mississippi's young people.

What you should know about

ACREAGE ALLOTMENT PROGRAMS
(for cotton, peanuts, and rice)

This fact sheet furnishes general information on farm acreage allotments and marketing quotas for cotton, peanuts, and rice. If you have any questions about these acreage allotments and marketing quota programs, you should discuss them with the local County Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service Office.

Marketing Quota Referendums and Acreage Allotments

Marketing quota referendums for cotton and peanuts are held by county ASC committees each year in which the Secretary proclaims a national marketing quota for these crops. The referendums are held not later than December 15 and must be approved by at least two-thirds of the farmers voting. Any farm owner, tenant, or sharecropper who "engaged in the production" of these crops in the year the referendum is held can vote.

With respect to rice, a referendum must be held within 30 days after the Secretary proclaims a national marketing quota. When conditions require it the national marketing quota for rice must be proclaimed by the Secretary between July 1 and December 1. Rice quotas must also be approved by at least two-thirds of the farmers voting. To be eligible to vote a farmer must have "engaged in the production" of rice during the year in which the referendum is held. Notices of acreage allotments are issued in advance of referendums in order that farmers will know the effect of the program on their farms.

How big an acreage allotment should you get?

The acreage allotted to you should be your fair share of the acreage allotted to your county for the crop. Generally, your fair share is based upon the past crop history of your farm and of the other farms producing the crop. (Abnormal growing conditions, the land, crop rotation, and your own experience are sometimes considered.) The allotments for all the farms in your county are listed at the ASC county office. Examine this list right away if you do not think your allotment is fair. Even if you have a small farm or a new farm you are usually entitled to some allotment for the crop. Ask the ASC office or your county agent to explain your allotment to you. A producer growing an allotment crop without an allotment is subject to marketing quota penalties and does not qualify for an allotment for subsequent years. Therefore, before a farmer without an allotment grows one of these crops he should discuss his chances for a "new farm" allotment with his county ASC committee.

ASCS County Elections

Once each year local farmers elect community committees whose chairmen elect the county ASC committee. Generally any farmer who is eligible to participate in one of the ASCS price support programs, has an acreage allotment established for his farm or participates in the Agricultural Conservation, Conservation Reserve, or Feed Grain Program, is eligible to vote in ASCS committee elections. These elections are well publicized locally. Any farmer who has any questions as to eligibility to vote should contact the local county ASCS office prior to the date of the election.

What to do if you don't get your notice of acreage allotment or think your allotment is unfair

If you do not get a notice of your allotment in the mail at the same time that your neighbors get theirs and before the marketing quota referendum, inquire at once at your local ASC office and write a letter to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington 25, D. C., telling him what happened.

When you get a notice of your allotment in the mail, read it carefully right away and save it. If you don't understand it, ask your local ASCS office to explain it to you. If you are not satisfied that the allotment is right for your farm, file a written application for review with your local ASCS office within fifteen days from the date of the postmark on your notice. Keep your copy of your notice of allotment. If you need help in filing an application for review of your allotment, the ASCS office will help you with it.

If you apply for a review of your allotment in time, it will be reviewed by an ASC review committee of three farmers who have been appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture and who are different from your local ASC committee. This committee will change your allotment if it decides, after considering all aspects of your case, that you did not get a fair share of the crop acreage allotted to your county.

If you still do not think that you are being treated fairly after the review committee has made its findings, you can appeal to the United States District Court or to the State Court of your county for further review. This is likely to be expensive, however, and you should get legal advice before you try to do this.

How to get an extra allotment

If you want to put more acres in the crop than you were first allotted, apply to the ASC committee. The county committee has held in reserve part of the allotted land to take care of the adjustment of any claims made, and sometimes growers do not want to plant all the acreage given them. This excess is divided among all those who apply for it.

The measurement of your land

The correct measurement of your land is important to you and to the government. If your fields are measured too big, you will not be planting all the acres to which you are entitled. If they are measured too small, you may be planting more than you were allotted and have to plow up some of it or be subject to other penalties. If you request it, the ASC committee must measure your fields before you plant them or will remeasure them later. But you must pay for the cost of this special measurement, so be sure you find out how much it is going to cost you before you ask the committee to do it. If you don't ask for prior measurement or remeasurement, you are bound by the ASC committee's determination of your acreage.

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If your ASC committee office does not treat you with fairness and with courtesy, or if it segregates you or discriminates against you in any other way, get all the facts you can, including what happened and when and where it happened. Get the names of the persons involved and of witnesses if you can. Send a full report of it to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington 25, D. C.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19 Street, New York, N. Y. 10003

DUTIES OF ASC

Duties of ASCS County Committeemen are as follows: The ASC County Committeemen are responsible for seeing that farmers and other are informed about the programs available and the requirements for eligibility to participate in the ASC programs. The Agriculture Extension agent is better known as the County Agent (in the past in the south there are in some counties a Negro and white agent).

The white agent is an official, non-voting member of the ASC Committee, and he can and should help tell people who are concerned with agriculture about the ASC program.

The County Committee's most important service to the county farmers is to keep the farmers informed of the benefits and available services of the ASC programs.

The ASCS County Committee uses the following methods of providing factual programed information in cooperation with the county agent. Day-to-day contacts with the farmers by the County Committeemen are one of the most effective ways to give the farmers an understanding of the ASCS Programs. The other ways of getting information out are local newspapers, participation in radio programs, distribution of published material, explanatory talks, programs, information meeting with county and community committeemen. Because of their close contact with their neighbors, most county offices use periodic program letters to community committeemen as a means of getting the information to the farmers. This points up the fact that is responsible for white farmers being more informed about the ASCS program than Negroes. And finally this further points up the fact that Negroes elected to these committees can represent and serve the farmers in their community.

The ASCS Committee duties are to further inform representatives of other agricultural agencies of the important details of the various programs which are in operation.

The administrative responsibilities of the county ASCS committeemen are to employ office managers who in turn employ office regular help as well as temporary help; preparation of office budget and the location of the office quarters. The compliance of the ASCS programs is subplemented by aerial photography for the measuring of allotted crops acreages. Compliance is the issue in the ASCS farm program.

The County ASCS Committees administrate the Agriculture Conservation program in the county to help obtain conservation objectives. The total effort includes research, education, technical assistance, cost-sharing and such indirect aids as credit.

The Conservation Program operates as a farmers government partnership by providing a share of the cost of approved soil, water, woodland and wildlife conservation practices. These practices are beyond what the farmers would do on their own and are done voluntarily, and all farmers and farms are eligible to take part.

The County Committees' responsibilities are to make recommendations to the ASC State Committees for the National Agricultural Conservation Program, develop the County Agricultural Conservation program alone with designated agencies and organization.

Determination of ASC policy is in the local adaptation and administration of local ASC programs.

The ASCS office has as its primary purpose for exisiting to inform the farmers of the conservational program where the ASCS share in cost of the material, seeds, fretitizer, tree labor, etc, used in soil conservation program. Making sure that the farmers are informed of the program provision so that the farmers have an opportunity to request and use the services and materials that the ASCS share in the cost of the conservation practices which are the major reasons for the exsistance of the County ASCS offices. The Exetention Service and other County, state and federal agencies are to assist in the educational and informational phase of the ASCS programs.

For the Farmers of a community to be sure that a committeeman or committeemen are the choice and representive of the community's farmers, six or more farmers who are eligible to vote in the election and sign a written petition requesting that a eligible farmer's name be placed on the ballot and his name. If farmer's names must be put on the ballot for people to vote, if they desire to do so. This also gives the farmers a large voice in the county convention that is conducted by the community committeemen and chairmen. This should be done before the 13th of November in every county where farmers would like to see names of their choosing on the ballot.

The County Committees help arrange for places to get conservation materials and services, revies farmers' requests for ASC cost-sharing services and approve those which will achieve the most and best-quality conservation work. Keeping approved practices within the allotted funds and finally review the practices by spot checks, make findings on violations of program provisions, hear and make decisions on program appeals.

The responsibilities of the community committees are to counsel with ASC county committees on policies and procedures needed to carry out the best ACP (Agricultural Conservation Program) in the county, know and help the community farmers to know and understand the ASC program, and to recommend on the individual farmers' request for cost-sharing.

The community committeemen, at the request of the county committeemen, take part in the decisions made in an appeal of the farmers to be county committeemen.

The ASC community and county committeemen are responsible to the farmers for the administration of the farm storage facilities program. The county committees determine the eligibility and the approval of the farmers application for farm storage loans.

These committeemen decide, administer and approve and disapprove the program of the ASC office in the county. This has a great effect on the farmers in the county and the community which make taking part in the county ASC election very, very important to all farmers who farm. This means dollar and cents in and out of the farmers' pocket. This also means that all of the farmers are concerned with the ASC elections.

FREEDOM SCHOOL WORKSHOP —Interim Report November 16

The Movement in the South is a movement for change, and that change must be shaped and defined from within the Southern states.

SNCC, in its own efforts for change, has arrived at levels of awareness and at tools that can be passed on for development and use by others. So it is reasonable that SNCC staff can begin the process by which the people in Mississippi and Georgia and Alabama discover who they are and what their world is like, and what they can do to bring about change.

There is, at present, no mechanism in the South for Negroes' discovering and articulating the things that make up their discontent. The only honest thing we can say to the people we're working with when we talk about clearly given realities is that they live in Mississippi. That's the only fact we really can't find a way to challenge, so we start Freedom School there, and spend the sessions finding out what that reality means: that they live in Mississippi, and it is not confortable. The Freedom School can perhaps develop a climate in which the people can explore reasons for and ways to change Mississippi.

The members of the Freedom School workshop reached consensus on the above basis for what a Freedom School is. That means, we felt, that sitting on someone's porch talking about why it is necessary to register to vote can be considered Freedom School; as can a precinct meeting at which the Project Director talks about the meaning of the challenge, or at which a block captain leads a discussion of the Freedom Primer; as can a mass meeting which is led by an FDP delegate, or which is divided up into small groups to plan a tent city or ways to feed the Freedom Workers; as is a group of children painting and singing; as is a group of ladies painting or asking themselves and their "teacher" what the word "Communism" means; as is a teen-ager leading his friends in drawing up a petition about the schools; as is the secretary of that petition meeting drawing up the minutes of that meeting; as is anybody sitting down with Pictorial History of the Negro in America, and then telling his family about what he discovered; as is a voter registration worker sitting down with a group of kids before or after canvassing, discussing techniques of community organization; as is a group of high-school drop-outs learning to read without being ashamed any more, and their parents learning to read and write; as is a group of kids reading Black Boy and then writing

The freedom we fight for is not for dogs.
The freedom we fight for is for undrunks.

The workshop insisted that the concept of the Freedom School is much larger, much deeper, much more integral with the voter-registration program than anything academic could speak to.

But there were unresolved questions:

1. How do we feel about sending Freedom School kids North to school? Is it an opportunity? Do schools in the North educate the person much better than schools in the South do, even though they do better with academics? Are people educated in the North any freer than people educated in the South, and if not, is there any value in terms of trying to change Mississippi for the brightest, most alert, most imaginative, most committed kids to go off North now? UNRESOLVED

2. What about curriculum in the Freedom Schools? This is related to the above, but has also to do with why study math, for example, if there is nothing about math that really speaks to the problems he faces in Mississippi, and everywhere in America, both being a Negro and being a human being regardless of race? Is there any way to teach academic subjects so that they will be releasing rather than stifling? Watch how kids paint, and see if trainig will make that painting better or worse. UNRESOLVED

3. Orientation of "teachers" has to be much more intensive if what we want is people who really know how to wait out a silence while a question is being formed, and if we want the kind of people who know that part of the corruption of America is its entire educational system, and who really do feel freer teaching without grades than with. What was unresolved was how to achieve this kind of orientation.

4. who should teach? SNCC Field Staff? Mississipians? Northerners?

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION TO VOTE

1. Write the date of this application _____.

2. What is your full name?_____.

3. State your age and date of birth_____.

4. What is your occupation?_____.

5. Where is your business carried on?_____.

6. By whom are you employed?_____.

7. Are you a citizen of the United States and an inhabitant of Mississippi?_____.

8. For how long have you resided in Mississippi?_____.

9. Where is your place of residence in the district?_____

_____.

10. Specify the date when such residence began:_____.

11. State your prior place of residence, if any_____.

12. Check which oath you desire to take (1) General_____; (2) Minister's Oath_____; (3) Minister's Wife_____; (4) if under 21 years at present, but 21 years by date of general electinn_____.

13. If there is more than one person of your name in the precinct, by which name do you wish to be called?_____.

14. Have you ever been convicted of any of the following crimes: bribery, theft, arson, obtaining money or goods under false pretense, perjury, forgery, embezzlement or bigamy?_____

15. If your answer to question 14 is "yes" name the crime or crimes of which you have been convicted and the date and place of such conviction or convictions:_____

16. Are you the minister of the gospel in charge of an organized church, or wife of such a minister?_____.

17. If your answer to question 16 is "yes" state the length of your residence in the election district:_____.

18. Write and copy in the space below, section_____ of the Constitution of Mississippi.

_____

_____

_____

19. Write in the space below a reasonable interpretation (the meaning) of the section of the Constitution of Mississippi you have just copied:

_____

_____

_____

20. Write in the space below statement setting forth your understanding of the duties and obligations under a constitutional form of government.

_____

_____

_____

21. Sign and attach here to the oath or affirmation named in question 12.

_____
The Applicant will sign here

- -

INSTRUCTIONS

1. You have just completed the form used to register to vote in Mississippi.
2. Go to the Court House in the County seat of your home county.
3. Ask the circuit clerk for an application to register to vote.
4. Pay your poll tax in January

YOU PAY TAXES SO YOU HAVE A RIGHT TO VOTE
ONE MAN ---------- ONE VOTE
REGISTER NOW AND TELL YOUR FRIENDS

The attached material, which has been distributed to all COFO staff and volunteer workers in Mississippi, is sent to you for your information.

KUNSTLER KUNSTLER & KINOY
511 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10017

SMITH, WALTZER, JONES &
PEEBLES
305 Baronne Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

MELVIN WULF
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

MORTON STAVIS
744 Broad Street
Newark 2, N. J.

Attorneys for Plaintiffs

MEMO TO COFO STAFF AND VOLUNTEER WORKERS

FROM: COFO LEGAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The attached order of the U. S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit is of vital importance in the fight to obtain effective Federal protection for the exercise of constitutional liberties in the State of Mississippi.

Earlier this summer an important Federal lawsuit was instituted on behalf of COFO, the Negro citizens of Mississippi and all Americans actively involved in the efforts to enforce the Constitution in Mississippi. This Federal action charged that a conspiracy exists between certain defendants including the Sheriffs and Deputy Sherriffs of the State, the State Highway Patrol and other police officers, such groups as the Ku Klux Klan, the Citizens Councils and the Association for the Preservation of the White Race, and individual white Mississipians, to encourage and use acts of terror and violence in an attempt to intimidate and deter those Negro and white citizens who insist on exercising their constitutional rights in this State. The complaint asked for a Federal injunction against this conspiracy and, pursuant to a Federal statute, for the appointment of emergency United States Commissioners with full power of arrest to be stationed in every county of Mississippi. On July 30, Judge Mize dismissed the case without a hearing.

On Thursday, August 28th, the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit issued an order directing Judge Mize to file an answer to our application for an extraordinary writ of mandamus within twenty days. The Court in its order said that mandamus may be necessary in this case. This is a writ used only in the most exceptional situations in which a Court of Appeals orders a district judge to take certain action immediately.

The Court of Appeals has also speeded up the appeal from Judge Mize's dismissal of the COFO case and ordered the appeal fully argued together with the extraordinary writ of mandamus.

This action of the Court of Appeals means that the entire question of a Federal injunction against the statewide Mississippi conspiracy, and the urgent necessity of Federal judicial intervention to protect civil rights activities will be before the Federal Court of Appeals in the very near future, probably in late September or early October. At the same time, the Court of Appeals will decide whether to issue its own extra-ordinary writ of mandamus to Judge Mize directing immediate action.

IN THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT

No. 21795

COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS, ET AL,

Petitioners

versus

HON. SIDNEY MIZE, ET AL,

Respondents.

COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS, ET AL,

Appellants

versus

L. A. RAINEY, ET AL,

Appellees.

ORDER

Before RIVES, JONES and WISDOM, Circuit Judges.

Per Curiam:

It appears that the extraordinary writ of mandamus may possibly be required in aid of the Court's appellate jurisdiction. See 28 U.S.C.A. 1651; Parr v. United States, 1956, 351 U. S. 513, 520. It is therefore ordered that an answer to the petition be filed within twenty days from the date on which this order shall be served by the clerk on the respondents. See Fifth Circuit Rule 13a.

It is further ordered that the appeal be expedited so as to be ready for submission along with the petition for mandamus.

Within ten days from the filing of the answer to the petition for mandamus, the petitioners, appellants, shall file their brief covering both the petition for mandamus and the appeal. Within ten days from the date of receipt of a copy of such brief, the respondents appellees, shall file their brief in both proceedings. Briefs may be typed, four legible copies to be filed. A further order will then be entered as to the date of oral argument and submission or other proceedings.

Travel Notes: Three states and Several States of Mind

We traveled, four of us from the Southern Regional Council, through three state capitols: Atlanta, with its brand new interstate expressway connector, the new interaction with the rest of the nation flowing by the old state capitol building with its statues of Tom Watson and Gene Talmadge... Montgomery with the flags of Alabama and the Confederacy, and not America, flying on its capitol building... Jackson, with the capitol building, like the wide streets, neat and orderly and quiet, yet somehow with a baleful rigidity.

We stopped in Tuskegee on the way to Jackson and attended a meeting of the Tuskegee Civic Assn., a Negro organization. We followed, with no spoken acknowledgement of it, the lead of our Negro host on the delicate matters of whether we should stop by his home (no), or whether one of us should ride in his car with him (yes). They were on the eve of an election there, with the leaders & members of the all-Negro Civic Association standing firm (and it turned out, victorious) against not only the white population whom they had fought through decades of intimidation and harrassment to a Negro voting majority, but also against the element of Negroes who, in the first elections after gaining that majority, wanted to elect an all Negro city government. There were good practical reasons for opposition to this, to oppose the latter. But it was evident that the main motivation for Negro insistence on a biracial government was the same that had been behind the long fight for Negro participation there in democracy-- that the government might represent all classes of people in the community. This would be healthy for Tuskegee, and would, the leaders hoped, reassure local whites and others across the South that a voting majority of Negro population majority does not necessarily mean a Negro take-over

of the government.

We had car trouble in Tuskegee, and pulled into the first available filling station. ~~after it developed on the highway leading from town.~~ The station apparently was Negro-owned; all its personnel were Negro. We were treated probably better than ~~any group of~~ fewer whites in such a place with car trouble on a Sunday afternoon had any right to expect. The station didn't have the parts the car needed; the manager directed us to another station, also all Negro, and there they ~~the car was~~ fixed the car. Both stations had stacks of literature for the slate of candidates favored by groups seeking a biracial, rather than all-Negro, government. On the dingy wall of one of the stations ~~[illegible]~~ were two pictures that one sees often in places where the personfication of hopes and trust have great meaning: ~~[illegible]~~ Jesus and John F. Kennedy. One ~~A~~ man there ~~who seemed~~ more ~~than others~~ amenable ~~for~~ to conversation than the others was entirely non-commital ~~when asked~~ about the forthcoming election. He talked instead of how he was hoping to get back into school to learn diesel engineering, and of a tragedy in his life that summer: His ~~my~~ 10-year-old son had been drowned trying to save the life of another boy.

We crossed the Alabama line into Mississippi near midnight. We started around a slow-moving Mississippi State Patrol Car, had to pull back when ~~xxx~~ headlights came from over a rise, and breathed fear for a moment to see if we would be stopped. ~~When~~ We weren't, passed the patrol car, and ~~[illegible]~~ were conscious for several miles of headlights right behind us. ~~our car.~~ ~~[illegible]~~ Creeping fastidiously at the legal limit through a small town, we realized it wasn't ~~a~~ the patrol car at all, but a bus that apparently had passed just after we did.

We got coffee a little further on at an all-night place on the outskirts of a town. ~~[illegible]~~

~~entered into~~ us. We had picked up the Jackson Daily News outside, but didn't talk of its news of ~~the~~ pending desegregation of Jackson schools ~~pending the~~ due next day. A couple of old men ~~were~~ sat at an ~~a~~ adjoining ~~table~~ booth; they had been talking away when we entered; they were silent now. Farmers

The fat, middle-aged woman in charge of the place, who had brought our coffee silently, grinned with great friendliness at the cash register, and said, "The nights are getting cool, ain't they," and we agreed. ~~Where y'all from~~

"Where y'all from?" We told her.

"Which way you headin'?"

She could of course walk over to the dirty window of her place and look out and watch as we drove away which way we were heading, so there was no point in not telling her. The thing was, we couldn't accept-- couldn't trust-- her friendliness.

An even worse example of this sort of thing occurred in the modernistic dining room of the big motel where we stayed in Jackson. We were ~~just~~ chattering away at dinner; someone made a ~~xxxx~~ crack, and a small, balding man at the next table picked up the joke, and added to it, intruding himself into the conversation.

"Where ~~yu~~ y'all from?"

"Where you from?"

"Atlanta," he said, and we ~~xxxx~~ said, oh, what part? "Out in DeKalb County," he said, and we said, oh, ~~xxx~~ do you know ~~xxxx~~ Jim Mackay? Mackay was running for Congress, and is probably the best-known politician in DeKalb County. No, the

table picked up the joke, and added to it, intruding himself into the conversation.

"Where y'all from?"

"Where you from?"

"Atlanta," he said, and we said, oh, what part? "Out in DeKalb County," he said, and we said, oh, do you know Jim Mackay? Mackay was running for Congress, and is probably the best-known politician in DeKalb County. No, the little man said, he didn't know Jim Mackay, and we expressed surprise at this, and he said well he hadn't lived there long; he was from California, and he sure couldn't get used to all the rain down there in DeKalb County.

Lonely traveling salesman, or agent of the police, or the Citizens Council, or both, or what? You couldn't tell. We didn't join in any joyful Atlantans-far-from-home reunion with him, and thus, once more, suffered one of those deprivations of the free play of the human spirit which must occur by the millions in such places every day, and are one of the little noted destructive forces of such coercive societies, and must have their terribly eroding effect, day in and day out, year in and year out.

Do you feel like you are living in a police state? I asked a resident of Jackson. The answer was considered. "Not if you're well off, and don't care what the neighbors think." A man engaged in "do-gooder" work with some success over the state for a number of years sounded the familiar warning: "Don't leave anything in a motel room you don't want seen; don't say anything over the motel phone you don't want heard."

(The motel as an extension of these who enforce segregation is one of those little-explored commonplaces of contemporary southern existence. I remember the one in Albany where whoever was tapping my phone couldn't restrain himself any longer and broke in and cursed the two of us who were talking. I remember one in Alabama where the proprietor, all the while with his eyes trying

to show friendliness and that he meant no harm, insisted on knowing whom I represented when I registered, and when I kept refusing and finally asked who wanted to know, said, "They want to know." Who? "The Klan. They won't bother you, but they sure will bother me if I don't find out."

We had a Negro guest at the motel who came by and sat in the open door within of one of our rooms and talked about fifteen minutes. A man walked by, looked in, walked on. Soon he returned with another man; they both walked by, looking in. Service seemed to get worse after that; but you couldn't tell for sure. On one morning, one of us got a wake-up call a half-hour early, a man's voice. It had been a woman all the time before, and at the regular time that morning. And the woman that morning she let one of us, who had registered with inititials, know that she knew his first name.

Being aware of such things is part of the poison of such an environment. So is the unwillingness a committed white, who doesn't know the local terrain, might feel, no matter how committed, about joining a Negro friend for a civil rights law-protected dinner in a downtown restaurant.

Even the United States mail is not to be trusted. Envelopes opened in transit are a commonplace. Mail with a return addresses on the envelope that might prove embarrassing gets misdelivered so the neighbors may know. One civil rights worker described an elaborate method for getting mail, through an innocuous home address in another state, forwarded to his headquarters. He sends it to the home of a friend in another state who forwards it to the hq. in another state.

One white president told of having this happen with sev. boxes of Xmas cards addressed.

We went by the COFO headquarters which, with the summer push over and a new program being organized, was quiet, with few people there. A man came in with a traffic ticket, asking to be reimbursed because he incurred it doing COFO work, this apparently a normal occupational expense. The charge was driving without a license, and the SNCC worker who talked with him wasn't sympathetic. COFO didn't cause that.

The headquarters is large and air-conditioned, an unaccustomed amenity for SNCC. It is also for SNCC a dozen shingly well organized, with a completely plain, unfancy air about its many cubby holes and work slots. Someone in the publications department gave us a sheaf of mimeographed material, affidavits by recent victims of police and terrorist brutality, the continuing, appallingly long list of acts of violence, a description of a new program hopefully planning action along lines many have talked about, a joining of poor white grievances with those of Negroes.

I interviewed members of Mississippians for Public Education, the statewide organization of white women which worked all through the racially tense summer to engender public acceptance of school desegregation. The issue, as in other southern states, was support of public education, avoiding debate about desegregation. Surprisingly, most of all to them, their campaign-- which included full-page newspaper ads and, in Jackson, billboards and television ads-- did not stir up the kind of abuse and economic pressure which that have hounded others for far more innocuous stands in the state's very recent past. And gratifyingly, their efforts along with other forces slowly beginning to move in Mississippi resulted in a peaceful desegregation of first grades in the three public school systems under court order, Jackson, Biloxi and Carthage. A drive by the White Citizens Council to establish private schools, supported by state tuition grants, failed to gain any widespread public support.

The unharried existence of the women's group is a new, hopeful sign in Mississippi, the first in some time. Its success, along with such things as the token acceptance of public accommodations desegregation under the civil rights law in Jackson and other larger places, have caused some cautiously optimistic feeling that perhaps a crack has been made in the closed society. The COFO effort, the aftermath of the riot at Oxford and other factors have had their effect. The Citizens Council is acknowledgedly not as all-powerful

as it once was. One result of this Failure of non-violent intimidation has been the rise of the terrorist groups and violence. The same week that schools were peacefully desegregated, bombings reached a new peaks in McComb. So, with the collpase of the Citizens Council, hopeful things, where once there was no hope, are also happening. An all-Faiths move of churches to restore the dozens of burned and bombed Negro churches is underway. And in other of the southern states, it was the public school issue which first crucially wrenched public policy (and private thinking) away from the dead-end course of massive resistance, and rallied the elements of decency. But knowledge of murders (in Philadelphia) and police state tyranny (as in Selma) hung over us.

The drive home was quiet, peaceful, almost pleasant. Occasionally one saw the cowboy hats and car antenna of the terrorists. Along the way were the billboards against Earl Warren, and beneath them, on the road shoulders, the vestigial trails of white from the cotton tracks. They somehow fit together, links of a chain moving through the small, forgotten town of Alabama, with its little block of weathered and rusted store-fronts, with sheds out over the sidewalk, and an old Negro man dozing in the shade of one, with liquid gospel-music jazz bathing over him from the dusky interior of one of the stores, and the three Negro men in overalls standing around a truck at the cotton gin while the white man weighed the bales of cotton there, and moving through Montgomery where, hours before the political rally was scheduled, the crowd had already gathered to hear Goldwater, and the police directing the heavy traffic had stuck his stickers on their motorcycles, and through the little, hideous cotton mill towns that bestride the Georgia-Alabama border, Lanett and West Point, monuments to a past of crushed minds, bodies, and hearts, a past clinging with claws dug tenaciously into a small, diminishing, withering corner of the present.

It had, for all the eventless quiet of the journey, been good to get out of Mississippi. It was even better to cross over into Georgia. We arrived in Atlanta just in time to learn that in a run-off election, segregatinnist Judge Durwood Pye, who once was director of Georgia's abortive counterpart of the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission, had won re-election over a moderate candidate. The vote was ominously split along racial lines.

The South is a constant self-struggle, a strange and changing, never to be predicted blend, a long, wearying, ceaseless journey from Atlanta through Montgomery, with a stop-off at Tuskegee, to Jackson, and, hopefully, back again.

##

well org.
local

Hattiesburg > Sandy Leigh... or Doug Smith... JU 2-9993

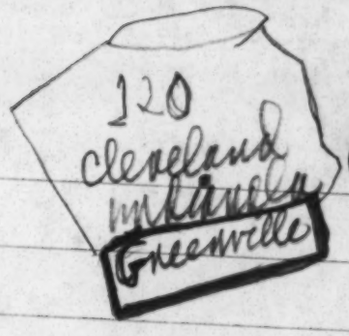
Greenwood
(competing libraries)

Homestead [redacted] 601 709123
Gulfport, Miss.

Liz Fusco —
✓

Freedom Theater >
Purley Victorious & Bodot...

Debate:
Supplement: Duplicate:
parallel schools...
Julian Band



Worth Long

33 going now...
Few more than in summer...
3 opening up...

No of calls fewer > but more project areas -

Greenwood ... still going... 7560 4946
Linda Davis ... 601-756-9980 - Oberlon Report > Father = lawyer

Ruleville ... Kindergten - Teenage - Adult
820 River St.
Ruleville Cnty centers...
2 people working
Kathy Ruble
John ? } new
painting

Batesburg ...
Box 275
Ruleville, Miss.
- Kathy alone 1st month -

Mrs. Hamer's home...
Lot of harrassment...
Rx in next - window
Kids shot at...
Mayor - Court - U.S. not apply to Miss -
Oxman mayor's area...

830 a.m. > 10:30 p.m.
Lot of community people involved...

Be in Jnx ... →

If not Jnx ... Hattiesburg ...

Greenwood → Rick Miller →

teenagers: older people:

Citizenship Classes: VRog

Greenwood Common Cntr

" COFO

SNCC

708 Ave. N.

U.S.I.A.

GRONEMEYER

WW
DR. SCHELL

Americana—
688-8600
RM 9-38

$5

Can't expect
CT procedures
to be sub
for thinking
& planning
+ collect-
sub complaining...

Per the case I
~~his remarks~~
~~[illegible] of the~~
an equalizer
calls; Dunkel
spoke of "[illegible]
of all called be-
in holding
in it did not
take an extra
[illegible] that
had not
told it to
do so..."

A

Freedom Schools

Girl, barefoot, tight dungarees: well felt wh Miss-off: But class of 6+7 yr olds. Bonjour Madame: really learning...

Best on creative opening up... painting: poetry: music.

Worst = lowering lower the prevailing Neg standards [this is hereday] alienates older Negroes...
Indoctrinate w own racism-nationalism

We feel we need the SRC and that SRC needs us. We need the identification and resources of a strong prestigious organization. The SRC needs grass roots and an outlet for its programs.

After more than 10 years of experimentation we are convinced the results prove we need a strong central coordinating agency. It will take considerably more thought to determine just what the specifics of this will be. Whatever it is, we urge SRC to be it.

Lloyd J. Elliott = 873-2475

10:30

601-756-9980

Ruleville

Ja 522-8764 H35

Kathy Ruble
John Tillotson } M

Training sch!?
Committee?
SNCC?
White kindergarten?

countywide
A.S.C.

Negroes only...

SNCC?

10:30

Richard Forbes 8758794

Agricultural Stabilization Cx-

66
16
82

79
2
81

P-1

I. worker
J. Kinderg-
V. A.S.C.
VI. Training program

1. ~~P~~ @ 150 vols ARE IN THEM.
2. It began > AS AN attempt to supplement Missippi public educat for Negroes.
3. Insert
4. Check Linda = SNCC-

P-2

1. 2nd sentence delete.
2. vet sncc worker. HE WAS 1 of the very first in Miss.

P. ~~4~~ 5

1. cut Cit Council sentence
2. Check ag CX-

P-6

1. would like to join them but ARE AFRAID TO because... vulnerable ~~one afraid to~~ IN THIS AREA OF INTENSE NEGRO POVERTY.
2. Cut sewing machine sentence-
3. check training school-

Air Mail Special: Collect: Mag + Jerry's name:

By tomorrow night... LA4-4554

Jerry Walker

COFO Sch. for mag... By 9 p.m.

#

set up more clearly + explicitly:
Function?
Who set up + why?
Goals + necessity...

↓

What kind of thing teach? p. 2.

How assigned + get there —
Will sch. live in 2 wks?

> Relate ea scene to COFO program?

p. 6 > Negro rights.
p. 7 > Cotton picks.
13 > Friendly or unfriendly white.—

Until Jan. (N-Atlied- COFO-

1962 > 2 girls shot?!

No. at mass-meets? > @ 60 to 70 ... More this summer...

No. freedom voters? 350-400

When churches burned + klan shot? End of Aug - beginning Sept. Most had gone...

Budget?

While program budgeted. ++

Stokely - MacLaurin >

carmaichael

~~Kindly~~

Roleville Figures

Budget. to Jax - Fig set in 4 for Jax...

1-n lot, $ for sep churches...

$10 wk progr director > More if mid > based on need

Kind of logs Indianola > 1112

Get all $ for COFO > all sempl - $75 every 2 wks -

Buy use outside:

clos for COFO > occas to Mrs. Hamer...

She = $10 wk... SNCC sal -

saw Mrs. Shirley Jones > Anoka, Miss.

Brownish blonde...

Bank for outside cutting...

~~The great impression~~

What ~~is all too clear~~ is clearest in Ruleville is how important it is that ~~xxx~~ neither the Negro Movement ~~xx~~ nor America allows ~~[illegible]~~ any of these things to betray the Negro people of Mississippi, and their great potential.

##

Suggested insert

Ruleville

The program has come under fire recently from sources other than its constant segregationist critics. Newspapers reported disunion among COFO organizations, and quoted FBI reports of "subversive" infiltration. COFO denied both. Friendly observers praise the program and volunteers for the most part, and express the hope that COFO doesn't leave itself open to damage. Their big concern is that all possible be done to help Negro Mississippians realize their potential.

A visit to the Ruleville school suggests why this is so important.

end

He and others described poverty among Negroes of this and the surrounding Delta counties, partly a result of automation, and particularly keen in the winter. Last winter, thousands of pounds of donated food and clothing were distributed by the Ruleville COFO to people of Sunflower, Leflore and Tallahatchie Counties. The latter two were among Mississippi counties where federal surplus commodities sales were restricted after civil rights activities

Memo from **AL ULMER**

Oct 24
Rx than workers
5 cars @ home

Population figures from 1960 Census

	Total Pop.	White	Negro	Other
Rulemille	1,902	934	961	7
Sunflower Co.	45,750	14,730	30,855	165

PROGRESS IN MISSISSIPPI DEPENDS ON YOU

The Mississippi Summer Project needs money now to establish and support the activities described in this pamphlet. We are asking the people of America—individuals as well as institutions—to contribute now to assist SNCC in its commitment to the struggle for justice in the state of Mississippi.

A contribution in any amount will be of help. For example:

$5 will supply school materials for one day-student for the entire summer.

$25 will pay the utility bills for one Freedom School for the summer.

$50 will buy office materials for one voter registration field office.

$100 will buy materials for a home nursing and baby care class for one Community Center.

$125 will buy one tape recorder for a Freedom School.

$400 will provide scholarship money for one Southern Negro college student, enabling him to return to school after working in Mississippi for the summer.

$2000 will rent and remodel a building for one Community Center.

$3000 will buy one used bus for transporting vote workers and registrants.

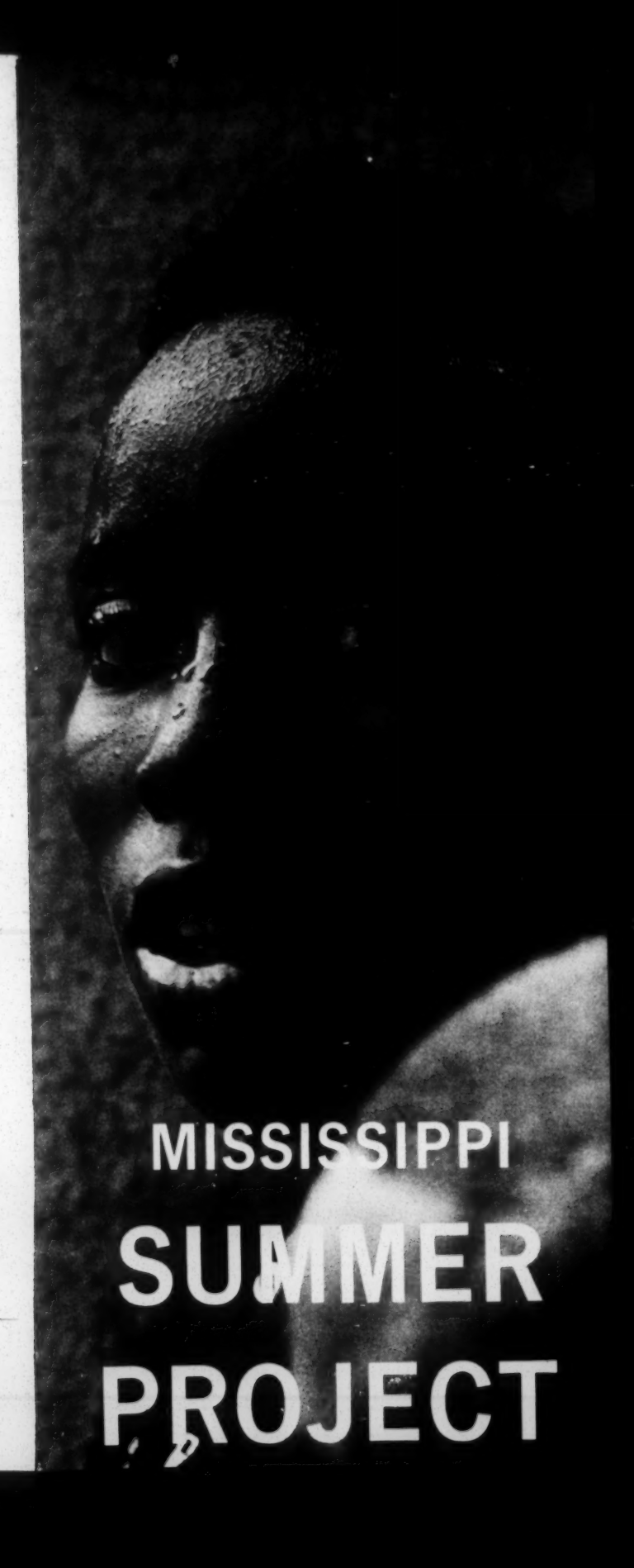
Send your contribution to:

MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

8½ Raymond Street, N. W.

Atlanta 14, Georgia



MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT

VOTER REGISTRATION

The struggle for freedom in Mississippi can only be won by a combination of action within the state and a heightened awareness throughout the country of the need for massive federal intervention to ensure the voting rights of Negroes. This summer's program will work toward both objectives.

Voter registration workers will operate in every rural county and important urban area in the state. These workers will be involved in a summer-long drive to mobilize the Negro community of Mississippi and assist in developing local leadership and organization.

Forty thousand dollars must be raised for a Freedom Registration campaign. The registration campaign which was launched in February will be implemented by summer workers. Freedom Registrars will be established in every precinct, with registration

books closely resembling the official books of the state. The Freedom Registration books will serve as a basis for challenging the official books and the validity of "official" federal elections this fall.

Finally, voter registration workers will assist in the summer campaigns of Freedom Candidates who will be running for congressional office.

FREEDOM SCHOOLS

An integral part of SNCC's voter registration work is the development of leadership for politically emerging communities. Freedom Schools will begin to supply the political education which the existing system does not provide for Negroes in Mississippi.

The summer project will establish ten daytime Freedom Schools and three resident schools. The daytime schools will be attend-

ed by 10th, 11th, and 12th grade pupils; the schools will operate five days a week in the students' home towns. Instruction will be highly individualized—each school will have about fifteen teachers and fifty students. The program will include remedial work in reading, math and basic grammar, as well as seminars in political science, the humanities, journalism and creative writing. Whereever possible, studies will be related to problems in the students' own society.

The three resident schools will be attended by more advance students from throughout the state. The program will be essentially the same as that of the day schools, with emphasis on political studies.

The students who attend the schools will provide Mississippi with a nucleus of leadership committed to critical thought and social action.

COMMUNITY CENTERS

In addition to the Freedom Schools, Community Centers will provide services normally denied the Negro community in Mississippi. Staffed by experienced social workers, nurses, librarians and teachers in the arts and crafts, the centers will provide educational and cultural programs for the community. Instruction will be given in pre-natal and infant care, and general hygiene; programs will provide adult literacy and vocational training. The thirty thousand books now in SNCC's Greenwood office library will be distributed to these centers, and others will be obtained. The centers will serve as places of political education and organization, and will provide a structure to channel a wide range of programs into the Negro community in the future.

RESEARCH PROJECT

The program of voter registration and political organization will attempt to change the fundamental structure of political and economic activity in Mississippi. In order to accurately picture this structure, extensive research must be done into Mississippi's suppressive political and economic life. Skilled personnel are needed to carry out this program both from within and outside the state.

WHITE COMMUNITY PROJECT

The effort to organize and educate Mississippi whites in the direction of democracy and decency can no longer be delayed. About thirty students, Southern whites who have recently joined the civil rights movement, will begin pilot projects in white communities. An attempt will be made to organize poor white areas to make steps toward eliminating bigotry, poverty and ignorance.

LAW STUDENT PROJECT

A large number of law students will come to Mississippi to launch a massive legal offensive against the official tyranny of the state. The time has come to challenge every Mississippi law which deprives Negroes of their rights, and to bring suit against every state and local official who commits crimes in the name of his office.

Trained Personnel Are Needed

For applications write:

MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT

1017 Lynch Street — Room 10

Jackson, Mississippi

(applications must be received by mid-April)

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI PROJECT

Although the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has active projects in thirteen Southern states, it has achieved its most dynamic success in the state of Mississippi. A state where individual political life is nonexistant, where the economic condition of a vast majority of the population is appalling, the home of white supremacy, Mississippi has become the main target of SNCC's staff and resources.

In August, 1961, SNCC went into Mississippi under the leadership of Project Director Robert Moses. Overcoming violence and hardship, SNCC workers have been able to expand their activity into all five of Mississippi's congressional districts. By fall, 1963, SNCC had joined with CORE, SCLC, the NAACP and many voting and civic groups in forming a statewide organization, the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), and through COFO conducted a Freedom Vote campaign in which 80,000 disenfranchised Negroes cast ballots for Aaron Henry for Governor.

Preparation for real democracy calls for additional programs in the state. Literacy projects have been instituted, and food and clothing drives. But much more comprehensive programs are needed to combat the terrible cultural and economic deprivation of Negro communities in Mississippi.

This summer, SNCC, in cooperation with COFO, is launching a massive Peace Corps-type operation in Mississippi. Students, teachers, technicians, nurses, artists and legal advisors will be recruited to come to Mississippi to staff a wide range of programs that include voter registration, freedom schools, community centers and special projects.

All photographs were taken during Freedom Day at Hattiesburg, Mississippi, on January 22, 1964. Above photo by Norris McNamara; other photos by Danny Lyon.

BEAUTY FOR ASHES

To bind up the broken hearted . . .

Isaiah 61:1-4 (King James)

The spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath annointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound;

To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God; to comfort all that mourn;

To appoint unto them that mourn in Zion, to give unto them *beauty for ashes,* the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; that they might be called trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified.

And they shall build the old wastes, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations.

RESPONSE TO ASHES...

The COMMITTEE OF CONCERN is an expression of the religious community in Mississippi: Roman Catholic, Jewish and Protestant, from both races. It was formed on September 9, 1964 in the chapel of the Mississippi Baptist Building for two purposes:

BEAUTY

The COMMITTEE wishes to make it possible for men, women and children of goodwill to respond to violence, hatred and destruction with concern, compassion and construction. With this motivation we initiated a united effort for concrete and personal action in response to the physical losses and personal injustices and indignities suffered by Negro congregations whose buildings have been set fire by unknown arsonists.

We feel that these attacks are attacks on *all* houses of worship, on religion itself, indeed upon our Constitutional guarantee to assemble and worship. We accept the losses and suffering as *our own*. A fund for rebuilding and refurnishing is already in existence under the care of the Treasurer of the Mississippi Baptist Convention Board. Materials, labor, equipment and financial aid will be accepted and dispersed by the COMMITTEE only when requested by a congregation and then after a responsible investigation. Every attempt will be made to allow the local community to answer the needs of the deprived congregation first.

The COMMITTEE will determine which congregation will receive funds and donated equipment, and all aid will be offered irrespective of denomination.

Contributions from individuals, churches and synagogues are urgently needed to restore the estimated $100,000 to $300,000 loss which these 33 congregations have suffered. Gifts may be designated, but it will leave more flexibility if they are not. Mail to address shown on the back of this folder.

GOODWILL

Through personal acts of concern and compassion by Jews and Christians throughout our state we hope that a new spirit of goodwill springs up to "let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an everflowing stream." It is our prayer that all people will be guided by a sense of wisdom and justice which will destroy the will to violence of any sort.

COMMITTEE OF CONCERN

CHAIRMAN

Dr. William P. Davis, Jackson, Secretary of the Department of Work with Negroes of the Mississippi Baptist Convention Board, and President of Mississippi Baptist Seminary.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Bishop Edward J. Pendergrass, of the Jackson Area of the Methodist Church, chairman; Dr. Dwyn Mounger, executive secretary, Church Extension Committee of the Central Mississippi Presbytery; Most Rev. Richard O. Gerow, Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Natchez-Jackson; Dr. Perry E. Nussbaum, Rabbi of Temple Beth Israel; Rev. M. M. Grove, executive secretary, Mississippi Christian Churches; Rev. G. R. Haughton, pastor, Pearl Street African Methodist Episcopal Church; Rev. H. M. McKay, pastor, Ascension Lutheran Church; the Rt. Rev. John M. Allin, Bishop Coadjutor of the Episcopal Diocese of Mississippi; Dr. Chester L. Quarles, executive secretary-treasurer, Mississippi Baptist Convention Board. Dr. Davis is ex-officio chairman of all committees.

Send all contributions to COMMITTEE OF CONCERN, P. O. Box 530, Jackson, Mississippi. Please mark your check for: BURNED CHURCHES.

MERIDIAN, MISSISSIPPI
the community . . .

. . . and the community center

CORE COMMUNITY CENTERS

Where a child may not use the local library because he is Negro, where a teenager may not 'hang out' in the local movies or soda joints because he is Negro, where even the dubious sophistication obtainable at a pool hall is forbidden to young men because they are Negro, where the elders and leaders of a community — merchants, farmers, ministers — usually have had limited education and experience because they are Negro, where most families are too restricted economically because they are Negro to afford the weak links to the greater society provided by television and electricity . . .

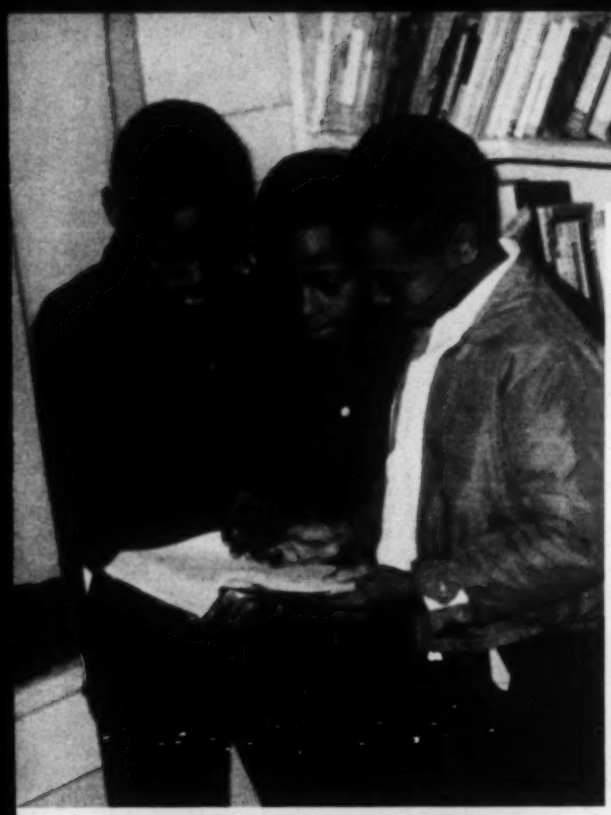
It is for these people the CORE Community Centers exist.

In this year, in 1964, a young Negro girl who has come north for an education lives in Harlem. She feels it is somehow immoral to share an apartment with a white girl who lives nearer her college. She finds it difficult to shed the distorting experience segregation has imposed. Even though her wit, intelligence, and charm have opened many doors, she cannot integrate.

But if there had been a CORE Community Center in the town where she grew up . . . ?

Why, then, she might have seen her parents line up to register at the local court house, she might have grown up knowing the spirit of hope and resistance that has inspired the people of Canton, Mississippi, where the first CORE Community Center opened in 1963. The second CORE center opened in Meridian, Mississippi, early in 1964.

Community Centers are desperately needed to destroy the old patterns of segregation. We must not lose another generation of school children to apathy and sullen resentment hidden by cheerful pretense. It is many times easier to find and ship a roomful of books to the south than it is to persuade one brainwashed girl that she has full citizenship in the human race.



WHAT IS A CORE COMMUNITY CENTER?

Ten thousand books, a ping pong table, five sewing machines, half a dozen desks, a typewriter, records and a record player, perhaps a piano and sheet music... rooms to put them in, and a few devoted people to give classes in voter registration, sewing, reading, nutrition, remedial courses, arts and crafts.

Not much? A whole new world for those it serves.

Primarily an investment in education, with most of its space and resources devoted to study, books and teaching, every center will try also to have a game room for teenagers to offset the painful effects of recreational limitation as well as those of economic and cultural deprivation.

You'll agree that this is important and worthwhile.

Recently, fabric for 110 dresses was sent by the ILGWU's Local 23-25 to Mississippi. Many of the women who learned to sew by making a dress at the community center had not had a new dress for four or five years. Their involvement in the sewing class encouraged most of them to start voter registration classes. The children who come to the center for books and remedial courses made puppets and toys with every last scrap of left-over fabric. Workers at the center are understandably proud of these results.

Books for CORE Community Centers have been collected by CORE's Southern Educational Project. National CORE has been cooperating with local groups in designing and constructing the centers. Donations of books, money, time (or any useful object) make such centers possible.

Gentlemen:

Here is my contribution of ..... toward CORE Community Centers.

My name and address:

.....

.....

.....

☐ I am a CORE member ☐ I would like to join CORE.

☐ I wish to subscribe to the bimonthly paper, CORE-lator.

Please make check marks in the appropriate boxes above, and return to:
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038

April 11, 1960

Professor Ken Moreland
Randolph Macon Women's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Moreland:

When I came back to the office today I learned with pleasure that you had agreed with Paul Rilling to undertake a job for us. As I understand it, you will go to Galveston and San Antonio next week and will stay approximately a week or as long as you think desirable to get adequate information. Paul has worked up a list of nine questions which are being used in some other communities where mayor's committees are functioning. I am enclosing a copy for your guidance. Certainly question number eight should be stressed, perhaps given as much attention as all the others combined.

We propose that your honorarium be $40 per day while in the field, plus expenses. I assume that you will write the report after your return to Lynchburg.

Before you leave, we shall get to you a packet of clippings on San Antonio and Galveston.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

May 17, 1960

Professor Kenneth Morland
Department of Political Science
Randolph Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Morland:

I trust that by now you have received a copy of your report. I am having twenty copies more mailed to you today; please let us know if you can use additional copies, or let us know names of persons to whom you would like to have copies mailed. We are sending a copy to each of the Texans listed in your letter of May 6.

We have decided not to release your report to the press until the round-up report, which I told you about, is finished--which ought to be late this week or next week; at that time we shall release the two reports together. In fact, we are cooperating in the sponsorship of a third study, this one of the Nashville experience. I don't know just when that will be done, but conceivably we could have a three-part release.

Let me thank you again for a job well done. It is an excellent report and in saying that I speak the opinion of not only myself but all others here.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 3, 1959

Colonel Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I am delighted that you have agreed to take our RHF position and know that all the others on the staff share my pleasure. I look forward to a very close working relationship with you. I hope that you will callupon me as often as I can be of use.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Eaton's
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

April 8, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas
Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I am enclosing an office memorandum which will give you a list of the periodicals to which we now subscribe and will also inform you as to how they are handled.

I am enclosing at your request a recent listing of some SRC publications. Much of the publication activity of the Council has of late been devoted to reprints. Some of these I am sure you have. Rather than list them, I have had a package of them made up for mailing; also included are a few items which originated here subsequent to the last listing of publications.

When you are next in Atlanta, perhaps some time can be scheduled for us to discuss research plans now active and also your ideas for new departures.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

RECENT SRC PUBLICATIONS

What the Supreme Court Said

Why Are You Fearful?

Do you Know the Law About Schools?

The Negro Voter in the South - 1958, Special Report

Pro-segregation Groups in the South, May 1957, Special Report

The Move to Disenfranchise the Negro Voter, April 1958, Special Report

Organizations and Personnel Engaged in Human Relations Activities in the South November 1957, Special Report

Religious Bodies and the Supreme Court Decision, July 1957, Special Report

Background Summary on Virginia, August 1958, Special Report

Report on Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem, North Carolina, September 1957, Special Report

School Closing Plans, November 1958, Special Report

State vs. Federal Authority in Virginia, August 1958, Special Report

Publications by others being distributed by SRD:

Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools, Baltimore Commission on Human Relations

A First Step Toward School Integration, Congress of Racial Equality (Nashville)

The Louisville Story, by Omer Carmichael and Weldon James

Action Patterns in School Desegregation, by Herbert Wey and John Corey
A Phi Delta Kappa Commission Project

South Carolinians Speak, a moderate approach to race relations

The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools, reprinted from Washington Post and Times Herald

Southerners and Schools, reprinted from The New Republic

April 13, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I am enclosing a copy of the Report of a conference held by the Committee on Government Contracts which, despite its date, I have only recently read; whether the Report has ever been printed we do not know.

I thought you might be interested in examining this. The speeches by Kindeberger, Carmichael and Mitchell seem to me to particularly telling and relevant to the broad concerns of the Leadership project.

This being our only copy, I am enclosing a return envelope.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dumbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

April 21, 1959

Dr. Lesley W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I appreciate your sending me this report on the Minority Community Resources Conference, which I have read with interest.

I was glad to get the package of SRC publications. It is a very impressive collection, some of which I did not know about before.

I was also glad to get the list of publications to which the SRC subscribes. I should note in this connection that I subscribe here to the following outside-of-Virginia publications: Tampa Tribune, New York Times, Southern School News, Race Relations Law Reporter, Newsleader and Newsweek.

I also subscribe currently to the following, which I may discontinue: The New Republic, the Norfolk Journal and Guide, the Petal Paper.

I keep permanent files of the Richmond Times-Dispatch and the Richmond News Leader, also the Tampa Tribune and the New York Times.

Sincerely

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

April 24, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I am writing to obtain guidance from you in getting underway with the SLP reports. Some other involvements have prevented me from making the headway that I know you would have liked and had hoped for. Some uncertainties as to procedure are also felt here, and these I would like to clear up by this letter and your reply.

We have run the Fishwick-Saunders excerpts and I am enclosing some copies. The remaining copies are being held here until distribution plans can be settled upon, i. e. whether any distribution other than to the "keep the schools open" committees should be provided.

Your suggestions for SLP distribution cover the following:

SRC Board - 1 each
SRC staff - 1 each
Officers and Board members of the Human Relations Councils - 1 each
State Directors - 5-20 copies
Yourself - 5 copies

This takes care of the family. What we are not clear about is the manner of selecting the other recipients. First, do you wish a small, standing mailing list for all reports, plus a selective list for each report? John Constable tells me that we can very readily prepare a list of newspaper men. We apparently

have no list of business or professional leaders and have not yet investigated the problems involved in preparing one. I am sure that we can, however, come up with something. Last summer I made some suggestions to Harold of offices which might more or less regularly get such releases as you propose, and I am attaching a copy of my memo.

Second, should we here decide on the selective distribution or should we wait on your direction?

Obviously, the working arrangements for this new project will have to be perfected by time and trial. I have suggested to Harold that John Constable be brought in at once to help in the planning and handling of distribution.

As to research for and preparation of the reports, I will quickly get to work on the basis of your suggestions of April 14.

Some time ago I made up a list of items to guide us when filling requests for materials on economic issues. I am attaching a copy. To it I would add, if we had any reprints, the grand speech of Mark Etheridge to the Southern Association of College and Secondary Schools meeting in Louisville last December 15.

Finally, we think that a short covering letter should go out with Report L1 explaining its intent and the nature of the series. Harold will write the letter.

Best wishes,

LWD:a

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

Enclosures: Economic
Suggested Recipients

Report No. L2
April 27, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH OF JOHN P. FISHWICK, VICE-PRESIDENT, NORFOLK AND WESTERN RAILWAY, TO ROCKINGHAM DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, APRIL 6, 1959.

"Only industry can provide abundant and challenging job opportunities which will satisfy the ambitions of our well educated and talented young Virginians. Virginia will be immensely poorer if its brightest young men and women are lost to other states.

"And in this respect I think we must admit that Virginia has not been doing a very good job. During the period 1950 through 1957, Virginia showed a 14.3% gain in the number of employees engaged in manufacturing. This was a little better than the national average of 12.1% but well behind the 18.6% average of the 13 Southern states. But a look at the year-by-year picture shows that over two-thirds of Virginia's growth occurred during the three years of the Korean War, and only one-third during the six years, 1952 through 1957.

"Virginia's record in 1958 was particularly discouraging. The Virginia State Department of Conservation and Economic Development has announced that in 1958 sixty-two plants began operations in Virginia, the second highest for any of the past nine years. But employment by these plants was the lowest for any of the past nine years - a total employment of 1,663. This, I submit, is disappointing progress for a state which has over 3.3 million people, a favorable business climate and so many varied natural resources and attractions for industry.

"Compare, for instance, Virginia's record with that of North Carolina. North Carolina has announced that in 1958 industrial development saw over $250 million invested in 423 new and expanded facilities which created 21,758 new jobs with annual pay rolls amounting to nearly $73 million. Thus, with a population of a little over four million, or 21% more than Virginia, North Carolina's industrial development created over 13 times as many jobs last year as did Virginia's.

"The impact of industrial development can be measured on the basis of a study recently made by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce which showed that 100 new factory workers mean 296 more people, 112 more households, 51 more school children, $590,000 more personal income, $270,000 more bank deposits, 107 more automobiles, 174 more workers employed, four more retail establishments, and $360,000 more retail sales per year.

* * *

"The second point in Virginia's industrial development program should be a prompt and sound solution to the school situation based on the principle that excellent free public schools will be maintained. To the extent possible, we must accomodate our solution to the deep feelings of those who live in the areas most critically affected. But, at the same time, we must recognize that most of us hope to give our children a better education and to open the door to greater opportunities than we have had. I think the Perrow Commission report offers the basis for such a solution. While many Virginians will not agree with all its recommendations, I hope we all recognize the truth of this sentence which stood out in its report. The Commission said:

> 'The culture and the economy of our state are directly geared to the educational attainments of our people.'"

Report No. L2
April 21, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

EXCERPT FROM SPEECH OF STUART T. SAUNDERS, PRESIDENT, NORFOLK & WESTERN RAILWAY, TO THE ANNUAL MEETING OF PETERSBURG CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, JANUARY 20, 1959.

"The hard fact is that North Carolina is out-competing Virginia for new industries. North Carolina's rate of industrialization in 1958, using annual volumn of manufactured goods as the comparative index, was 15%, compared to 5% for Virginia over the preceding year.

"In an address in Raleigh just ten days ago on the occasion of the completion of another milestone in the establishment of a multimillion-dollar Research Triangle in North Carolina - which, incidentally, will be a potent asset in attracting industry to that state - Governor Hodges stated that in 1958 industrial development reached a new all-time high in North Carolina. He revealed that last year $253,074,000 was invested in 423 new and expanding plants in that state. These created, he said, 21,575 new jobs with an annual payroll of $72,633,000."

May 1, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I am glad to hear that you will be down next week. I think it will benefit all of us to talk out some of the details of the project.

Miss Margo Manderson, of our staff, (whom I hope you shall meet on your next visit) has been at work on the L reports suggested by your letter of April 14. I am enclosing copies of Report L3 - excerpts from Jim Montgomery's series. You will note that it has been dated somewhat ahead. Report L4, statements from prominent business leaders, is ready to be run off. Miss Manderson is working to compile statistics on new capital expenditures in southern states. As you know, such figures are not easy to come by in reliable form. The latest Department of Commerce figures are for 1956 and subsequent to that we shall have to piece together from the best sources we can find.

For future reference you might like to know that we have obtained from the Bureau of Labor Statistics state-by-state figures on employment in various categories for 1939 through 1957. The Council has also entered a subscription for the BLS monthly publication, Employment and Earnings.

I am returning Mr. Perry's letter of which we have made a copy.

I believe Harold has told you of our forthcoming pamphlet on private schools. You indicate also in your letter of April 15 the desirability of some sort of report on committees to preserve public schools. Some time ago Paul Rilling proposed to us the publication of a case study of the Norfolk experience and I had encouraged him, with promise of financial and editorial assistance, to look for someone in Virginia to write up the story. I assume that he is doing so. You might want to keep this possibility in mind; perhaps you would have a suggestion as to an author which you could pass on either to Paul or to me. The people in Norfolk had accumulated a fair amount of material which would be the basis for an article.

As soon as I can, I will look into the question of the Davis Committee report. I have never myself seen the report in the form which you question.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Paul Rilling
Enclosure: letter, John L. Perry

May 15, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben,

Thank you for your good letter. I regret too that there was not more time and opportunity to discuss with you the proposed studies. As plans develop, however, I shall be turning repeatedly to you for advice, and shall keep you fully informed always.

The pamphlets will not be rushed out, nor are their subjects tightly prescribed in advance. When and as we can find qualified people and as funds permit we shall commission one. I can, in other words, see eight or ten pamphlets coming out during the next couple of years. Except that the essay on which C. H. Parrish has been working will probably be issued, whenever completed, as one of this series, we have nothing now in process. The first area to which we want to turn is the economic. Here I have thought of three possible studies:

1. Southern manpower - a summary of present conditions: under-utilization of labor, non-development of adequate industrial skills, migration losses, educational waste; consideration of the probably duration of the South's pool of available labor.

2. The relationship between (a) purchasing power and industrial expansion; (b) segregation and purchasing power.

3. The effects on business of (a) public disorder arising from the desegregation controversy; (b) the added costs which segregation represents to taxpayers and businessmen.

On each of the first two, I have worked up a rather elaborately documented outline, and a somewhat less thorough outline of the third subject. These have been reviewed and commented on in detail by Richard Eckaus, a well regarded economist now at Brandeis University. I intend to use the outlines and Eckaus' notes as a basis for planning the pamphlets with the authors we secure.

As to the international aspects, I think there is a lot of wisdom in your reservations. There is an allied subject, however, which may be better adapted to our approach and which is at least as important as the matter of foreign opinion: i. e., the contrast between the Russian's full utilization of manpower and American waste of it.

Since you were here, I have talked again with Paul, and though we are still troubled somewhat by the imprecision of the Norfolk case-study project we have decided that we ought to support the Virginia Council. This is the sort of thing which can be very, very good or a complete dud, depending on the skill with which it is carried out. If you happen to see Paul, I would be grateful if you would talk it over with him. I am enclosing a copy of my letter of today to him.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures: CC PR letter

P.S. I am enclosing a copy of an article, "Pathways to the Negro Market," which will interest you. It is from the Spring number of the Journal of Negro Education, which arrived today.

MA please read

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Friday

Dear Leo,

I had this attached to my piece on school desegregation.

If you make a list of all who participated in yesterday's conference, with addresses, I would appreciate receiving a copy.

Regards.

Ben

OK, as noted on attached

file

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

May 15, ~~1959~~

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I enclose a rough draft of a distribution list for L Reports based on our conferences last week.

It is rather 8 lists, which I suggest as a possible system for indicationg distribution. A report could be marked, for instance, "Distribution 1, 2, 4 & 5.

I hope you will go over these lists and amend or correct, and probably Harold should look over them again.

I would like L 1 and the reports to date on economic aspects to go to:

Hon. Ted Dalton
State Senator
Radford, Va.

Hon. John L. Perry
Administrative Assistant
Office of the Governor
Tallahassee, Florida

Mr. Charles E. Gottlieb
Vice President
Stevens Markets, Inc.
6209 N. W. 27th Ave.
Miami, Florida

Mr. Haskell L. Lazere
Director
American Jewish Congress
Southeast Regional Office
714 Congress Bldg.
Miami 32, Florida

Dalton and Perry on list 8; Gottlieb, List 2; Lazere, list ~~4~~ 3.

You mentioned New South having published the statement of a group of scientists several years ago, refuting another statement

on inmate inferiority of Negroes. I would appreciate receiving a copy of this issue of New South, or a copy of the statement.

I would also like another copy of New South for Feb., 1959, as I have given my copy away.

Perhaps you would pass these requests on to John Constable. Thanks.

Sincerely

Ben

Benjamin Muse

P.S. L4 is excellent!

Distribution Lists

1. Family List: Members of the SRC 10 copies to officers and directors of each Council on Human Relations. Also, our board + consultants.

2. Officers and directors of each commitee to preserve public schools, and other active leaders from addresses which may be obtained.

3. Other organizations concerned with school desegregation in the South: League of Women Voters, American Association of University Women, Anti-Defamation League, National Conference of Christians and Jews, American Jewish Congress. (Use PA's interrogating list)

4. Local Chambers of commerce and state chambers in South, U. S. chamber of Commerce, Southern State and national manufacturers' associations, State commissions on industrial development. Individual business men and industry executives on a list to be gradually compiled.

5. Members of state advisory committees in Southern States, Civil Rights Commission.

6. Mass media: Selected list of editors, reporters and other writers.

7. Federal Government: Selected list of Senators and Representatives', Department of Justice, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

8. Selected miscellaneous list of Southern politicians, business and professional men and others who might be interested.

Distribution Lists

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8. Selected miscellaneous list of Southern politicians, business and professional men and others who might be interested.

BENJAMIN MUSE
MANASSAS, VA.

June 5, 1959

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Upon further thought I have decided that it would probably be better to delete from "The Davis Report and the Truth about the Public School Situation in Washington, D. C.," the second paragraph from the bottom of page 6, beginning: "Pregnancies out of wedlock--" and ending: "--girls enrolled."

I believe it will be easy to spot this and strike it out.

I enjoyed going over things with you in Atlanta. The research situation seems to be well in hand -- and no lack of projects!

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS
FRANKLIN ADMINISTRATION BUILDING
THIRTEENTH AND K STREETS NW.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

May 26, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Consultant, Southern Regional
Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I am returning the draft of the report on the Washington Public Schools with a few notations for suggested changes.

The report I think is concise, readable and factual. It seems to me that this makes a good short form study of the Washington School System.

Statistics on juvenile pregnancies out of wedlock prior to desegregation are not in my opinion significant and I am not including such data as we have on this subject. In general there has been an increase in the extent of Negro pregnancies. On this point, however, attributions to the desegregation process would be illogical.

I am certainly glad that the Southern Regional Council has the benefit of your guidance on this part of their work.

Sincerely,

Carl F. Hansen

Carl F. Hansen
Superintendent of Schools

Enclosure

Report No.
May 25, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

THE "DAVIS REPORT" AND THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SITUATION IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

In June, 1956, with 13 of the 25 members of the House of Representatives Committee on the District of Columbia meeting in closed session, 11 of the 13 voted to create a subcommittee "to investigate Public School Standards and Conditions, and Juvenile Delinquency in the District of Columbia." Representative James C. Davis of Georgia became chairman of the subcommittee and his name is generally given to its subsequent report.

The five other members of the subcommittee were: Representatives John Bell Williams, of Mississippi; Woodrow W. Jones, of North Carolina; Joel T. Broyhill, of Virginia; A. L. Miller, of Nebraska; and DeWitt S. Hyde of Maryland. William Gerber, an attorney of Memphis, Tennessee, was retained as chief counsel.

The committee hearings, which were publicly conducted for nine days, beginning September 17, 1956, produced 512 printed pages of testimony. The "findings" of the subcommittee, together with excerpts from the testimony of selected witnesses, and the "Recommendations," and a brief minority statement are in the 48-page official report of the investigation.

Two of the six committee members did not sign the majority report but gave their own views in the minority statement which included the following: "In a close reading of the hearings we must come to the conclusion that the technical staff presented leading questions to a selected group of witnesses. Persons with views not in accord with those of the Counsel were not given full and fair opportunity to testify." Any copy of the subcommittee report which does not include the last page on which are given the views of Representatives Miller and Hyde is not an official copy.

The subcommittee hearings took place at a time when Congress was not in session and when most of the members of the District of Columbia Committee were not in Washington. Representative Roy Wier (D. Minn.) a former member of the Minneapolis Board of Education, sent a telegram to the chairman of the District Committee, Representative John L. McMillan (D. S.C.), September 25, 1956, "strongly urging" that the subcommittee counsel, William Gerber, be suspended pending a meeting of the full committee. "Counsel Gerber's sole object," Representative Wier said, "seems to be to prove that integration has not worked and to set teacher against teacher, parent against parent, and pupil against pupil to prevent it from working in the future."

Many of the witnesses at the subcommittee hearings gave testimony of a sensational nature, and the Washington newspapers reported such testimony, but in their editorial columns all three daily newspapers discounted the objectivity and deplored the tactics of the investigation.

On September 21 a Washington Evening Star editorial stated: "The Davis investigation of integration in Washington is of course designed to delay its acceptance elsewhere. The committee will supply ammunition in that respect in the form of testimony by responsible witnesses, under guidance of a skilled interrogator who knows precisely what sort of information he wants in the record."

An editorial in the Washington Post and Times Herald, September 23, 1956 said: "----Counsel Gerber has already compiled just the record he wants-- a record showing that integration has brought difficult problems to the District schools arising out of Negro educational deficiencies. The fact that these problems stemmed from the evils of segregation and from the cultural, economic, and educational disadvantages to which Negroes have been subjected has been consistently ignored or glossed over by the subcommittee."

The Washington Daily News of September 26, 1956 carried an editorial which opened: "About all that has been brought out at the House District Committee hearings on District public school desegregation up to now is a self evident fact. A great social change has been imposed on District citizens." The editorial writer went on to say that the way out of the dilemma was not a return to segregation but was rather to separate students according to ability.

In addition to editorial comment the newspapers frequently made their own investigation of some "incident" reported by a subcommittee witness. A temporary teacher at McKinley High School testified that a white McKinley senior had received serious injuries in a fight with two McKinley Negro boys. The Washington Post sent reporter Karl Meyer to see McKinley's principal, Charles Edward Bish, and Inspector John E. Winters of the Youth Aid Division. Both Principal Bish and Inspector Winters stated that while two Negro boys did attack a McKinley senior, they were not McKinley students at all. The two boys who came to the assistance of the senior, they said, were McKinley students --two Negro classmates of the white victim.

Twenty-seven prominent citizens of Washington, including leading clergymen of all faiths and responsible civic leaders, met on September 23, 1956, to form "The Washington Committee of Public Schools" for the purpose of making available "dispassionate, unprejudiced, and accurate information" to offset the reports of the House hearings on the city's schools. Gerhard Van Arkel, a Washington attorney was selected chairman. Speaking for the group he said "The tone of the committee hearings indicates little or no interest in determining the full facts respecting the District Schools."

At one point in the investigation Counsel Gerber said to Superintendent of Schools Dr. ~~Herbert S.~~ Hobart M. Corning who was being questioned: "I think you are trying to get out of this mess the best way you can." Superintendent

Corning answered, "I don't agree that we are in a mess. But I do say we know our problems. They are many and we are doing the best we can."

A few months later the man who was to become Dr. Corning's successor, Assistant Superintendent Dr. Carl Hansen, wrote a comprehensive report giving a picture of the Washington school situation prior to integration, and describing the kinds of problems and the kinds of solutions that had been developing since two separate school systems had been unified in Washington. Dr. Hansen called his 70-page report, "Miracle of Social Adjustment; Desegregation in the Washington, D.C. Schools." While Dr. Hansen's report was not written as a "reply" to the Davis report, many people felt that it contained the kind of information about the complicated situation which Washington citizens were asking for when the Davis hearings were underway.

Dr. Hansen's report gave evidence that the basically good situation described in the September 24th. (1954) issue of the U.S. News and World Report had not changed:

"There wasn't even a fist fight between youngsters. That's how quietly a historic change came as the nation's capital ended segregation in its public schools last week" the U.S. News and World Report read. "The capital, by tradition is a Southern City. Its schools have always been segregated, yet when 100,000 Washington children entered mixed schools for the first time on September 13 there was no rioting, no violence, no picketing, not even a protest meeting ---politeness everywhere, downright friendliness in many cases.-----It is generally agreed that the mixing of races in Washington is working out far better than most people expected."

It is recorded in the Congressional Record that on Friday, March 8, 1957, the Honorable Clifford P. Case (R. N.J.) said of Dr. Hansen's report: "Those

who are concerned with an objective, factual account of the Washington problems and how they were met will find it in the authoritative study by Dr. Carl Hansen. -- I hope that The Miracle of Social Adjustment will be read widely here and abroad."

On March 12, Representative Abram J. Multer (D. N.Y.) said "I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in Time Magazine February 25, 1957." The Time article presented was an account of Dr. Hansen's report. It began: "Last December a House subcommittee headed by Georgia's James Davis declared that integration had seriously damaged the public school system and recommended that it be stopped. Last week a more reasonable judgement came from Washington's Assistant School Superintendent Carl F. Hansen --".

Three years after the Davis report and four and a half years after the beginning of desegregation in the District of Columbia, the Richmond Times Dispatch sent staff reporter Larry Weekley to Washington to see how school integration was developing in 1959. "After four and a half years" reporter Weekley wrote on February 9, 1959, "the integrated public schools of the District of Columbia remain remarkably free of racial strife." In the same article he quotes Principal Stoney (Storey) --whose testimony before the subcommittee hearings had been critical of school discipline in the early days of desegregation--as saying in 1959 that the "tension has disappeared. By and large our discipline problems have decreased tremendously."

In 1956 the Washington school administration began implementing the new famous plan of grouping students according to ability, called the "Four-Track System." This system prevents backward pupils of either race from retarding the progress of the whole group and gives an opportunity for all to achieve their educational potential. In a total of 13,377 senior high school

students, 3,026 are in the basic track, 5,575 in the general track, 3,804 in the college preparatory track and 892 in the honors track.

In 1953 when the achievement test scores only of white pupils were reported, the median grade equivalent in reading for the sixth grades was 7.2--against a national norm of 6.7.

In 1954 when sixth grade students, white and colored, were tested together for the first time the grade equivalent for reading was 4.9. With Negroes representing 60.8 percent of the school enrollment, it was obviously their average rating which had brought the aggregate grade equivalent down.

Today Washington's combined white and Negro 6th. grade public school students have progressed to a position equal to, or above, the national norm in 5 out of the 6 categories covered by the Stanford Achievement Test. The 1959 results show that Washington 6th. graders have achieved a 6.7 median in word meaning and arithmetic reasoning, and a 6.6 median in spelling, language and arithmetic computation against a national norm of 6.6.

In view of the fact that the Negro pupils now represent 74 per cent of the total enrollment, it is evident from the foregoing that substantial progress has been made in the achievement rating of both white and Negro pupils since 1953.

Pregnancies out of wedlock present a serious social and moral problem in Washington, arising, according to Superintendent Hansen, "from family and community inadequacies rather than from desegregation." In 1957-1958, 209 girls, mostly Negroes, were excused from school attendance for pregnancy, out of a total of 55,818 girls enrolled.

Only one case of interracial marriage out of a total enrollment (in 1958) of 114,219, has occurred in four years among students or graduates of integrated schools. A Negro boy and a white girl, who had attended the same school together for one year, but in different grades, were subsequently married.

A report of the District of Columbia Welfare Department issued March 8, 1959, shows that, the delinquency rate among Negroes (aged 5 to 17) fell from 37.1 per 1000 in 1954 to 21.2 per 1000 in 1958. Among white children the rate remained stable at 15.3 in 1954 and 15.2 in 1958.

References:

Miracle of Social Adjustment, by Carl F. Hansen, 70-page Freedom Pamphlet may be obtained from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y., 35¢.

The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools, by Erwin Knoll, may be obtained from the Turnpike Press, Annandale, Virginia, 15¢ postpaid; special rates for quantity orders.

For comprehensive study of the problem, the following are also suggested: Series of articles on the Washington public schools by Reporter Larry Weekley, in the Richmond Times Dispatch of February 8, 9, 10 and 11, 1959.

Report on Desegregation in Washington, D.C. for the Conference of the Commission on Civil Rights, Nashville, Tennessee, March 5, 6, 1959, by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D.C., Office of the Superintendent, Franklin Administration Building, Thirteenth and K Streets, N.W., Washington 5, D.C. (3 pages)

Summary of the Desegregation Experiences in the Public Schools of the District of Columbia for Notre Dame Conference, May 8, 1959, by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Office of the Superintendent, Franklin Administration Building, Thirteenth and K Streets, N.W., Washington 5, D.C. (15 pages of factual material, much of it related to the effect of desegregation on academic standards)

Democracy and the District of Columbia Schools, by Ellis O. Knox, Judd and Detweiler, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1957, $3.50. Hard-back book, 131 pages, by professor of education at Howard University. Scholarly and carefully documented study of District of Columbia schools before and in the years immediately following desegregation.

Excerpts marked in red

ADDRESS

OF

J. LINDSAY ALMOND, JR.

GOVERNOR

TO THE

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES JUNE 9, 1959

WARREN COUNTY EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Harold:

I am suggesting by these enclosures an L Report containing excerpts from a speech by Gov. Almond. Because it comes from Almond, it might be effective save-the-public schools material.

Ben

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR

J. LINDSAY ALMOND, JR.

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES JUNE 9, 1959

WARREN COUNTY EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION

I count it a high privilege to appear before this audience composed of so many of the dedicated citizens of Warren County. The privilege ascends in responsibility as I look with pride and satisfaction upon this graduation class, unique in the history of the Commonwealth.

I am aware of no yardstick adequate to measure the splendid attributes of citizenship which motivated and propelled the launching and sustenance of the Educational Foundation that has met and mastered one of the gravest situations ever to confront any political subdivision of Virginia. The response of these people to the harsh crisis thrust upon them, by the adamant and hostile attitude, the reckless impatience and inconsiderate judgment of a Federal Court heedless of the consequences of rash and precipitate action, stands out as a brave and brilliant chapter in the annals of Warren County.

To all who gave so freely of their substance; manifested their devotion to principle; demonstrated their readiness to sacrifice for the welfare and educational development of these young people; to those who served with signal ability and constructive foresight in capacities of administration and sponsorship; to the corps of splendid teachers, without whom dismal failure would have rendered naught every effort; to the parents. whose sustaining support and co-operation was indispensible to success, and to every pupil enrolled whose determination to overcome the barriers of hardship and the handicaps of inconvenience by orderly and diligent application of their energies and talents in pursuit of their education in a manner so reflective of the strength of their courage and character—to all of these and many more, I express the admiration and gratitude of the overwhelming majority of the people of Virginia.

When the blow, spawned in political expediency and backed by the inordinate arrogance of superior federal power, fell with sudden and ruthless impact, you met the shock with a poise and dignity in exemplification of a profound Christian spirit and character in keeping with the highest traditions of decorum and native decency; you held aloft as a brilliant beacon, for all of the nation to see, the name and honor of Virginia unsullied by the stigma of ugliness and violence.

However bitter the potion or poignant the rapier thrust, culture and refinement, honor and dignity, law and order, to your eternal credit and to the glory of Virginia, have been safe and secure in your keeping. For all of this and much more the lawabiding and lofty minded people of Virginia and the nation salute you with high admiration and profound respect.

In congratulating this splendid class of graduates, I express the hope that each and everyone will manifest that courage and determination which has invoked the pride of all who know you to the completion of your education at higher levels.

The stirring and challenging age in which we live demands more imperatively than ever before that the young people of Virginia be afforded and stimulated to avail themselves of that training and education so essential to their future welfare and happiness, and so indispensible to the strength, security and survival of our country.

I consider the occasion proper and the time propitious to speak out here in this

citadel of culture and refinement, so steeped in the traditions of Virginia's historic past, and so imbued with the fiber of character, spirit and capacity for the leadership essential to the preservation of Virginia's role of pre-eminence among the sisterhood of States.

The time for hurling the firebrands of criticism, charges and countercharges and recriminations has passed. The time has arrived to take stock, not of theory and indulgence in wishful thinking, but in actual conditions and realities, and the laborious and soundest procedures within the limits of our genius to devise for the present and future welfare of Virginia.

We must not allow the welfare of our children and the future of our State to be victimized by the bitterness of disappointment, the pang of frustration, the demon of hate, the threat of political purge, appeal to base passions and prejudices, and the stirring of emotions productive of violence and disorder.

It is your sacred responsibility and mine, the responsibility of those whom you elect to positions of high trust, to face the issues squarely and honestly, and to dedicate every energy and talent to a constructive resolution consistent with honor and under the aegis of law.

No error could be more grave, no mistake more costly, no travesty more tragic, no curse more productive of woe, than to succumb to the blandishments of those who would have Virginia abandon public education and thereby consign a generation of children to the darkness of illiteracy, the pits of indolence and dependency, and the dungeons of delinquency. Nothing would serve more in the stigma of disgrace to relegate Virginia from the brilliance of her place in the sun of achievement to the engulfing shadows of impotence and decadence.

Statements have been made by some who know better, and by others who should know better, that the Governor of Virginia "let the people down"; that "massive resistance did not fail, it was never tried"; that all was not done that could have been done, and that "pledges made to the people have not been kept."

I answer them from the record which they cannot challenge in truth and justice.

In 1951—eight years ago—I shouldered the burden of defending Virginia's rights as a sovereign state—rights reserved and vouchsafed unto her by the supreme law of the land. From that time until September 1957 I fought and argued every case at every level in every federal court having jurisdiction, including the Supreme Court of the United States. I had the assistance of some of the ablest lawyers in Virginia. In two of the arguments before the Supreme Court, I was associated with John W. Davis of New York, the greatest constitutional lawyer of his day and generation. During these years I fought every step of the way. No stone was left unturned, every legal effort and stratagem was resorted to, every apposite authority was cited and every ethical argument advanced in our efforts to uphold and defend Virginia's rights under the Constitution. Deaf to the appeals to law, reason and logic, blind to the patent lessons of history and plain constitutional language, surfeited with the arrogance of power and basking in the security of life tenure, beyond recall by the people and contemptious of the Congress with authority to limit its jurisdiction, the Supreme Court handed down the decision of May 17, 1954, amending the Constitution in violation of its oath to uphold and defend it. From that time to the date of my resignation as Attorney General, I fought a constant series of delaying actions. There was no mixing of the races in our schools, with thousands of our children graduating in peace and harmony therefrom during the years 1954-55-56-57.

The decision is wrong: it is not supported by the Constitution; the Court did not possess the authority to so decide. It arrogated unto itself the power to so decide as contradistinguished from constitutional authority. With the power to decide it possessed the power to enforce, sustained and augmented by the supremacy of the overriding power of the Federal Government. The present national administration motivated, not by considerations of public welfare, but by political expediency under

the whiplash of a minority pressure group, has made it clear that the decision of the Supreme Court will be enforced by federal power. With the issue kept alive in the arena of power politics, any hope of reversion to constitutional principles is a phantom of delusion irrespective of the political complexion of the next administration.

The so-called "Massive Resistance" laws were enacted during the previous administration. Upon my recommendation the General Assembly of 1958 endeavored to strengthen them. When integration was decreed finally by the courts in Norfolk and Charlottesville, I applied these statutes and closed the affected schools. Notwithstanding the tragedy of these situations and the pressures which beat down upon me, these schools remained closed. On January 19, 1959, these statutes were adjudged in violation of the Federal and State Constitutions, not only by a federal court, but also by our own Supreme Court of Appeals. I applied these statutes to the last breath of their life and to the last moment of their vitality. The last weapon of preventitive massive resistance by law had been dissolved by judicial authority.

I had pledged to the people that I would do all within my power, consistent with honor and within the framework of law, to prevent that which I believed would be inimical to the cause of public education and the public welfare. I exercised every power at my command in the keeping of that promise.

As Chief Executive of this Commonwealth, I had no alternative but to convene the General Assembly in Extra Session and lay before the people the bare facts, in all of their stark reality, with recommendations as to what I believed to be the course to pursue in the interest of all of our people.

I appointed a Commission on Education composed of able and dedicated members of the General Assembly representative of every area of the Commonwealth. You are familiar with the report of the Commission, the recommendations of which were endorsed by me and enacted into law substantially as recommended. Throughout its deliberations, the Commission had the counsel and advice of able legal talent.

I cannot claim that we have produced the final or most salutary solution to the grave and complex problems which confront us. The road ahead is tortuous. We have not surrendered to federal aggression, nor have we yielded in our righteous determination to continue on the level of honor and dignity our efforts to restore constitutional government and vindicate Virginia's rights under the Constitution.

We have assessed and endeavored to evaluate the whole situation in the light of varying local conditions, with due regard to the will and rights of the people in every locality.

We have sought to prevent the superimposing of the will of any given area upon the whole or any division of the whole.

We have restored to the people at the local level full control over the appropriation of tax revenues, fiscal allotments and budgetary procedures.

We have kept our pledge of no enforced integration by providing that no child shall be required to attend an integrated school.

We have provided scholarship assistance on a non-discriminatory basis to any child attending a private non-sectarian school.

We have provided for nondiscriminatory assignment criteria with right of appeal to a central agency.

We have sought to undergird the principle of freedom of choice and the right of self-determination.

To those who insist upon the right to associate, we have countered with implementation of the right not to associate.

The dictates of candor and fairness compel me to state that everything was done that could be done to prevent the mixing of the races in our public schools anywhere

in Virginia. Those who assert to the contrary are the recipients of a longstanding and unaccepted invitation to come forward with a valid plan to accomplish that which the overwhelming majority of the people of Virginia desire. Those who claim the clairvoyance and genius to evolve such a plan should submit it in all of its detail to the scrutiny of the people.

The only sure prevention of any integration anywhere in Virginia is the total abolition of every public school everywhere in Virginia. If this is what they advocate, the people of Virginia should now be told with complete clarity and frankness.

I tell you now that we cannot secede from the Union; we cannot overthrow the Federal Government, and we cannot reverse a final decree of a federal court.

I tell you now that the General Assembly cannot confer upon the Governor, any board, agency or person, any power which it does not itself possess.

I further tell you, notwithstanding the claims of some, that the General Assembly cannot under the pretense of invoking the police power take over and operate the public school system and thereby negate the final decree of a federal court. People who permit themselves to be fooled by such delusions deserve to be fooled.

We cannot afford to destroy or suffer the catastrophe of permitting the public school system to be destroyed. In some areas we cannot operate racially mixed schools. That is a foregone conclusion. In other areas many people will not send their children to mixed schools. Private schools must serve as a complement to public schools. Each should serve as an incentive to the other. The responsibility of educating the children of Virginia must be accepted and discharged through the medium of public schools wherever possible, and through the medium of private schools where conditions will not permit the sustenance of public schools.

In adjusting to the serious situations in the various localities, we should proceed with extreme care and caution so as to not render our positions vulnerable to the attacks which we may invoke. If public education is abandoned in any county or city, then public support for private education therein on a segregated basis becomes most precarious.

In consideration of the abandonment of public schools, we should bear in mind that enrolled in the public schools of Virginia are approximately 800,000 children. There are only 112 sectarian schools, 12 of which are integrated, with a total enrollment of 26,610. There are 110 nonsectarian schools, one of which is integrated, with a total enrollment of 10,325. Private schools—both sectarian and nonsectarian—accommodate only 36,935 as compared with 800,000 in public schools. This points up the magnitude of the problem of accommodating children denied access to public schools. In considering any such transition, we must walk with measured steps, with full appraisal of the consequences.

I am convinced that the people of Virginia have the desire, will and purpose, and possess the capacity, genius and foresight to provide for the education vital to the welfare of their children. In the attainment of this objective, the hardships created and the barriers erected by judicial despotism are things to master and not to mourn.

Aided, encouraged and fostered by friendly decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, the despicable ideology of Communism beats down upon us while we spend billions to contain it. We can and we must contain the harmful effects of the Supreme Court's decision in the school cases without sacrificing the education of our children. We must improve our system of education and not permit its dissolution. Its abandonment would be promotion of surrender and acceptance of defeat. I shall continue with all of my energy the struggle for its survival.

Virginia and her sister states of the South would do well to take warning from the rapidly developing and sinister trends of federal control in the field of education. The Supreme Court has said that public education is "perhaps the most important

function of state and local government." The Federal Government is constantly watching this function with a greedy and devouring eye. It is a function indispensable to the strength and security of the nation. It is a function serving a purpose and supplying a need and service which the people will constantly and increasingly demand. History confirms that, whenever a vaccum is created at state and local levels in a needful and demanded governmental function, the tentacles of the Federal octupus reach out and take over. Public education is a heavy burden on the treasuries of state and local government. Twenty-nine states are now in desperate financial straits. Many of them are constantly seeking federal aid.

Abandonment of public support of education would constitute an open invitation to the Federal Government to assume that function. It would find ready support in many areas of our country. Federal Bureaucrats who are apostles of Socialism would promote the movement. Both the temptation and inclination on the part of the government would be strong to establish and provide public education as a national policy essential to the general welfare and the security of the nation. The government in the exercise of its power of eminent domain could acquire public buildings adaptable to its purposes. It would establish federal standards, cover the nation's teaching force under Civil Service, prescribe curricula and integrate both faculties and schools. We would do well to consider which is better and which would we prefer—public education administered as a function of the Federal Government, or public education administered as best we can with State and local support, control and regulation.

The issues revolving around public education will confront the next session of the General Assembly. I have taken my stand. We must save, sustain and support the cause of public education in Virginia. I call upon all Virginians who believe in the soundness and righteousness of that position to rally to my support before it is too late. "To be forewarned is to be forearmed."

June 12, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

I had intended to talk with you about Odum's speech when you were here but somehow forgot. Your letter is useful, therefore, if for no other reason than it reminds me of some questions.

You marked pages twelve to seventeen. Pages twelve to fourteen have a first-rate analysis of the financial problems involved in liquidating a public school system. This I think would be very well suited for an L report. I have some doubts, however, about the other pages and these cause me to wonder whether pages twelve to fourteen should be taken out of context. On pages fourteen to eighteen he implies support for some private school establishments; speaks kindly of the Alabama School Placement Act; predicts that the NAACP will find it increasingly difficult to find Negro children with parents willing to bring court suits; compliments the U. S. News & World Report; indicates a belief that private school tuition could be held to a manageable level. Some of these positions I think are mistaken and the others at least are not consistent with the points of view we support. I could excerpt many good statements from pages fourteen to eighteen; I don't think, however, it would be defensible to do so.

What do you think: should we use pages twelve to fourteen alone? would you like to re-examine the speech before deciding? In the meantime we shall hold on to it here.

Your Washington school report will come out next. Harold and I think something would be gained by noting that Dr. Hanson had read and approved it for accuracy. Do you think he would object to the use of his name?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Hold until further notice. BM
OK, except for Dr. Hansen's note.

Report No. L-6
~~May 25~~, 1959
July 3, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, ~~Ga.~~ Georgia

THE "DAVIS REPORT" AND THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SITUATION IN WASHINGTON, D.C.*

In June, 1956, with 13 of the 25 members of the House of Representatives Committee on the District of Columbia meeting in closed session, 11 of the 13 voted to create a subcommittee "to investigate Public School Standards and Conditions, and Juvenile Delinquency in the District of Columbia." Representative James C. Davis of Georgia became chairman of the subcommittee and his name is generally given to its subsequent report.

The five other members of the subcommittee were: Representatives John Bell Williams, of Mississippi; Woodrow W. Jones, of North Carolina; Joel T. Broyhill, of Virginia; A. L. Miller, of Nebraska; and DeWitt S. Hyde of Maryland. William Gerber, an attorney of Memphis, Tennessee, was retained as chief counsel.

The committee hearings, which were publicly conducted for nine days, beginning September 17, 1956, produced 512 printed pages of testimony. The "findings" of the subcommittee, together with excerpts from the testimony of selected witnesses, ~~and~~ the "Recommendations," and a brief minority statement, are in the 48-page official report of the investigation.

Two of the six committee members did not sign the majority report but gave their own views in the minority statement which included the following: "In a close reading of the hearings we must come to the conclusion that the technical staff presented leading questions to a selected group of witnesses. Persons with views not in accord with those of the Counsel were not given full and fair opportunity to testify." Any copy of the subcommittee report which does not include the last page on which are given the views of Representatives Miller and Hyde is not an official copy.

* This report has been read and approved for accuracy by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, District of Columbia.

The subcommittee hearings took place at a time when Congress was not in session and when most of the members of the District of Columbia Committee were away from Washington. Representative Roy Wier (D. Minn.) a former member of the Minneapolis Board of Education, sent a telegram to the chairman of the District Committee, Representative John L. McMillan (D. S.C.), September 25, 1956, "strongly urging" that the subcommittee counsel, William Gerber, be suspended pending a meeting of the full committee. "Counsel Gerber's sole object," Representative Wier said, "seems to be to prove that integration has not worked and to set teacher against teacher, parent against parent, and pupil against pupil to prevent it from working in the future."

Many of the witnesses at the subcommittee hearings gave testimony of a sensational nature, and the Washington newspapers reported such testimony. But in their editorial columns all three daily newspapers discounted the objectivity and deplored the tactics of the investigation.

On September 21 a Washington Evening Star editorial stated: "The Davis investigation of integration in Washington is of course designed to delay its acceptance elsewhere. The committee will supply ammunition in that respect in the form of testimony by responsible witnesses, under guidance of a skilled interrogator who knows precisely what sort of information he wants in the record."

An editorial in the Washington Post and Times Herald, September 23, 1956 said: "----Counsel Gerber has already compiled just the record he wants-- a record showing that integration has brought difficult problems to the District schools arising out of Negro educational deficiencies. The fact that these problems stemmed from the evils of segregation and from the cultural, economic, and educational disadvantages to which Negroes have been subjected has been consistently ignored or glossed over by the subcommittee."

The Washington Daily News of September 26, 1956 carried an editorial which opened: "About all that has been brought out at the House District Committee hearings on District public school desegregation up to now is a self evident fact. A great social change has been imposed on District citizens." The editorial writer went on to say that the way out of the dilemma was not a return to segregation but was rather to separate students according to ability.

In addition to editorial comment the newspapers frequently made their own investigation of some "incident" reported by a subcommittee witness. A temporary teacher at McKinley High School testified that a white McKinley senior had received serious injuries in a fight with two McKinley Negro boys. The Washington Post sent reporter Karl Meyer to see McKinley's principal, Charles Edward Bish, and Inspector John E. Winters of the Youth Aid Division. Both Principal Bish and Inspector Winters stated that while two Negro boys did attack a McKinley senior, they were not McKinley students at all. The two boys who came to the assistance of the senior, they said, were McKinley students --two Negro classmates of the white victim.

Twenty-seven prominent citizens of Washington, including leading clergymen of all faiths and responsible civic leaders, met on September 23, 1956, to form "The Washington Committee of Public Schools" for the purpose of making available "dispassionate, unprejudiced, and accurate information" to offset the reports of the House hearings on the city's schools. Gerhard Van Arkel, a Washington attorney was selected chairman. Speaking for the group he said "The tone of the committee hearings indicates little or no interest in determining the full facts respecting the District Schools."

At one point in the committee hearings Rep.Williams asked the then Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Dr.Carl Hansen:" Do you think, Dr.Hansen, that integration in the District of Columbia schools has been carried on smoothly and without incident?"

Dr.Hansen replied: "It would be fantastic to say 'without incident.' I think that the integration program in this city has been a miracle of social adjustment."

~~Assistant Superintendent~~ Dr. ~~Earl~~ Hansen, wrote a comprehensive report, giving a picture of the Washington school situation prior to integration, and describing the kinds of problems and the kinds of solutions that had been developing since two separate school systems had been unified, ~~in Washington.~~ Dr. Hansen called his 70-page report, "Miracle of Social Adjustment; Desegregation in the Washington, D.C. Schools." While Dr. Hansen's report was not written as a "reply" to the Davis report, many people felt that it contained the kind of information about the complicated situation which Washington citizens were asking for when the Davis hearings were underway.

Dr. Hansen's report gave evidence that the basically good situation described in the September 24th (1954) issue of the U.S. News and World Report had not changed:

"There wasn't even a fist fight between youngsters. That's how quietly a historic change came as the nation's capital ended segregation in its public schools last week" the U.S. News and World Report read. "The capital, by tradition is a Southern City. Its schools have always been segregated, yet when 100,000 Washington children entered mixed schools for the first time on September 13 there was no rioting, no violence, no picketing, not even a protest meeting ---politeness everywhere, downright friendliness in many cases.-----It is generally agreed that the mixing of races in Washington is working out far better than most people expected."

It is recorded in the Congressional Record that on Friday, March 8, 1957, the Honorable Clifford P. Case (R. N.J.) said of Dr. Hansen's report: "Those

who are concerned with an objective, factual account of the Washington problems and how they were met will find it in the authoritative study by Dr. Carl Hansen. -- I hope that The Miracle of Social Adjustment will be read widely here and abroad."

On March 12, Representative Abram J. Multer (D. N.Y.) said "I am pleased to commend to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in Time Magazine February 25, 1957." The Time article presented was an account of Dr. Hansen's report. It began: "Last December a House subcommittee headed by Georgia's James Davis declared that integration had seriously damaged the public school system and recommended that it be stopped. Last week a more reasonable judgement came from Washington's Assistant School Superintendent Carl F. Hansen --".

Three years after the Davis report and four and a half years after the beginning of desegregation in the District of Columbia, the Richmond Times Dispatch sent staff reporter, Larry Weekley, to Washington to see how school integration was developing in 1959. "After four and a half years" reporter Weekley wrote on February 9, 1959, "the integrated public schools of the District of Columbia remain remarkably free of racial strife." In the same article he quotes Principal Story--whose testimony before the subcommittee hearings had been critical of school discipline in the early days of desegregation--as saying in 1959 that the "tension has disappeared. By and large our discipline problems have decreased tremendously."

In 1956 the Washington school administration began implementing the now famous plan of grouping students according to ability, called the "Four-Track System." This system prevents backward pupils of either race from retarding the progress of the whole group and gives an opportunity for all to achieve their educational potential. In a total of 13,377 senior high school

students, 3,026 are in the basic track, 5,575 in the general track, 3,804 in the college preparatory track and 892 in the honors track.

In 1953 when the achievement test scores only of white pupils were reported, the median grade equivalent in reading for the sixth grades was 7.2--against a national norm of 6.7.

In 1954 when sixth grade students, white and colored, were tested together for the first time the grade equivalent for reading was 4.9. With Negroes representing 60.8 percent of the school enrollment, it was obviously their average rating which had brought the aggregate grade equivalent down.

Today Washington's combined white and Negro ~~6th.~~ sixth grade public school students have progressed to a position equal to, or above, the national norm in 5 out of the 6 categories covered by the Stanford Achievement Test. The 1959 results show that Washington ~~6th.~~ sixth graders have achieved a 6.7 median -- against a national norm of 6.6.

In view of the fact that the Negro pupils now represent 74 per cent of the total enrollment, it is evident from the foregoing that substantial progress has been made in the achievement rating of both white and Negro pupils since 1953.

Pregnancies out of wedlock present a serious social and moral problem in Washington, arising, according to Superintendent Hansen, "from family and community inadequacies rather than from desegregation." In 1957-1958, 209 girls, mostly Negroes, were excused from school attendance for pregnancy, out of a total of 55,818 girls enrolled.

Only one case of interracial marriage out of a total enrollment (in 1958) of 114,219, has occurred in four years among students or graduates of integrated schools. A Negro boy and a white girl, who had attended the same school, but in different grades, were subsequently married.

A report of the District of Columbia Welfare Department issued March 8, 1959, shows that, the delinquency rate among Negroes (aged 5 to 17) fell from 37.1 per 1000 in 1954 to 21.2 per 1000 in 1958. Among white children the rate remained stable at 15.3 in 1954 and 15.2 in 1958.

References:

Miracle of Social Adjustment, by Carl F. Hansen, 70-page Freedom Pamphlet may be obtained from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y., 35¢.

The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools, by Erwin Knoll, may be obtained from the Turnpike Press, Annandale, Virginia, 15¢ postpaid; special rates for quantity orders.

For comprehensive study of the problem, the following are also suggested: Series of articles on the Washington public schools by Reporter Larry Weekley, in the Richmond Times Dispatch of February 8, 9, 10 and 11, 1959.

Report on Desegregation in Washington, D.C. for the Conference of the Commission on Civil Rights, Nashville, Tennessee, March 5, 6, 1959, by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D.C., Office of the Superintendent, Franklin Administration Building, Thirteenth and K Streets, N.W., Washington 5, D.C. (3 pages)

Summary of the Desegregation Experiences in the Public Schools of the District of Columbia for Notre Dame Conference, May 8, 1959, by Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Office of the Superintendent, Franklin Administration Building, Thirteenth and K Streets, N.W., Washington 5, D.C. (15 pages of factual material, much of it related to the effect of desegregation on academic standards)

Democracy and the District of Columbia Schools, by Ellis O. Knox, Judd and Detweiler, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1957, $3.50. Hard-back book, 131 pages, by a professor of education at Howard University. Scholarly and carefully documented study of District of Columbia schools before and in the years immediately following desegregation.

July 7, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Enclosed are two more of the state reports on segregation-desegregation: Louisiana and North Carolina. The others will be coming to you in a short time. We hope you will find them useful.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

Research

July 16, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Enclosed is another state summary; this one is of Alabama.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

July 17, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Enclosed is the Florida summary report; it will be a month or so before we have any of the other states because several other projects have priority at this time. Eventually, you will receive Texas, Virginia, and probably Mississippi and Louisiana.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

October 8, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

I would like to follow up on a point we discussed the other night.

Do you think there would be usefulness in a short, objective report designed to show schoolmen and other community leaders what academic problems and results can be expected from desegregation?

The report could be based on two principal sources: 1) the statistical study of Negro and white students and teachers in Atlanta, made by the Educational Testing Service (which has informed me that to its knowledge no similar studies have been made elsewhere); 2) the academic experience of Washington schools since 1954, and, if the data is available, the experience of Baltimore, Louisville and other desegregated systems.

The intent would be to provide a summary of the factual record as a service to Southern localities (and as an erasure of some preconceptions).

If we decide to do this, I would attempt to commission a faculty person to prepare it, and sign it. I wonder if the best presentation would not be as an L Report, though I would suggest it have a different form? A form and length similar to that of the enclosed leaflet might be used (with L Report heading instead of New South, of course); two holes

could be punched to match the top two holes in the conventional L Report. The distribution could be the same, plus others as seemed desirable. Budget allocations between Research and RHF could, I am sure, be easily settled.

Obviously, this would all require an investment of time, effort and money which, though not of great size, should not be expended unless we see a positive, strong value. What do you think?

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure

October 15, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Mr. Dunbar asked me to send you the enclosed copy of New South, May 1957, and tell you that he thinks the Charles Fairman article contains the best defense of the Brown decision that he has seen.

He has your letter regarding the proposed L report, and will write you about this later.

I am checking on the number of Action Patterns in School Desegregation we have on hand, the distribution of them so far, and also with Paul Rilling and John Constable as to any suggestions or ideas they may have. When I have all information in hand I'll give it to Mr. Dunbar and he will reply. If he is still at home next week, and he probably will be, I will be going out once or twice for dictation and to take him his mail.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

Enclosure:
New South, May 1957

October 27, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

You will recall the conversation that we had with Bob Thompson when you were last here. My understanding was that the consensus favored attempting to reach northern companies with interests in the South. My own feeling, which I think Harold shares, is that we cannot afford to be overly optimistic about this, but that the field is too rich to be altogether neglected. As to tactics, we understood this: there was to be an initial letter which would try to open up subsequent contacts. I have drafted such a letter and it has been gone over by Bob and Harold. I honestly do not, however, feel that I have achieved the right tone; if you share my dissatisfaction with it, please revise or re-write at will.

As you will see from the head note, the intention would be to tailor each letter. I would suppose this would be highly desirable, though I think it should be done against a basic pattern. Our thought would be that about ten or twelve of these would go out at the start; that no more would be sent until responses came in and we could evaluate both the effectiveness of the approach and the demands that it would make on your time. In the meantime Bob Thompson will be compiling on index cards the principal facts about the leading companies: location and type of southern plants, number of employees, names and addresses of southern directors, if any, names of president and chairman, etc. These cards would be furnished to you with any replies that invited further contact. You would take it from there.

Because Mr. Dabbs would be signing the letters, we shall of course have to discuss the plans with him.

The response from Phi Delta Kappa is a bit overwhelming; see enclosed. We are so wrapped up here just now with projects aborning (as Harold goes off to tilt with the New York money chests) that I haven't done any more than read the letter and probably will not answer it before next week. Of course we shall take advantage of their offer. Please let me have any ideas which may occur to you regarding distribution.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosure: CC proposed letter
thermafax, PDK letter

P.S. A final point that I forgot in connection with the leadership project. In lieu of any better idea, we propose to select the companies to be first approached by using the Fortune list of 500 largest industrial corporations; starting from the top, we propose to write first to companies with plants in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi; many of these, of course, will also have locations elsewhere in the South. On a second go, if we get that far, we would, following the same order, write to companies with plants only in the other Southern states.

October 30, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

We are mailing you today five copies of With Justice for All: A Guide for Law Enforcement Officers; we have a few more and can buy others if you would like to have them.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Mailed separately:
5 - With Justice for All

Enclosure: The South's Call to Greatness:
A Challenge to All Southerners

December 1, 1959
(dictated Nov. 25th)

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

This is in reply to the several points raised in your letter of November 20.

The letters from Jas. C. Evans baffle me. I can't imagine doing an "analytical report" on the reprint of "Integration in the Army." He must be referring to the proposal mentioned in his November 9 letter to John Hope. At any rate, it is confusing. Would it be in order for you to write to Evans suggesting that he write directly to Harold or me outlining what he has in mind that the Southern Regional Council might do?

We wrote to the National Association of School Boards, which informed us that we could not have a list of Southern school board members. We were instead given the names of the presidents and executive secretaries of the state school board associations. As per the enclosed, we have written to them for local names. As yet we have had only one reply.

Mrs. Albright and I have been working on the distribution of Action Patterns to superintendents. Phi Delta Kappa sent us their list; we are collating it with our list; it turns out to be a horrible mess, and consequently Mrs. Albright is not getting much help from me. But we are working on it.

The plans for doing something on Negro achievement have been temporarily suspended while Harold considers the advisa ability of a foundation proposal to the end of doing something rather ambitious.

Harold tells me that he will be in touch with you soon regarding your essay on the collaps of massive resistance.

I believe you got a copy of my letter of November 13 to Dr. Stallings at the University of Louisville. This will be a beginning, at least, toward a study of the track system.

Best wishes for a pleasant holiday; you have earned it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures: thermafax,
letter to state executive secretaries

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

file

December 10, 1959

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

This copy of Everett Tucker's talks in Georgia contains, of course, a great deal that we wouldn't endorse, but, there is material in the last five pages which might be very helpful. If used in an L-Report, I would suggest a note like the following:

(Note: Mr. Tucker is a "sincere segregationist," and his remarks included sharp criticism of the Supreme Court. He made it clear also that the opinions which he expressed do not necessarily reflect the views of the Little Rock School Board, the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, or the Industrial Development Company of Little Rock, with which he is identified.)

Sincerely,

Ben

FOR CONSIDERATION: POSSIBLE L REPORTS

May 29, 1959

1. More statements from industrial leaders when available.

2. Rarity of inter-racial marriages in places where public schools have been desegregated.

3. List of school districts desegregating grade by grade, beginning with the first. (Action Patterns in School Desegregation is a study of only 70 of the 800 desegregated districts.)

Action Patterns might be quoted from: "From Bottom Up," page 102, to "First Three Grades & Up," page 104.

(I find many casually interested people who remark: "The thing might work if they would begin with the first grade." It is a good conversational item, and a starting point for a broader study of desegregation.)

Report should recommend Action Patterns as a study of desegregation techniques.

4. Social events, athletics and other extra-curricular activities in integrated schools in Southern and border states.

5. Percentage of Negro population in each Southern county, in larger Southern cities, and in certain smaller Southern cities, where some desegregation has taken place, where desegregation suits are pending or where sensational racial incidents have occurred. 1950 Census should be used as a basis with later figures given in parentheses when available.

6. Brief facts and figures reflecting the dramatic progress of Negroes in the United States today both in the North and in the South. The Negro's increasing role in national life as reflected in the new Negro celebrities who emerge each month. The frequently heard remark that the Negro has suffered a setback is a mistake. Even in the South public schools for Negroes have been vastly improved, especially in Mississippi and South Carolina since the Supreme Court decision of 1954. The progress of the Negro today is something sensational. (These considerations are helpful in talking to people who feel that the Negro will never rise to a sufficient cultural and economic level to make racial integration feasible.)

6A. List of Negroes of distinction in various fields BM

7. The alleged flight from integration by the white people of Washington. (Population trend) BM

8. Brief outline of Four-Track and Three-Track Plans.

9. Negro buying power and the importance of the Negro market.

10. Brief survey of save-the-public-schools movements in Virginia, Arkansas, Georgia and Florida.

11. Some facts and quotations should be given on the baffling but ~~extremely~~ very important subject of alleged innate inferiority of Negroes to Whites. Statements from leading anthropologists and other scientists on this point would be helpful.

Mimeograph in L Report excerpts from New South, Nov. 1954 — Statement of 18 social scientists without comment. "No Theory of Innate Differences in Intelligence Believes Negroes and Whites" — Statement of 18 Social Scientists

12. Absurdity of the Ham legend.

Ready for mimeograph: Report on Davis Report and Washington schools.

In process: The Virginia experiment in private schools.

Davis report on private schools — Washington Post article

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

November 2, 1959

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Mr. Muse requested me to forward this as containing possible material for L-Reports.

Yours truly,

Philippa Millard
Sec'y to Benj. Muse

HF ✓
LD ✓

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

file

December 22, 1959

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Many thanks for the various clippings.

The Chattanooga Times (Dec. 5) account of Gov. Collins' speech I would schedule unhesitatingly for an L-Report.

Secrest's example of moderation in South Carolina, from the Cheraw Chronicle is fine material. I would like to see it scheduled for an L-Report if needed to prevent a lapse in that series. It would also be a good article for New South. If Secrest had the courage to publish it in South Carolina, I don't think he would object to wider distribution.

I am going to send you some Ms. soon on massive resistance, and I hope you will be kind enough to deal with it ruthlessly.

I hope you are breaking off about now for Christmas, and I wish a happy holiday ~~indeed~~ for you and Mrs. Dunbar and the children. Merry Christmas

Sincerely,

Ben

December 27, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

I was mortified to find today your letter of November 14 buries on my desk. You began that letter with a generous statement that not everything you wrote had to be acknowledged (and of course the same applied to my sendings to you); nevertheless, you did ask a specific question in the letter and I should have answered it. We bought fifty copies of With Justice For All, and, except for sending one to each state director, have made no distribution. I do not know what distribution ADL is making. They depend much more than we do on selling their materials. I shall, however, at the first opportunity ask the local office if it knows what has been done in circulating the pamphlet. I am just a wee bit uncomfortable about making the inquiry because I think ADL was disappointed at the size of our order. Would you suggest that we undertake a mailing? When I raised the question of distribution here before ordering the fifty copies, nobody seemed to have much enthusiasm for it. I agree with you that it is a good piece of work.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

1959

RBZ

	Lightsey		Consultant fee 125.40 (?)
5/27	Lightsey	Materials	102.50 (?)
		96.00	
6/1	Postage		
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	Mennio	96.00	
	Postage		Envelopes, letters, cards. 99.40
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	Lightsey	56.00	~~56.00~~
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	Mennio	40.00	
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	"	35.44	#573 typewriting for Sane Public Sch.
9/8	Elliott	74.57	300.00
9/18	Mennio	32.75	2.00 copies
9/18	Messenger ~~[illegible]~~		
		80.00	
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9/30	Harper		Tape 2.00 6 pg. letter & envelopes

Oct. 59		Dist	Rtg.
10/12	Postage	85.00	
10/14	SE Envelopes	58.87	147.82
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11/18 -	Elliott	6.31	
	"	4.13	
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1960

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		Dist.	Pkg.
2/12	Mimeo. Co.		130.08
	Elliott	34.71	
	Postage	40.00	
			#1311 295.25
3/14	Higgins McArthur	25.00 Local Differences in Academic Achievement	
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6/14	Post Master		#1716 207.07
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	Nat'l Ptg. Co.		~~Back volume~~ 715.49
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	Elliott	7.19	folders

1960 RBZ

		Dist.	Ptg.
		300.00	
7/15	Postage ~~Envelopes~~ ~~Bill Etc.~~		181.50
			99.83
7/19	Mimeo C.		
	Elliott	28.31	
		74.58	
8/18	SC Envelope	18.23	
	Elliott	100.00	
	Postmaster	275.00	
9/19	"	44.14	
11/1	Elliott		
11/16	Higgins-McArthur	Exp Frank Zippetti #2344 article & Report	20.96
			139.00
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11/22	Postmaster	200.00	
	"		42.33
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12/14	Mimeo		

~~RBF~~ SLP – Ptg. & Dist.

	Dist.	Ptg.
Jan, 1961		
1/12 Postage	200.00	
1/16 Longino & Porter		#3659 211.15 L-22 Fowler Comm. Report
2/7 – Postage	150.00	
2/10 Mesner Co.	~~317.14~~	(317.19)
Longino & Porter		N-Nen 154.50 Fowler comm.
3/1 Postage	200.00	
3/10 Elliott Addressograph	55.25	
4/3 Atl. Envelope	306.76	
4/12 Elliott Addressograph	27.08	
Elliott Industries	33.84	
4/17 Postage	257.32	
5/11 Higgins McArthur		L – Report census & Roa #3181 210.19
5/18 Postage	180.00	
~~6/20 Clerk Council~~		~~130.08~~
7/3 Postage	281.81	
8/30 Mesner Co.		(146.47)

61

	Dist.	Ptg.
9/1 - Postage	160-as	
9/21 Celiath Inks.	68.42	

January 6, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

I had the pleasure this morning of reading the first installment of The Rise and Fall of the Massive Resistance. We are eager for the remaining chapters. The manuscript seemed to me so finished that I doubt we shall have but few changes to suggest. The length may turn out to be a problem, but we can all discuss that better when you are here.

I never like to disturb the creative mood, but we do have another matter that needs your consideration. As we came up to the starting line for sending off letters to Northern businessmen, our misgivings about the tactic got more and more intense. Just to send off a letter and ask for an interview came to appear a pretty gauche procedure. Finally, Harold came up with what has come to seem to us a better, though more ambitious, idea. We need, of course, to get your reaction and if it is at all favorable we ought to plan some very heavy talk when you are down for the executive committee meeting. (I assume you are coming.)

The idea is that we would prepare a pamphlet, done as professionally as we know how, directed at Northern business with Southern investments and constituting a sort of primer of advice and helpful information for them. For our discussions here I roughed up a short outline which is attached. This is intended not to be definitive but only to indicate an approach. (Part two would be substantially longer than Part one). One additional thought that we had discussed is that the writing be commissioned; I am very dubious that we could find a qualified person, though Harold has somewhat more hope.

At any rate, what do you think of the idea? If we go into it this would mean no approach to Northern business until the pamphlet had been distributed. Then we could consider sending follow-up letters using the pamphlet as a basis for requesting an opportunity to discuss the problems and the point of view presented in it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosure: Responsibilities/Role of National Firms Operating in South

January 11, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

The two speeches are enclosed. This is our only copy of the Collins' address, and so I would like to have it returned. We have kept the original of the Daniels' speech, so you may retain one of the copies and send the other to Governor Collins.

As I said to you, I would not myself favor publishing the Daniels' speech alone, so will make no approach to him unless we have a favorable response from the Governor. I think it would be suitable, nevertheless, for you to say to the Governor that we want to print the two together if Mr. Daniels will consent; but it should be made clear to the Governor that we would like to print his whether or not Jonathan Daniels is willing to be included. In either case, we might consider requesting Mr. Dabbs to write a brief foreword.

One of the appeals of the Collins speech is that it raises the race issue only incidentally to the general problems of Southern development--which is what the Southern Regional Council, in its original statement of purpose, proposed to do.

As I told you, I believe the Collins-Daniels pamphlet will be a happy first number of the series of occasional pamphlets which I hope to launch and which will include the Donald Dewey piece on Southern manpower and C. H. Parrish's essay on urban

problems. I visualize the series as having an over-all title with all the numbers appearing in the same format (somewhat along the lines of the Fund for the Republic's current pamphlet series). The distinguishing marks of these publications would be, as I see them, three:

1) The pamphlet would be of continuing value and interest over a considerable period of time.

2) It would be related to the deeper issues of race relations rather than to a controversy of the day; it would, in other words, define issues rather than simply react to issues.

3) It would embody some original research or distinctive thought.

Needless to say, we shall be anxious to hear the outcome of your letter to the Governor. If it is favorable, we can write to Daniels from here, unless you would prefer doing it as a follow-up to recent meetings with him.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures: Collins' speech
thermafax (2) Daniels' speech

returning copy of Richmond Times-Dispatch

HOTEL Sir Walter
"RALEIGH'S LARGEST AND FINEST"
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

Answered - MM
1/11/60

file

January 7, 1954

Dear Lee,

If there has been considerable comment in the national press, and magazines, on the Yancey County situation, I believe it would be worthwhile to collect and photograph it. I could use three or four copies of such a compilation.

I have in mind particularly the big NAACP ad in the New York Times of Dec. 1. I gave my only copy to Jonathan Daniels.

If some of this material were sent to me in Manassas, I would mail as follow-up to several of my contacts here.

My Regards.

Ben Muse

check Microfilm
P. Killing

THE SIR WALTER, RALEIGH, N. C.
THE ROOSEVELT, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.
MEYER HOTELS
THE EMERSON, BALTIMORE, MD.
THE WASHINGTON DUKE, DURHAM, N. C.
HOTEL ROBERT MEYER, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

HF ✓
LD ✓

File

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

January 13, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

We shall soon have an opportunity to sit down and talk about the approach to Northern businessmen, and other things.

I would like to say off-hand that we should be careful to avoid saying anything that would increase the nervousness of businessmen about "sticking their necks out." "Economic Retaliation" will be a particularly delicate subject from this point of view. Of course, we want to make it clear that stable and healthy conditions can best be insured by businessmen making their influence felt.

I think we should keep in mind also that this will be a "come-on" pamphlet, calculated to arouse friendly interest -- possibly appreciation -- from Northern corporation executives. "Responsibilities" should only be implied. We want the businessman to feel all the time that we are rendering him a service. "The Southern Problem from the Standpoint of the National Firm With Investments in the South?"

Now, as you probably know, I am due in Atlanta for two conferences, one January 19-20, the other January 26.

That leaves an interval of five days, during which it would be foolish for me to come back here. Rather, the sensible thing would be to find a quiet retreat in Atlanta or thereabouts and get on with my writing.

The first night, January 19, I would stay for convenience at the Piedmont. (I will appreciate your kindly asking someone to make this reservation for me.) I will see you in the forenoon. I understand the Inter-Agency meeting is at 12.

The second night I would repair to the rendezvous mentioned above. Can you suggest a place? I am thinking of some off-beat hotel in Atlanta, where I could get a large room and not

have too much hurly-burly. Otherwise a suburban hotel, or some place within 50 miles or so, accessible by train. (I shall travel by train overnight from Manassas, and will have no car.)

Incidentally any evening of your convenience during this period would be suitable for my visit to your home.

I appreciated the clips on Yancey. They have gone to Jonathan Daniels, Brooks Hays, and Governor Hodges' office.

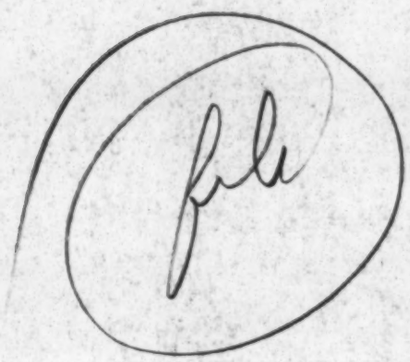
Looking forward to seeing you!

Sincerely,

Ben

SRC

Ben Muse file



January 14, 1960

Hon. Le Roy Collins
Governor of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Governor Collins:

Since my first visit to Tallahassee on the eve of the session of the Legislature last spring, I have been on a regular assignment from the Southern Regional Council to visit and exchange information with Southern leaders with a constructive approach to the school desegregation problem.

It has been an interesting experience and has carried me thus far to Little Rock, New Orleans, Tennessee, Georgia, and of course, Florida. I had a very pleasant visit with Governor Hodges and others last week in Raleigh. I particularly appreciate the courtesies which you and members of your staff extended to me in Tallahassee.

I am writing now with reference to your splendid address of December 1 last to the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in Louisville.

The Southern Regional Council would like to have your permission to publish this speech in pamphlet form, either alone or possibly together with an address by Jonathan Daniels to the meeting of the Southern Historical

Association in Atlanta last November. Mr. Daniels' review of the past might be an appropriate companion piece to your vision of the future and clarion call to advance.

I am enclosing a photocopy of Mr. Daniels' address in case it had not come to your attention.

We are planning a series of occasional pamphlets, containing inspiring messages from distinguished Southerners, and the pamphlet containing your address would be a happy first number of the series.

We have not yet approached Mr. Daniels in this regard. We would appreciate permission for the publication of your address in any case.

With kind regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

January 18, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

You probably noticed at the end of L-13 (the excerpts from Mr. Carmichael's telecast) that I issued an invitation for recipients to write requesting copies of the full telecast, as well as the earlier Hansen telecast. Part of my reason for doing this was simply to test how much response we would get. L-13 was sent out on December 15 and, although it is likely that we should get further requests, the results up to now have been rather disappointing; on the other hand I have no experience by which to judge how much response to something of this kind would be considered good response. I thought you would be interested in knowing of this. L-13 was not sent to the Chamber of Commerce list; even so, and not counting the mailing to our board, we sent out 1,270 copies. Twelve letters (about 1% of the mailing) were received asking for copies of the transcript. In addition, the CIO asked for 100 copies of L-13, and the Field Foundation asked for five extra copies of L-13. The twelve constitute a fairly interesting list--they have been as follows:

Superintendent of Schools, Jackson County, Fla.
Education Editor, The New Republic
Superintendent of Schools, Longview, Texas
Faculty member, Santa Barbara City College, Santa Barbara, Calif.
Superintendent of Schools, Gadsden County, Fla.
Race Relations Department, Fisk University
Superintendent of Schools, Lynchburg, Va.
Superintendent of Schools, Dyersburg, Tenn.
F.E.P.C., Michigan
American Friends Service Committee
Commission on Civil Rights
Superintendent of Schools, Denison, Texas
Reed Sarratt, Winston-Salem Journal

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. The secretary counts thirteen requests.

C O P Y

STATE OF FLORIDA
Office of the Governor

Tallahassee

January 29, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

Thank you for your letter of January 14.

I would be very pleased if the Southern Regional Council saw fit to publish my Louisville speech in pamphlet form.

I appreciate the copy of Jonathan Daniels' address before the Southern Historical Association in Atlanta. I have a very considerable admiration for Mr. Daniels, but I feel it might be better to present the speeches separately.

I congratulate you on your assignment with the Council and I look forward to seeing you again.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

LeRoy Collins

Governor

LC:jim

Journal & Guide
Feb. 13, 1960

Century's Proud Record

Study Of Negro History Reveals Economic Growth

(Editor's Note—The following article is released as a public service by World Mutual Exchange for the 34th annual observance of Negro History Week, February 7-14, 1960. It was prepared by Frank B. Sawyer of New York City, a research specialist on the 20 billion dollar American Negro Consumer Market.)

By FRANK B. SAWYER

The American Negro is heritor of an admirable past, which setting had its beginning in the glorious achievements of ancient African civilization in government, art, literature and learning which have long decayed with the aging centuries; yet has made its profound impression upon world civilization and progress.

Today there are signs of things new and old coming out of Africa; an awakening of new life and vigor and what is yet to be seen in the revival of this ancient culture no historian can foretell. Of such a cultural background the American Negro should be proud, for he is the direct descendant, product and heir.

IT IS OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE to the Negro youth of America to have a thorough knowledge of the achievements and contributions which men and women of African-American descent have made to the economic, intellectual and social well-being of their race and to the civic and cultural progress of America in the brief span of almost a century.

Recommended Reading

(1) "19.7 Billion Dollars Spendable Income of the Negro Community" . . . Statement by Albert F. Watters, Vice-President, General Foods Corporation. Article: Job Equality Called Key To Negro Goal. New York World - Telegram 9/10/59 United Press International release.

(2) "The Negro Market . . . Continued Expansion" . . . Published in "Advertisers Guide To Marketing For 1960"—Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 440 Boston Post Road, Orange, Connecticut (2.50) Prepared by: Claude H. Hall, Interstate United Newspapers, Inc.

(3) "Notes On The Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States" . . . U. S Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D. C.—Revised in May, 1958. 45 pages.

(4) "Negro Population Move New Market Frontier" . . . Series in "Women's Wear Daily," the retailers daily newspaper (Fairchild Publications). Prepared by Ralph W. Jones, examining the Negro market, its potential and what merchandisers are doing or not doing about it as a source of new business. August 17, 1959.

(5) "American Negro's Average Dollar Income Has Increased 500 Per Cent In The Last 20 Years" . . . Statement by Henry Cabot Lodge, United States Ambassador to the United Nations. Reported in the New York Times"—9/18/59.

(6) "Fast Growing Negro Suburbia—Blooming On The Outskirts Of Dozens Of Cities" . . . Article in "Time" magazine, 9/21/59 issue—"Races". (Page 28)

(7) "20 Million Dollars Spent Daily In U. S. By 5 Million Negro Families" . . . Series on the earnings and spending habits of the Negro in the United States—"Pittsburgh Courier" (6/20/59) Prepared by Norman L. McGhee, President, McGhee & Company, Investment Securities, Cleveland, Ohio. ("Using Your Money")

(8) " Job Level Rise Boosts Negro Spending Outlay" . . . Series in "Women's Wear Daily", the retailers daily newspaper (Fairchild Publications). Prepared by Ralph W. Jones, examining the Negro market, its potential and what merchandisers are doing or not doing about it as a source of new business. "Business Potential"—8/18/59

(9) "Negroes Getting New Jobs In South" . . . Article in "The New York Times" by Anthony Lewis—11/16-59.

(10) "Southern Merchants Give More Attention to Negro Market" . . Article in the "Wall Street Journal" by Albert C. Lasher staff reporter. Sub-Titles "Tradesmen Are Going Against Old Prejudices to Develop Big Potential." Jan. 5, 1954 issue.

(11) "Negroes Map New Drive To Break Job Barriers, Raise Economic Status" . . . Article in the "Wall Street Journal" by staff reporters Louis Kraar and Lester Tanzer—10/24/57.

(12) "Negro Market Of 20 Billion Dollars More Than Total Investments of U. S. Companies In All Foreign Countries" . . . "The Negro Market . . . Continued Expansion" by Claude H. Hall. Prepared for "Advertisers Guide To Marketing For 1960", Published by Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 440 Boston Post Road, Orange, Connecticut. (Pages 246-247).

(13) "Negro Population Of The United States Is Now Urban And Industrial, Not Rural And Agricultural" . . . "Migration, Mobility, and The Assimilation of the Negro" by Irene B. Taeuber, Office of Population Research, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. Population Bulletin—Population Reference Bureau, Inc.—Volume XIV—November 1958—Number 7. Population Reference Bureau, Inc., 1507 M Street, N. W., Washington 5, D. C. (Page 135)

(14) "One Billion Dollars Potentially Available For Investment By Negroes" . . Reported in the "Wall Street Journal" (10-22-55). Statement by Philip M. Jenkins, member of the Board of Directors of Mutual Investment Company of America.

(15) "Possibilities Of The Negro Market — Negro Population And Income Growth" . . . Article appearing in the "Wall Street Journal," Feb. 23, 1952.

(16) "Marked Decline In Racial Bias In Far West Revealed by Survey" . . . from "New York Times" survey of interarcial relations in 13 Far Western states—May 29, 1955. Article by Gladwin Hill.

(17) "New York . . . Nation's First City With A Negro Population Of More Than A Million" . . . "Migration, Mobility and The Assimilation of the Negro" by Irene B. Taeuber, Office of Population Research, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. From: "The American Negro at Mid-Century"—Population Bulletin — Population Reference Bureau, Inc.—Volume XIV, Number 7—November, 1958. Population Reference Bureau, Inc., 1507 M street, N. W.—Washington, D. C. (Note: The Population Reference Bureau, Inc., founded in 1929, is a non-profit, scientific, educational organization for the purpose of gathering, coordinating, interpreting and distributing population data.)

Journal + Guide
Feb. 13, 1960

Century's Proud Record

Study Of Negro History Reveals Economic Growth

(Editor's Note—The following article is released as a public service by World Mutual Exchange for the 34th annual observance of Negro History Week, February 7-14, 1960. It was prepared by Frank B. Sawyer of New York City, a research specialist on the 20 billion dollar American Negro Consumer Market.)

By FRANK B. SAWYER

The American Negro is heritor of an admirable past, which setting had its beginning in the glorious achievements of ancient African civilization in government, art, literature and learning which have long decayed with the aging centuries; yet has made its profound impression upon world civilization and progress.

Today there are signs of things new and old coming out of Africa; an awakening of new life and vigor and what is yet to be seen in the revival of this ancient culture no historian can foretell. Of such a cultural background the American Negro should be proud, for he is the direct descendant, product and heir.

IT IS OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE to the Negro youth of America to have a thorough knowledge of the achievements and contributions which men and women of African-American descent have made to the economic, intellectual and social well-being of their race and to the civic and cultural progress of America in the brief span of almost a century.

Recommended Reading

(1) "19.7 Billion Dollars Spendable Income of the Negro Community" . . . Statement by Albert F. Watters, Vice-President, General Foods Corporation. Article: Job Equality Called Key To Negro Goal. New York World - Telegram 9/10/59 United Press International release.

(2) "The Negro Market . . . Continued Expansion" . . . Published in "Advertisers Guide To Marketing For 1960"—Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 440 Boston Post Road, Orange, Connecticut (2.50) Prepared by: Claude H. Hall, Interstate United Newspapers, Inc.

(3) "Notes On The Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States" . . . U. S Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D. C.—Revised in May, 1958. 45 pages.

(4) "Negro Population Move New Market Frontier" . . . Series in "Women's Wear Daily," the retailers daily newspaper (Fairchild Publications). Prepared by Ralph W. Jones, examining the Negro market, its potential and what merchandisers are doing or not doing about it as a source of new business. August 17, 1959.

(5) "American Negro's Average Dollar Income Has Increased 500 Per Cent In The Last 20 Years" . . . Statement by Henry Cabot Lodge, United States Ambassador to the United Nations. Reported in the New York Times"—9/18/59.

(6) "Fast Growing Negro Suburbia—Blooming On The Outskirts Of Dozens Of Cities" . . . Article in "Time" magazine, 9/21/59 issue—"Races". (Page 28)

(7) "20 Million Dollars Spent Daily In U. S. By 5 Million Negro Families" . . . Series on the earnings and spending habits of the Negro in the United States—"Pittsburgh Courier" (6/20/59) Prepared by Norman L. McGhee, President, McGhee & Company, Investment Securities, Cleveland, Ohio. ("Using Your Money")

(8) " Job Level Rise Boosts Negro Spending Outlay" . . . Series in "Women's Wear Daily", the retailers daily newspaper (Fairchild Publications). Prepared by Ralph W. Jones, examining the Negro market, its potential and what merchandisers are doing or not doing about it as a source of new business. "Business Potential"—8/18/59

(9) "Negroes Getting New Jobs In South" . . . Article in "The New York Times" by Anthony Lewis—11/16-59.

(10) "Southern Merchants Give More Attention to Negro Market" . . Article in the "Wall Street Journal" by Albert C. Lasher staff reporter. Sub-Titles "Tradesmen Are Going Against Old Prejudices to Develop Big Potential." Jan. 5, 1954 issue.

(11) "Negroes Map New Drive To Break Job Barriers, Raise Economic Status" . . . Article in the "Wall Street Journal" by staff reporters Louis Kraar and Lester Tanzer—10/24/57.

(12) "Negro Market Of 20 Billion Dollars More Than Total Investments of U. S. Companies In All Foreign Countries" . . . "The Negro Market . . . Continued Expansion" by Claude H. Hall. Prepared for "Advertisers Guide To Marketing For 1960", Published by Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 440 Boston Post Road, Orange, Connecticut. (Pages 246-247).

(13) "Negro Population Of The United States Is Now Urban And Industrial, Not Rural And Agricultural" . . . "Migration, Mobility, and The Assimilation of the Negro" by Irene B. Taeuber, Office of Population Research, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. Population Bulletin—Population Reference Bureau, Inc.—Volume XIV—November 1958—Number 7. Population Reference Bureau, Inc., 1507 M Street, N. W., Washington 5, D. C. (Page 135)

(14) "One Billion Dollars Potentially Available For Investment By Negroes" . . Reported in the "Wall Street Journal" (10-22-55). Statement by Philip M. Jenkins, member of the Board of Directors of Mutual Investment Company of America.

(15) "Possibilities Of The Negro Market — Negro Population And Income Growth" . . . Article appearing in the "Wall Street Journal," Feb. 23, 1952.

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(17) "New York . . . Nation's First City With A Negro Population Of More Than A Million" . . . "Migration, Mobility and The Assimilation of the Negro" by Irene B. Taeuber, Office of Population Research, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey. From: "The American Negro at Mid-Century"—Population Bulletin — Population Reference Bureau, Inc.—Volume XIV, Number 7—November, 1958. Population Reference Bureau, Inc., 1507 M street, N. W.—Washington, D. C. (Note: The Population Reference Bureau, Inc., founded in 1929, is a non-profit, scientific, educational organization for the purpose of gathering, coordinating, interpreting and distributing population data.)

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

February 19, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I would like to recommend very strongly a brochure on the Negro market for goods and services.

I think this is the area in which we can appeal to the self-interest motive of white business men to best advantage. In my opinion, nothing offers more promise for improving race relations over the long term than the burgeoning drive for Negro trade.

The value of commercial relations as a builder of friendship is axiomatic. Good will is a cardinal principle of business promotion, making friends, the essence of good salesmanship. The idea can be beneficial in interracial relations as well in the sales promotion activity of the great corporation as in the day-to-day contacts of the corner grocery.

Increasing dependence on Negro trade will bring more and more concessions in recognition of the Negro's dignity and his rights. It could be the means of breaking down restaurant segregation. As the idea takes hold, business firms will employ more and more Negroes, even on the management level, as a means of building Negro good will and increasing Negro patronage. (We have seen this happening in Coca Cola and other large corporations in recent years.)

The business man will be given a new interest in the prosperity, and increased buying power, of Negroes. White suppliers will be increasingly interested in the success of local Negro distributors, and will be inclined to help them become larger operators, and larger customers for their products.

Greater interest in the Negro market will increase the flow of interracial communication in magazine, newspaper, radio and television advertising and in direct approach by mail and personal visit.

The whole idea will tend to emphasize the dignity and importance of the Negro citizen and hasten his full integration in the body politic.

I enclose clippings from the Norfolk Journal and Guide of an article by Frank B. Sawyer, entitled, "Study of Negro History Reveals Economic Growth." There are excellent leads here for research.

I think our study should quote liberally from industrial and advertising executives and publications urging more attention to the Negro market.

Our brochure should be prepared entirely in the spirit of a shrewd, practical service to the business man. The human relations appeal should be avoided. The ultimate human relations purpose will be better served by setting these natural forces in motion.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

February 29, 1960

Benjamin Muse

Leslie Dunbar

Manuscript; student protest; high cost of segregation

Here are chapters 14 through 26, which both Harold and I have read and made some marks on. I hope to read, within a day or two, the last group of chapters you sent.

Our chief preoccupation here the last few days has been on the lunch counter demonstrations. We did a rather rushed Special Report, which I hope you have seen some news of in the papers. In case you haven't gotten your copy, I am enclosing one.

I was down in St. Petersburg early last week speaking on the high cost of segregation, and would like some day for you to look over what I said.

Enclosure: The Student Protest Movement

quantity interoffice memo sheets

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

JC — could use for U.S. offset printing would not be too much.

#F - Let's just reprint in New South.

February 3, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I enclose a clipping of an excellent editorial from the Roanoke World-News, which, I wish, could be read all over the South and especially in Yancey County.

I suggest that leaflets be printed and placed in the hands of Bagwell and others. This would also seem to be appropriate material for New South.

Incidentally, I would like to hear what, if anything, may be done about the proposal in James C. Evans' letter to Harold, dated January 18, as Evans also wrote to me. It is an interesting idea, but seems to be a matter of how much we are able to undertake.

Sincerely,

Ben

February 3, 1960

Mr. Jonathan Daniels
Editor
The News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Daniels:

I appreciated your letter, enclosing a copy of the News and Observer editorial with reference to the Yancey County situation, and I greatly enjoyed our talk on my visit to Raleigh.

I am enclosing a short editorial from the Roanoke World-News, apropos of the recent desegregation in Floyd County, Virginia, which, I believe, would be of interest and value in North Carolina.

Sincerely, yours,

B Muse

****

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JAdams 3-6744

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 28, 1960

To: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar From: Benjamin Muse

Subject: Special Report and Postscript Report on Student Protest

I would appreciate receiving half a dozen more copies of our Special Report together with Postscript Report on Student Protest.

I know projects are not what you are looking for right now, but it occurs to me that if information could be compiled on the location of stores (with lunch counters) of Woolworth, Kress, Grant and possibly other chains in the South, it might eventually be useful in discussing the problem with management.

April 12, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Can we shift gears for a moment to talk about something other than Florida?

In Sumter County, South Carolina, a law suit which would challenge the South Carolina placement law is in preparation. The suit will not be brought in behalf of Negro plaintiffs but in behalf of Turks. If you are not familiar with the Sumpter County Turks, don't worry about it. They exist and have for many generations, and their presence compells Sumpter County to maintain three school systems. A few years back, the high schools, white and Turks, were consolidated, but the elementary schools are still in triplicate. There has been already one court suit carried unsuccessfully to the Supreme Court -- which would not review. One of the things now which the lawyer wants is some test administered to children in the Turk school. I put him in touch with some of the teacher education people at Emory. I gather they are willing to serve as professional consultants. It is their opinion, however, that their work cannot begin until an educational administrator, and not a lawyer, has decided what kind of test would be right.

Do you think Mr. Brewbaker could be enlisted for this consultation? I suppose it could wait until July when he comes with us, or could be done any time sooner if that were convenient for him. As I would understand it, it would require on his part first a consultation with the lawyer in Sumpter and then some communication with the people at Emory.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:a

Leslie W. Dunbar

April 19, 1960

BM LWD

manuscript

Dear Ben:

I am returning the rest of your draft. I sent my comments to you, you may recall, some weeks ago. You will notice a few marginal jottings, both Harold's and mine.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

March 7, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

We are not ignoring your recent letter suggesting a study of the Negro consumer market. It is just that the last couple of weeks have been so rushed that it would really be hopeless to take up a new idea right now, and unfair to its merits. It is, of course, something that ought to be done. My big concern is thinking through how it can be done well, and finding the resources with which to do it.

I did get a chance today to sit down some notes about your book. I am passing the chapters on to Harold for his reading. Sitting down to comment generally on a book-manuscript which one has read in installments, with only the later chapters still on hand, is not easy. But I believe I can say some things with confidence that they do, at least, represent my own true opinion of what I have read.

1. The book is eminently readable, packed with information, and, so far as I can judge, sound throughout in its interpretations. The chronological presentation aids in developing a picture of the relentless unfolding of events. The following specific criticisms do not detract from the general opinion.

2. Some of the chapters may be two short for a book-length presentation. I don't have the earlier chapters here to look through again, but an example from the later sections may illustrate: I would say that chapters 29, 30, 31, and possibly 32 could be consolidated. On the other hand, some of the chapters are brief and should be, either because they are distinct entities or because their brevity (especially if preceded and followed by larger chapters) enhances their drama: chapter 38 would be an example of the former, and chapter 35 of the latter.

3. I have no suggestions for cuts except propose reconsideration by you of the recording of some quotations " in extenso," e. g. the resolution the Alabama legislature in Chapter 36: there is a certain quaint colorfulness about this, but I am not sure it would be eradicated by condensation. Except for your courtesy in frequently quoting at length, you write a tight style that does not invite farther surgery; maybe a word or two, or a phrase, is superfluous, but I'd leave it to the editor to name them.

4. The principal improvement I can suggest (I believe it would be an improvement) would be somewhat more personality and locale development. By a number of deft strokes, you whet interest in the character and personality of Almond and Byrd; more would be appreciated. You say enough about the "organizations" to make your reader believe he has the feel of it; would more description or characterization give him a better insight into how monumental a struggle Almond dared? By a phrase or two, you suggest sympathy and respect for Judge Hutcheson; could he be a symbol of the conservative Virginian of good will, with a bit more character probing? The gentility and traditionalism of Virginia politics comes through pretty well, but here and there, as in the story of the special session of 1956 or the accounts of the Thomson and Boatwright committees, might be examined for contrast or repressed elements. You write knowingly and well about the localities involved (for some reason I can't explain, Warren County came to life for me best of all--maybe because it's country I know), but not so extendedly as to preclude more characterization and color if you felt so inclined.

5. I realize it is too early to define what the collapse of massive resistance, and the Almond apostasy, will mean to Virginia politics. But is it too early to speculate, even at some length? People have learned to regard you, quite rightly, as an authority on Virginia politics. I am sure many besides myself would be interested in more interpretation, more guarded prophecy, than you give in Chapter 40, just because it is you writing the book.

With all best wishes. The sit-in strikes deserve your time (have you any plans for Nashville?) but the book is too good not to be pushed along.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

HFV
JC
MM
LD

file

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

May 13, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I will just go over some of Saul Silverman's desiderata, most of which I have discussed with you:

1. A list of good books on race relations. (I have sent him Martin Luther King's book).

MM
MA for next

2. Statements of policy on segregation from the various religious denominations.

3. Any impressive statements to the effect that <u>race relations are the paramount domestic problem of our time</u>.

HF comment
JC
Don't see how we can

The Patrick report from Winston-Salem, I think, would be interesting to all on our Student Protest list as (1) suggesting a useful type of survey and (2) underlining the fact that casual expressions of opinion on integrated lunch counters are not a reliable indication of the effect desegregation of lunch counters would have on the business of the merchants concerned.

Please tell Harold that Dr. Patrick flew to Tallahassee Thursday evening for two days of conferences. He will dine with the commission vice-chairman Friday evening and meet with the full commission Saturday.

I am increasingly impressed with Dr. Patrick as a dedicated liberal and a student of the practical aspects of the race relations problem. (Incidentally he is a former chairman of the North Carolina Parole Board). As a responsible sociologist, identified only with Wake Forest College, his advice is likely to carry peculiar weight. I hope we may be able to make further use of his services.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

I appreciated immensely Miss Manderson's "Solid South," which I thought was excellent!

****

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 16, 1960

To: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar From: Benjamin Muse

Subject: Rounsville brochure

This Rounsville brochure is a real treasure.

Looking toward the comprehensive study of the Negro market, some of the sources mentioned in the footnotes might be worth looking into.

In the meantime it seems to me like appropriate material for an L-Report (if we don't mind giving Rounsville a plug.) The figures on Negro income, the break-down of Negro consumer expenditures, etc., given here, are certainly convincing arguments for cultivating the Negro market. They should also be a potent warning against alienating Negro good will, or pushing the Negro to the point of boycott.

Thanks for letting me see this.

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

June 6, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am delighted that you are considering a study of segregated private schools as an escape from integrated public schools.

I hope the author will find some less cumbersome way of describing them. I don't think the old line private schools in Virginia have been very much affected, and some of them scorn to be considered instruments of circumvention -- though this matter should be covered incidentally.

The experiment of SPSEIPS, I think is immensely interesting and important. More and more people will be inquiring into this, both as a temporary transitional expedient and as a long-term solution -- as a general substitute for public schools (as in Prince Edward) or as a partial substitute to accommodate the extremist element, or affluent bigots.

The uncertain constitutionality of state tuition grants is also relevant, and the feasibility of SPSEIPS needs to be studied with and without state aid. Also to be investigated is the effect of tax credits, or the mere reduction in taxes, upon the support given private schools.

All of which has no doubt occurred to you. I was much impressed with Ken Morland's report on the Texas cities and believe he would do a good job with this. Had you thought of Lorin A. Thompson, of Charlottesville, who did "Some Economic Aspects of Virginia's Current Educational Crisis" in 1958? (I don't know him personally.)

I think the subject would well justify a book-length job, although it might be difficult to interest a publisher. A substantial brochure of our own printing, I am confident, would have a resounding reception and be much in demand.

Sincerely,

Ben

LWD -

Ok if the consultant understands ~~there is no~~ that publication is not to be assumed.

HCF

Good

RR

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

HF ✓

PR ✓

LD

I have for sometime had in mind the question of a report on the private schools of Virginia: Charlottesville, P.E., Norfolk — good & bad. (We, of course, always have control of publication) Most desirably, it should be done this summer. I am not thinking of a deep analysis, but the sort of thing a specialist such as Green or Stallings or Bond could do in a 2 week trip. Give me, please, your reaction.

****

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date May 9, 1960

To: Les Dunbar From: PRilling

Subject: Prince Edward

Dan Bowers reports that he is not able to secure a qualified local person to do a study of the private schools in Prince Edward County. He further reports that the local professor of education counsels against a thorough study because of the surprisingly good educational standards that have been maintained by the local community which has applied the effort from the standpoint of a civic project. The education professor, however, does feel that a study of physical facilities and financing would produce results that would be useful from our point of view.

In other words, if we would like such a survey, we will have to do it or commission it ourselves or encourage Dan to handle it through some of his contacts in Virginia.

****

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date June 17, 1960

To: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar From: Benjamin Muse

Subject: Revision of Chapter 23 -- "The Private School Experiment"

Here is a revision of Chapter 23 of my book -- "The Private School Experiment." It might be of some use to the author of our comprehensive study on private schools.

I will also appreciate any correction or comment.

Regards.

P.S. I was glad to get duplicates of the package sent Rochlitsky. Thanks

Ben

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

September 8, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Surrounded by piles of reading matter of various kinds, I am struggling to bring myself up to date and feel quite too ignorant for words.

However, in the matter of lunch counter desegregation, have we made any progress report since I left? This is not to suggest any research, but if you have as much as a list of the cities which have moved, I would appreciate receiving a copy of it.

We had a wonderful trip. But I missed a lot of exciting activity in our field here at home, and envy you your part in it.

I expect to see you about the 20th. in Atlanta.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Ben

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MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
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ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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file

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date September 15, 1960

To: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar

From: Benjamin Muse

Subject: Conversation with James Mitchell, Brookings Institution

You probably found the last pages of my concluding chapter were too easy on Southern politicians and muddy otherwise. I am enclosing another try.

Long talk at dinner the other evening with James M. Mitchell, who heads the new Conference Program of the Brookings Institution. He said that Brookings had never touched the race problem, but wasgiving some thought to doing so -- on the urging of Brooks Hays.

Brewbaker is coming here for the afternoon and evening.

I am flying to Atlanta about noon Monday and expect to get in to see you before you close.

Best Regards.

September 19, 1960

Ben Muse Leslie W. Dunbar

Two of your memos: June 17 and Sept. 15;
and one letter of Sept. 8

Except for a press release on Aug. 7, we have not issued anything on sit-ins since you left. There is a copy attached. I perhaps ought to qualigy that: we have now distributed the Patrick, Westfeldt reports and the article by Dan Pollit. I am attaching a copy of each, though I hope the "system" delivered each to your mail box. We have, however, kept some recent counts of sit-in activity, and intend to keep these on a current basis and to draw from them whenever publication is in order. I am attaching a set of these data.

What does the Brookings Institution have in mind?

I read your revised chapter 23 on the private schools and have no criticism or suggestions to offer. I have sent acopy of it to Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman, who will do our study of Virginia's private schools. You are quite right in believing that I would find your latest two pages of revision of the final chapter an improvement. It is very hard for me to think sympathetically about the problems about which Southern politicians have thought they had, and which in fact they do have, in their own terms of survival and continued influence. I recognize as you do the practical limitations of what they could have done and can do. My practice has been, I suppose, not to criticise publicly those politicians moving, however slowly, to effect change, but to be equally careful not to praise them.

I have only the tiniest of specific suggestions about chapter 33: on page two I would think beginning your sentence with some such words as, "in my work since 1959 with the Southern Regional Council..." you would avoid the tone of heavy announcement which my imagination now finds. On page three, first paragraph: "substantial" may be slightly exaggerated.

As an afterthought, I am attaching for you to read a copy of the paper which I delivered before some sociologists on the sit-in movement. Maybe you will find it interesting; I would like it returned.

Enclosures: News release, Aug. 7
Sit-in statistics
Patrick report
Westfeldt report
Pollittarticle, reprint
LWD speech, sit-ins (to be returned)

copy BM manuscript returned

December 21, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I am listing below the participants in the Washington conference on December 8:

Mr. McNeill Smith
P. O. Box 868
Greensboro, N.C.

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, N. C.

Mr. Robert Harris
Dept. of Political Science
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. Paul H. Sanders
Professor of Law
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. Whitney Young
18 Robinson Street, #32
Cambridge, Mass.

Mr. Harris Wofford
1001 Connecticut Ave. N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky
2017 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Oliver Hill
108 East Leigh
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza, Rm. 5600
New York 20, N. Y.

Mr. G. W. Foster, Jr.
Hastings School of Law
108 Presidio Avenue
San Francisco 15, Calif.

Mr. Daniel H. Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Mr. John Silard
1631 K Street N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

And, of course, you, Les and Harold.

A merry Christmas to you and Mrs. Muse.

December 29, 1960

Mrs. S. Shavin
334 North Crest Road
Chattanooga 11, Tenn.

Dear Mrs. Shavin:

Your letter of December 19 was brought to my attention on my arrival here yesterday. I remember most pleasantly my evening with you in Chattanooga and would like to see you again and give you any help that I could in your school situation.

I am flying tomorrow to my home in Manassas, Virginia, where I shall be for three weeks or more. I could visit Chattanooga conveniently some time around February 2, when I have a fixed date to be in Atlanta. Later I have tentative plans for a Deep South tour which will take about one month. I have no schedule beyond that.

Let me say in this connection that I am associated in this work with J. J. Brewbaker, who was until last summer superintendent of schools of Norfolk, Virginia. Mr. Brewbaker is a witness to the mistake of closing public schools as well as to the fact that desegregation can be carried out without convulsion or great difficulty. Mr. Brewbaker met with some business men and addressed several public meetings in New Orleans. He has addressed a number of P-TAs in the Atlanta area. I can easily arrange for Mr. Brewbaker to visit you in Chattanooga at some convenient time.

Of course, there is a question of what would be the most suitable time for these visits from the standpoint of the Chattanooga situation. It would depend somewhat on the date which may be fixed for desegregation to begin.

Please let me hear from you soon. Write me at P. O. Box 312, Manassas, Virginia.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Muse

INTER OFFICE MEMO

January 3, 1961

TO: BM
FROM: LWD

As we discussed last week, we have near completion an L-Report illustrating the costs to the state governmente of massive resistance. The report will be made up of such items as cost of special sessions, sample court costs, pay for idle teachers, etc. Please let us have suggestions for distribution.

Got your 1941 clippings today. The likeness is first-rate; going to take the clippings home tonight and read them.

Happy New Year!

****

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MA-b MA-file

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 3-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date January 9, 1961

To: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar From: Benjamin Muse

Subject: L-Report on costs of massive resistance.

It would seem to me that the forthcoming L-Report on costs of massive resistance should go to the entire list, 1 to 14.

I understand next L's in prospect are one on Negro achievement and a list of Southern cities with Negro policemen with the number in each case. It seems as though the former might go to the entire list, the latter to 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6, and to lists of Southern mayors and chiefs of police.

I shall be with you on February 1 and we can go over things then.

Regards.

Ben

****

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date January 10, 1961

To: LWD From: BM

Subject: L-Reports

This idea is tardy for the University of Georgia ctisis, but it may have merit for future contingencies.

I think there could be no more cogent argument for a return to common sense in like situations than a simple reminder of the fact that many other Southern universities and colleges have already been desegregated.

I would like to see an L-Report, without any pleading whatever, but simply listing the formerly all-white Southern institutions of higher learning which have been desegregated, giving the number of Negro students, as of some recent date, in each. (I am a great believer in the effectiveness of pure information, undiluted with "propaganda," when the information itself is persuasive.)

If we had such an L-Report now, it should go especially to each member of the Georgia legislature. It might also go to all the students of the University, and to a wider list.

Such a report, revised when appropriate, might be kept in reserve for intensive distribution wherever a university-desegregation crisis impends.

Regards. Ben

January 12, 1961

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Ben:

Here it is.

We made out pretty well with the officers. Mr. Dabbs wanted additional emphasis on the international stake, and this was incorporated in the conclusion. The last two paragraphs of the foreword were added at Mr. Wright's suggestion. Mr. Wheeler had many comments which, after three long-distance calls, got handled one way or another.

The report was sent last night to Mr. Kennedy with a copy to Mr. Kenneth O'Donnell, his appointments secretary; also six copies to Harris Wofford. We have asked for an appointment before inauguration, though I suspect that's asking for rather too much. We are transmitting the document today to all board members, state directors, and the people whom we consulted on the Pollitt memorandum, including the ones whom we assembled in Washington; Harold is sending a covering letter to each.

Until we get some sort of response from the President elect's headquarters, there will be no public release, and each of the first recipients is being cautioned against publicity or quotation.

I don't have to tell you that this has been an interesting experience for me. I am afraid you think the document long and wordy and probably it is. Questions such as these are so hard to approach.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
ENCLOSURE

MA

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

January 14,1961

Dear Les:

The Federal Executive and Civil Rights is magnificent--in appearance as well as content. I am proud to be associated with its author--proud also to have been in the company of those who helped. I really believe it will be valued by the President and have an impact upon national policy. I am quite excited about it.

I don't know how many copies we have to spare, but, if they are not too scarce, I would like to see one sent to Hon. Brooks Hays, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee. He lunched with me and we talked about it on the day of my departure for Atlanta. He was consulted to that extent. (If appropriate, I would like to have the copy sent to him as at my request.)

I am in the throes of indexing my book--an agonizing experience, as I am finding for the first time.

I hope you are relaxing a little after the magnum opus. It should give you enormous satisfaction.

Sincerely,

Ben

INTEROFFICE MEMO January 18, 1961

TO: BM - CC TO JC

FROM: LWD

I received your letter this morning, and I am very grateful to you for your comments about the Executive and Civil Rights.

We are catching up now on the loose ends of late weeks. Among these is the stencil and the circular that you had prepared for for new recipients for L-reports. I find that my memory, however, is not quite clear about its use. I believe the idea is that we use this in the initial mailing to every new person added to the L-Report mailing list. Let me know please if this is not the whole picture.

Incidentally, I have removed one item from the circulat: L-18, Negro buying power. We still send this out on specific request, but it is the one thing we have done about whose accuracy I am not altogether comfortable, and I don't like to advertise it. This is a submect we shall have to return to some time soon and do a better job at.

We ought to cut stencils today or tomorrow on the desegregated colleges. The work on costs of massive resistance has been finished and needs only to be organized.

January 19, 1961

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: BEN MUSE

FROM: LWD

SUBJECT: LEADERSHIP PROJECT

Have you read Bill Foster's article in the Saturday Review, December 17 (we do not have an office copy yet to send you). I wonder if you think it may have any program usefulness for the leadership project? It seems to me we need to increase our effort to bring persons of influence to thinking about methods of desegregation, and this is what Bill's article treats. I think it would be wasted on a wide circulation; I think it might have some value as an item to be sent or handed to expecially thoughtful community leaders and judges.

TO: BM February 10, 1961

FROM: MA

Today we received the 101 copies of the Saturday Review which contain G. W. Foster's "1960: Turning Point for Desegregation?" (Reprints were not available)

Would you like us to send you copies, and if so how many?

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: BEN MUSE February 23, 1961

FROM: LWD

As we discussed yesterday, I shall inform you about planned projects so that we may consider whether they can be charged in whole or in part to the RBF budget. I think there will be two kinds of situations. One is where we have an idea here which we want to lay before you and which will not be undertaken except as a RBF project and with your prior endorsement. The second will include those things which we decide to do and which nevertheless might appropriately be considered RBF.

We have now underway a project of the second sort. I believe you know that we have commissioned George McMillan to do a pamphlet on the problems of college desegregation. George will "hang" the discussion on the University of Georgia incident, and the success of his law enforcement pamphlet justifies us, I believe, in thinking that in his hands this will be an effective technique. The discussion will be broader, however, than the single problem of campus riots. I have outlined with him a number of administrative problems which should get treatment. The hope is that we shall come up with something of specific interest and value to college administrators, but with wider appeal as well.

McMillan is not always prompt in completing an assignment; I have asked him to have the writing done by late March and will be satisfied if it comes in anywhere close to that. We are paying him $500 plus travel expenses for one or two days in Athens. This is higher than our usual fee, but he is a professional writer--which means he depends upon his commissions to live. And, in a way that is very important to me, his fee is more economical than lower fees paid to some of the other people who have written for us: that is, we get a finished manuscript which doesn't require days of my time going over it. I estimate the total cost, including printing and postage, to be in the $2,000 to $2,500 range which is about par for most pamphlets.

Because this is the first memo to you in this new attack on the budgeting problem, I reiterate my statement of yesterday that I do not think we should foreclose the possibility that on some projects RBF will want to assume a share of the cost rather than all of it or none of it. I am not inviting in this particular case a shared arrangement, merely indicating what I think are the three alternatives.

Hope you had a good trip back to Virginia.

****

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 27, 1961

To: Dr. Dunbar

From: BM

Subject: L-Report on Georgia retreat

I believe an L-Report is in process on the Georgia retreat.

If it is not too late, I would like to have note made of the vote (nearly unanimous) by which the bills were passed.

I have in mind sending a package, with my personal covering letter to half a dozen people in S. C., Ala., La. and Miss., on the Georgia development, including copies of the Acts and possibly also of the Sibley Committee Report. Can we get a few copies of the Sibley Committee Report? Official documents are, of course, more effective than our own material.

I will be writing you further regarding the subject of your memo of the 23rd. and other matters.

We had a nice trip back. I have a pile of papers to go through, as you can imagine -- a month's accumulation.

Ben

File
Copies 2 book
$2.40

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

March 21, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

If there should be any way in which I could help during this transition period, I could take a plane for Atlanta on very short notice and would be very glad to do so.

My plans for the near future are rather flexible. I do not expect to be away from here more than two or three days at a time before the middle of April, planning then a somewhat longer trip around our April 19 meeting.

Sincerely,

Ben

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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March 30, 1961

TO: BM

FROM: MA

Dear Mr. Muse: I have not been able to find a letter from the person you mentioned to Paul Rilling over the telephone. At the time he told me of your request for another copy of the letter, I looked rather thoroughly; today, while filing, I have looked very thoroughly.

So, I am sending you copies of the only two letters we have re Virginia and the Goodman report, and hope that one of these is the one you really wanted.

Dear Mrs. Albright,
The Bass letter was exactly what I wanted; I mentioned the wrong member of the school board! I am sorry I caused you this trouble.
Regards.
Ben Muse

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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April 3, 1961

INTEROFFICE MEMO To LWD —

TO: BM

FROM: LWD

I think yoursuggestion of reprinting the population article from the March 26 Post is good; I agree with you that the maps will not be needed. I wonder if you would like to call one of your friends on the Post to secure permission. I think we could do this by ~~offset~~ photo-offset.

4/6/61
The Post has given permission for use of this material by us.
Ben Muse

* * * *

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date April 1,1961

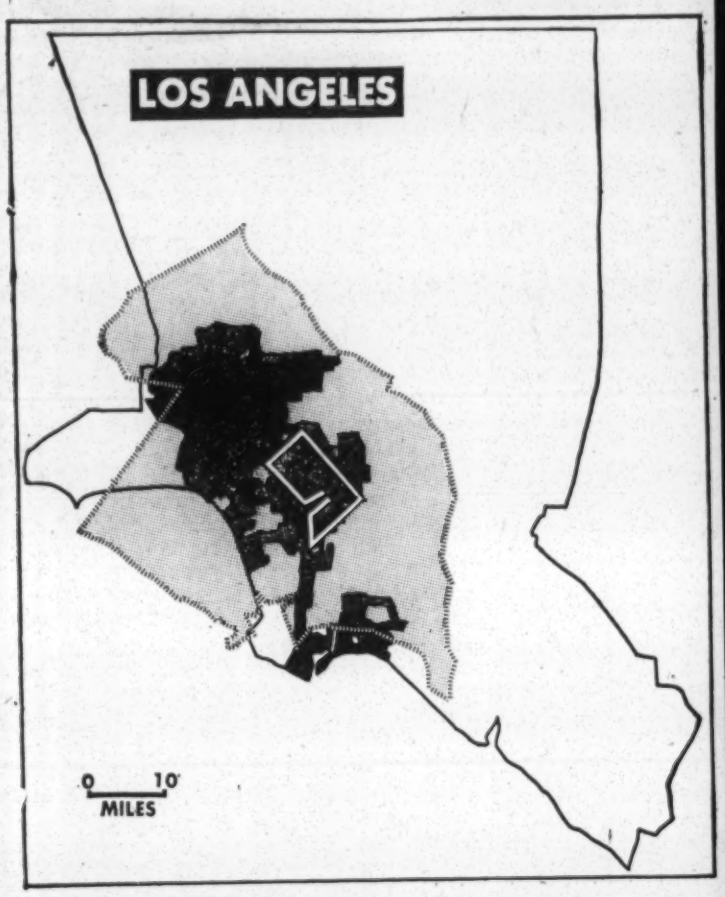
To: Dr.Dunbar

From: Ben Muse

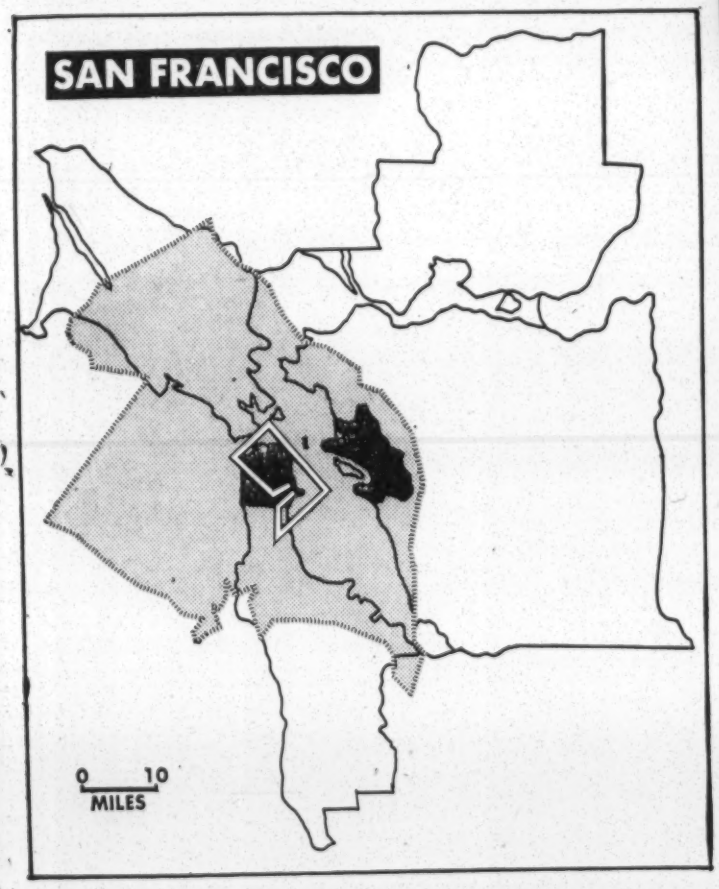
Subject: L-Report Suggestion

Page E3 of the Washington Post, of March 26, contains excellent material to refute the canard that integration is driving the white people out of Washington. Could this text be reproduced, eliminating the maps?

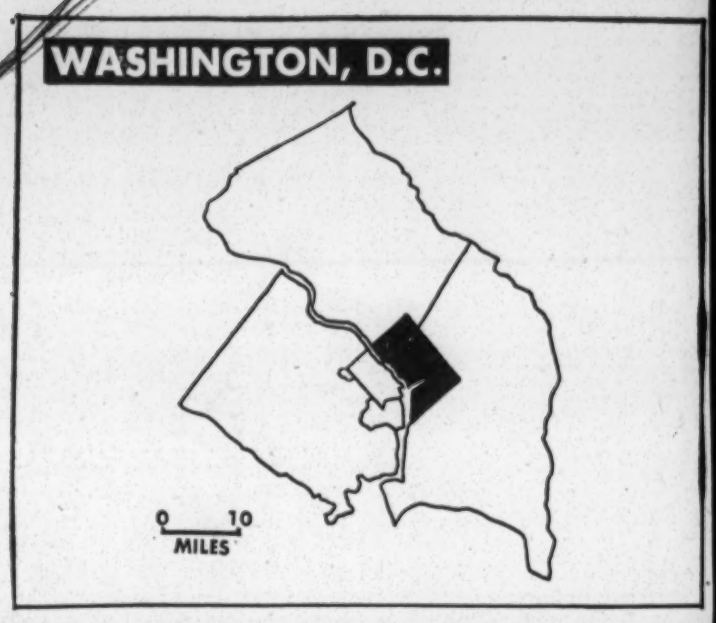
The Nation's second largest city and third largest metropolitan area spreads outward from downtown Loop area.



Boundaries of Los Angeles-Long Beach "metro" extend far beyond the reaches of the largest U .S. city in area.



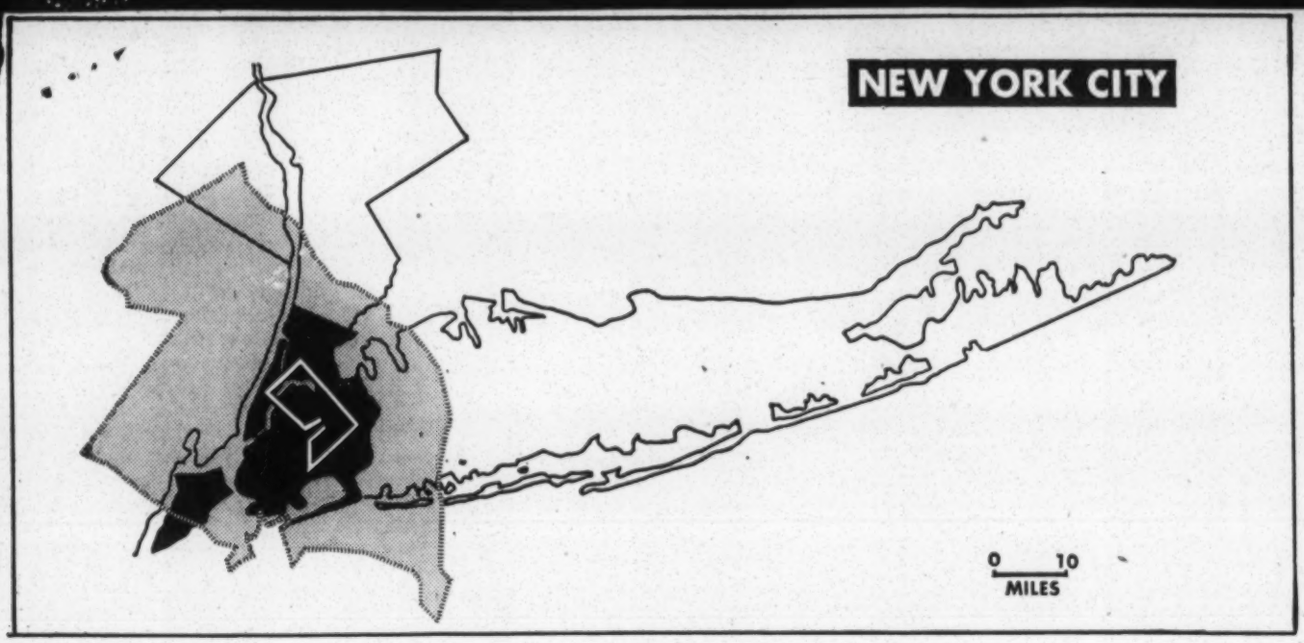
Industrial Oakland and East Bay neighbors are more populous than San Francisco and west shore suburbs.



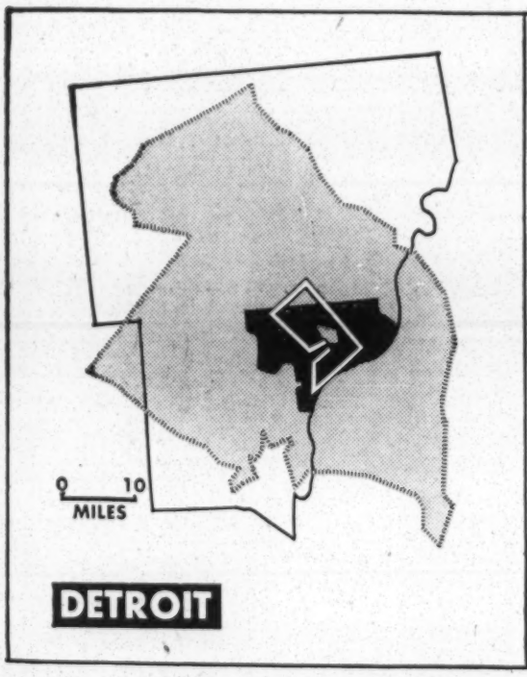
Maps on this page, done in identical scale, outline the Nation's 10 most populous metropolitan areas, with central cities shown solid. Greater Washington, above, has been superimposed (with suburbs shaded and District boundaries in white) on the other nine regions.

Maps on this page, from Rand, McNally & Co. bases, are by staff artists Harold Hoover and Kenneth Burgess.

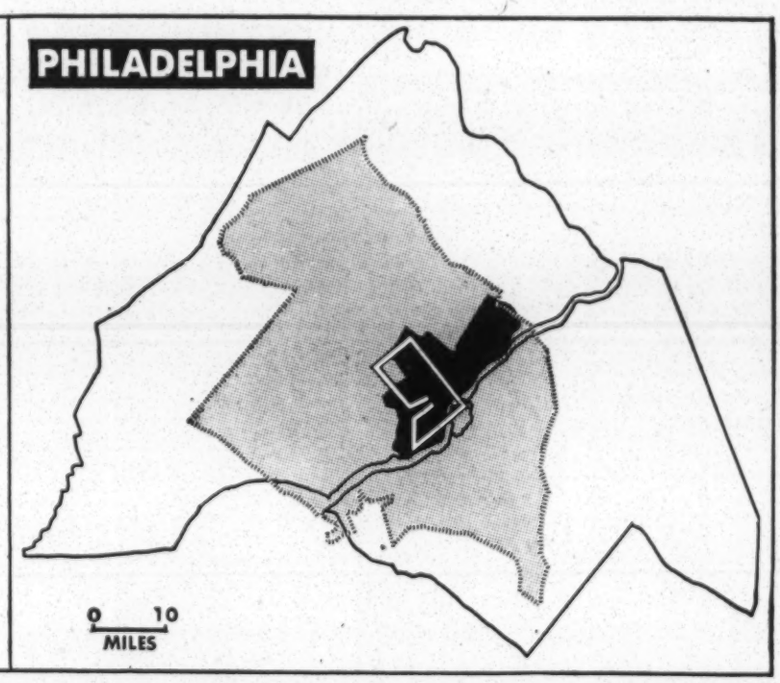
St. Louis voted in 1876 to shun problems of the adjacent county, now finds old boundary itself a major problem.



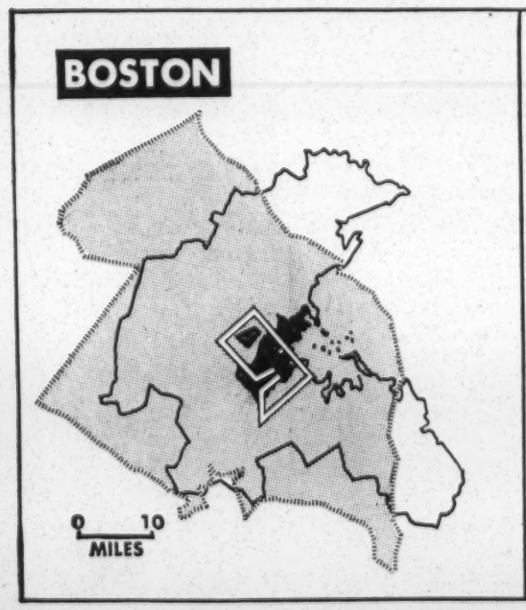
The No. 1 metropolis got so big that New Jersey areas with 4.1 million people were formed into own "metros."



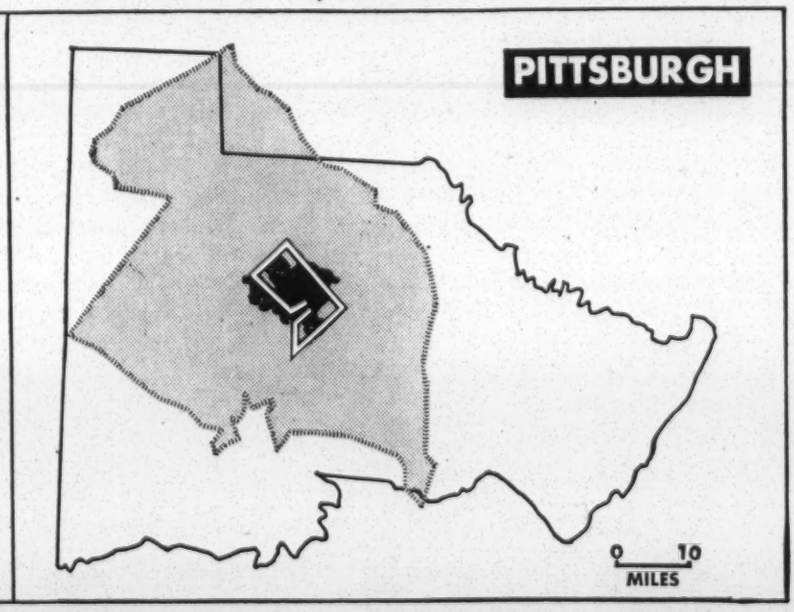
Only an international boundary fences Windsor, Ont., off from Detroit area.



Economic and social boundaries of the Quaker City extend over state lines, but the city limits have not stretched since 1854.



Only one of four Bostonians, proper or not, has a home in Boston proper.



Pittsburgh shows why a "city" is inadequate as a statistical measure; it is 16th largest, but area ranks No. 8 in Nation.

The Washington Post
1515 L STREET, N.W. REPUBLIC 7-1234
WASHINGTON 5, D.C.

JAMES RUSSELL WIGGINS
~~EXECUTIVE~~ EDITOR

April 10, 1961

Colonel Benjamin Muse
P. O. Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Colonel Muse:

This will authorize the republication of our article, "New Census Look at Cities and Race" for distribution to your mailing list, with credit to The Washington Post.

Sincerely,

J. R. Wiggins

Muse

May 1, 1961

Mr. W. C. Henson
Henson, Greene & Greene
Attorneys at Law
Cartersville, Ga.

Dear Mr. Henson:

We have your letter of April 16 addressed to Harold Fleming. As you may have now heard, Harold has resigned from theCouncil and has taken up a new task in Washington. We would very much like, however, to fill your request for a speaker at the Cartersville Lions Club. With that in mind, I have checked with Col. Benjamin Muse and he has replied that he could be with you either Juen 20 or June 27, as you prefer. I think he would be an ideal speaker.

Col. Muse has been a member of our staff and director of our Leadership Project for about two years. He is a former member of the Virginia legislature and Republican candidate for governor of that state in 1940. He was a member of the Foreign Service for some years and wrote a column on Virginia affairs for the Washington Post. He has recently published a book titled, Virginia's Massive Resistance (see enclosed review from the New York Times).

Please let me know as soon as you can which date you would prefer to have him.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:a
Enclosure: N.Y.Times, BM review

BM
file

May 10, 1961

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: BM

FROM: LWD

I am having this mailed to you because it will not thermafax, but we would like to have it back for the files. Share with Brew if you wish, and then return it to us.

I thought it a well done statement.

Enclosure: Gasque statement on Warren County high school

May 26, 1961

MEMO

TO: BM

FROM: LWD

I talked with Dave Freeman today. He has read your latest report regarding the possibility of providing consultant services in the labor and management field. He is most interested. I'll be calling on him in New York June 7th. It would be very fine to have something more on this matter to discuss with him then. If you have any chance to go into it more deeply before then, I should be ~~xxxxxxx~~ grateful.

Subject (not title): RESPONSIBILITIES/ROLE OF NATIONAL FIRMS OPERATING IN SOUTH

I. Discussion of magnitude of investments and operations

(Document with Bob Thompson's tabulations from Moodys. Get other material; e.g. analysis of Chamber of Commerce membership in two or three cities of the South; data on investments life insurance companies in Southern properties; general picture of small businesses - Northern owned - locating in South, especially rural South.)

II. Against this background, take up following issues

A. The Schools Controversy

(Include here analysis effects of controversy and closings on business. But also discuss relationship good schools to economic growth. Theme would be that business has responsibility and self-interest to put its weight in favor of open and improving public schools.)

B. Civil Rights

(Include here a summary of our Violence pamphlet, and discuss implications civic disorder for business stability.)

C. Employment

(SRC point of view, with appropriate documentation, on non-discriminatory employment.)

D. Economic Retaliation

(Discuss, with needed documentation, the possibility of boycotts against businesses which act contrary to community pressures. Include candid brief description of boycotts which have occurred - both white and Negro.)

E. Marketing

(Include here analysis Negro market, and suggest standards that ought to guide in dealing with it across the counter, and in advertising.)

F. Public Opinion (better term?)

(SRC point of view on attitudes and perspectives which men of influence should carry with them in shaping South of tomorrow.)

Pamphlet should be long enough to give evidence of our seriousness in publication (and also to permit sober presentation) and short enough to keep sustained interest: perhaps 5,000 to 7,500 words.

I would write the draft (but after finishing Next Steps). However, Ben Muse should be my collaborator in the sense that he would work over the draft thoroughly and in detail. In addition, because the venture would be somewhat novel, and would involve an articulation of SRC view in some particularity, might be advisable to ask Executive Committee in January to appoint an advisory committee to review what we come up with (for content, not style). I would suggest such persons as Carlyle, John Wheeler, Crossman, Thomas, Milton. Their names should appear in publication as "advisors to staff".

Distribution should be initially only to friends, press, and specially prepared list of national firms and their Southern branches.

LWD -

As we discussed. This is a bigger and longer range project than Ben's ltr suggests. A good one, though.

HCF

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

file

Dear Les,

What is the latest on the business man's guide to Southern problems, and how are things generally?

I am getting to the end of massive resistance.

I appreciate the clips I am getting on the Atlanta situation.

Regards, Ben

Harold –

I have been sitting on this, waiting for inspiration to strike (two months). It's [illegible]

PAV
JM

c/O Mrs. W. Paschall
1957 Westminister Way
N.E.,Atlanta,Georgia

June 8,1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council,Inc.
Room 201,5 Forsyth St.,
N.W.,Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar :

I received your check for $ 200. which has been approved for the purpose of advancing my research with regard to the period of this summer, on condition that I will make the record available to your Council.

I greatly appreciate your thoughtful assistance to my research. Thank you very much. I will do my best for making a good research through the summer of 1961 here in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Yoriko Nakajima

Yoriko Nakajima

(Is what has the report? JM

An N.A.A.C.P. Lawyer Answers Some Questions

Mr. Greenberg, director of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People travels constantly, arguing court cases, making speeches and discussing integration with community groups. In the informal cross-examinations that he encounters, certain questions invariably recur. The following are the nine questions most often asked by whites, together with his answers.

By JACK GREENBERG

Q. *Shouldn't the sit-ins, pickets and marchers obey the law like anyone else?*

A. Yes, they should, and with few exceptions, they do. None of the responsible organizations has advocated or defended breaking the law.

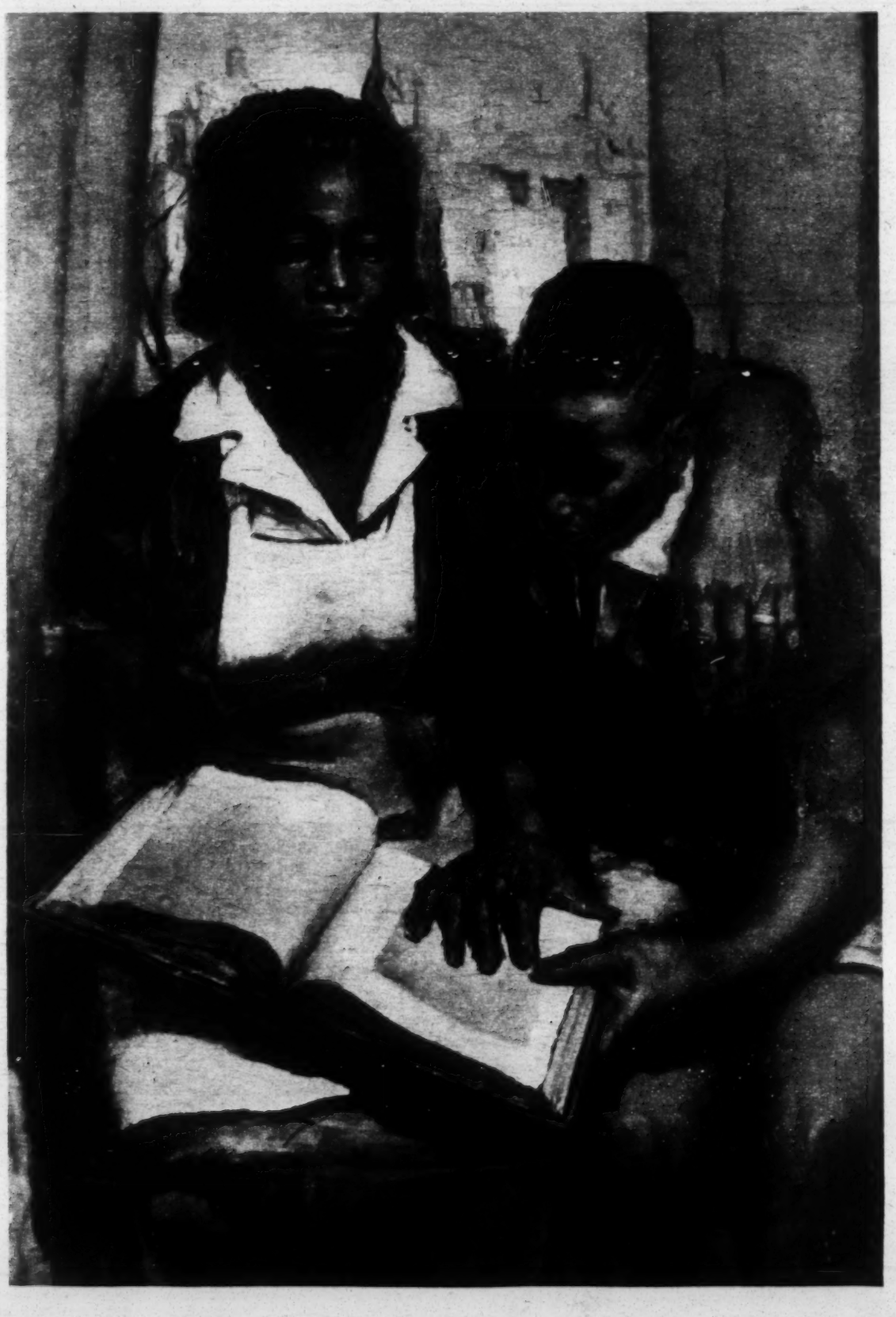
But violation of state segregation laws or rules that stifle free speech are not violations of the law as determined by the United States Constitution. Dr. Martin Luther King's advocacy of "civil disobedience" has as a practical matter amounted to no more than that. In the "Letter From Birmingham City Jail," his most recent and perhaps fullest discussion of the question, he describes only two types of American laws he believes should be disobeyed: "segregation laws" and laws that "deny citizens the First Amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and peaceful protest."

He calls these laws "unjust". A lawyer would call them unconstitutional. (But last year, for example, Dr. King obeyed a Federal court injunction in Albany, Ga., until it was vacated by the Court of Appeals.)

His philosophical position means disobedience of unjust laws such as Hitler's Nuremberg Laws, even though they were perfectly legal within the Nazi system. Most Americans ought to agree with him. In Germany, there was no redress within the law. Here the contrary is true.

The N. A. A. C. P. Legal Defense Fund represents more than 7,500 demonstration defendants. While many cases, of course, are still pending, every one that has been decided by the Supreme Court of the United States has been reversed. Judgments against sit-ins in half a dozen cities already have been struck down; others have been returned to state courts for reconsideration; Freedom Riders have been freed; the convictions of hundreds of protest marchers have been set aside. Legal Defense lawyers are arguing more cases before the Supreme Court this fall. Fundamentally, if a protestor is acting nonviolently to oppose racial discrimination, he is acting in the main stream of American constitutional freedom and should expect favorable hearing by the courts.

Violence is something else again. It has usually broken out when hostile whites attacked demonstrators; the ensuing disorder has given the demonstrations an aura of lawlessness. However, the courts have often held that the right to free speech can't be taken away because of mob violence. The man who starts the violence should be arrested—no matter which side he is on.



"The Negro protest, if it causes the country to come to grips with its fundamental problems — which must be solved to integrate successfully — will benefit the nation as a whole and not merely its underprivileged colored citizens."

"Mother, and Child," a painting by John Wilson.

Q. *Don't protest marches and demonstrations create unrest and race hatred? Aren't they delaying integration by stiffening the opposition?*

A. Few real civil rights gains, especially in the South, have come without lawsuits or protest demonstrations. The white majority has rarely given up privilege without a vigorous showing by the minority that it wants equality. White leaders who want discrimination ended are often strengthened when they can show opponents that a court order or the need for community peace requires that something be done. Some racial unrest is stirred up by demonstrations, of course. But this rarely slows integration. It merely brings to the surface attitudes that need recognition and exposure, and this is the first step toward changing them.

The white community is sometimes annoyed by interorganizational friction that may accompany demonstrations—though one wonders why similar disfavor had not been voiced at the underlying injustices that gave rise to the protests. But the course of a demonstration does not always run smoothly. It may start without the knowledge of national officers. Personalities become deeply engaged and mistrust sometimes flourishes. A recurrent irritation often arises when a member of a group accuses its leaders of softness and threatens to call in another "tougher" outfit. White community intransigence promotes escalation of this sort.

Q. *Is there antipathy to all white people in the civil rights drive? Will this lead to an upsurge of violence?*

A. It would be strange if racial resentment did not play a part in the demonstrations, but it is not dominant. The overwhelming factor is a desire to belong on an equal basis to the community at large. The spirit of nonviolence, which the direct action groups avow, is characterized by Christian love to an extent not present in any other nationally organized activity. Despite some who decry it, the civil rights movement is well integrated; indeed, more so than ever before. This shows that hostility is directed more (*Continued on Page* 85)

"WE SHALL OVERCOME"—A church-sponsored rally, chorusing the integration anthem, demands more construction jobs for Negroes and protests jailing of pickets at a nearby Queens housing project.

An N. A. A. C. P. Lawyer Answers Some Questions

(Continued from Page 16)

against prejudice and apathy than against members of the other race.

Louis Harris's recent poll shows that most Negroes want to live an integrated life — hardly an expression of racial animosity. If prompt progress is made to correct injustices there will be no violence, barring unpredictable, isolated instances that may occur despite all the efforts of civil rights leadership. But if progress is not made, the irritation of recurrent clashes presents a real danger.

In Birmingham, for example, protest marches began generally in a cheerful, adventurous atmosphere. Many Negro onlookers laughed and applauded as they might at a parade. But when the police brought out dogs and fire hoses the mood turned grim and angry almost instantly. Later, the bombing of Gaston's Motel provoked retaliation that was contained only after great effort by leaders of the movement.

Q. ***Shouldn't the civil rights effort aim at getting out the Negro vote? Once you have the vote, won't everything else follow easily?***

A. The vote is extremely important. But it is not easy to get it out over the obstacles put up in many Southern communities. The Civil Rights Commission reports, "In some 100 counties in eight Southern states there is reason to believe that Negro citizens are prevented — by outright discrimination or by fear of physical violence or economic reprisal — from exercising the right to vote."

Full exercise of the franchise will, even with total effort, be a long time in coming. In any event, the franchise can't be exercised effectively without education. School desegregation must go on at the same time. Further, the right to vote is not fully effective without economic strength. Political organization and campaigning are ineffective unless backed by money. Therefore, full and nondiscriminatory employment are crucial to meaningful exercise of the ballot.

Poor housing (as well as unemployment) and the family demoralization that accompanies it are hardly a solid base from which children can be educated effectively and go on to successful careers. Greater electoral strength will help schooling, jobs and housing, but each advance feeds others.

Q. ***Are Negroes ready for integration? Shouldn't they first concentrate on their education?***

A. No single approach is the magic key to the entire problem. A generation of fighting in the courts for equal education demonstrates that it cannot be achieved without integration across the board. Proper education cannot occur without nondiscriminatory employment. Higher schooling is expensive and elementary and high school achievement reflect a family's economic and social situation. Housing and voting are linked, too.

There is an interesting correlation between "readiness" and the demand for equality. Generally speaking, Negroes don't, because they can't, push hard for equality until they *are* "ready," in an educational, organizational and financial sense. When education has reached a level that permits full perception of the harmfulness of segregation, when there is a sufficient number of lawyers, and other leaders, when there is a good political base and sufficient resources to mount a legal or demonstration campaign, the Negro community is "ready" and acts. Revolutions prosper on hope and success, not on apathy and defeat.

Q. ***Don't storekeepers have property rights too? Shouldn't they be allowed to serve whom they want and make others get out?***

A. The legal, social and moral issues can't be solved by using a catchword like "property." Instead, we must look at the whole picture. The Fourteenth Amendment makes individuals equal before the law without regard to race. The Government has a variety of different controls of business, such as licensing. The social damage done by excluding Negroes from all eating facilities in a downtown business section is clearly recognized. There are other fundamental interests, such as the right of privacy, that must be considered. A department store that serves everyone at all counters, but bars Negroes from its lunch counter is different, legally and morally, from someone's livingroom.

Storekeepers can't segregate in the more than 30 states that now have civil rights laws. Yet, few would suggest that in New York or in any of these other states — now including some border ones — the owner's "property" has been taken away. Business must keep certain hours, pay certain wages, not sell certain products; zoning, inheritance, usury and other laws limit what a man can do with what he owns. Southern states have *required* segregation on private property. Weighing all these factors, it seems reasonable to forbid the storekeeper a choice of customers on a racial basis; this does not deprive him of "property."

And there is the further question: can prejudiced storekeepers call on the police and the courts to arrest and jail those who peacefully persist in demanding service? Over recent years the uninterrupted trend of court decisions has

(Continued on Following Page)

when I sew on a dublife replacement collar!

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MADEMOISELLE WRITES ABOUT VENT-AIR COSMETIC LENSES ON PAGE 243 AUGUST ISSUE

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(Continued from Preceding Page)

been to forbid enforcement of private racial bias. While it is risky to predict the outcome of particular cases, it seems safe to say the trend will continue.

Q. ***Won't school desegregation lower the quality of education?***

A. The United States Commission on Civil Rights has reported that, based on the experience of Washington, D.C., Oklahoma City, Baltimore, Louisville and the state of West Virginia, these fears are not justified. "Standards . . . need not be lowered as a result of desegregation, but it may be necessary to find some way of coping with the wider spread between individual achievement when white and Negro children are brought together."

The disparity rests on the fact that lower-income families (a large proportion of them Negroes) have, as indicated in a recent book by Dr. Patricia Sexton, "Education and Income Inequalities in Our Public Schools," inferior facilities, teachers and few opportunities to advance economically and socially.

Nevertheless, the commission points out that there are various techniques to deal with the problem of low achievers. Ability grouping by schools, programs or classes is one, and supervised home study another. In St. Louis, the Banneker group of schools, attended largely by Negroes, raised the number of its students in Track I (the highest group) from 7 per cent to 20.7 per cent over a period of three years at very little expense.

This was done, the commission reports, by admonishing teachers "to stop 'teaching by supposed IQ'; parents were told of the poor performance of their children, urged to cooperate with the school on homework assignments, and instructed how to do so. Children were spurred by assembly programs, field trips, pep talks, honor assemblies and posters."

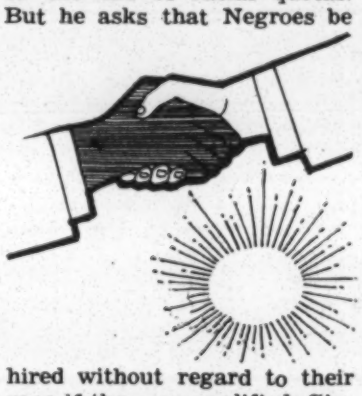
NEW YORK has its Higher Horizons program and other cities have devised other techniques. Unless school boards act, there may be a temporary drop in quality for white children who are given a taste of the inferior schooling once reserved for Negroes. But schools can handle the problem, they should, and they do. Indeed, one bonus of integration is that many whites will not permit their children to get the kind of education Negroes had been compelled to take. In this sense, integration raises the quality of education. Apart from eliminating segregation, it is a pro-educational achievement in itself.

There is a fear that white families will move to the suburbs to escape desegregation. But the move to the suburbs started well before the integration issue faced the country and it continues for independent reasons. To the extent that suburban schools are an attraction because they may be better — without regard to race — Negroes with comparable incomes will move there, too, though it is obvious that more whites than Negroes can afford to move.

But school segregation either in law or as a matter of fact cannot be maintained in the suburbs either. When white families realize that integration needn't affect the quality of city schools and that suburban schools are integrated, too, they won't move merely for racial reasons.

Q. ***Won't some whites lose their jobs if employers are forced to hire Negroes?***

A. No one in responsible leadership advocates firing whites to hire Negroes. Whitney Young of the Urban League, whose primary concern is discrimination in employment, points out that his group does not demand the firing of any white persons, or the use of racial quotas. But he asks that Negroes be



hired without regard to their race if they are qualified. Given the discriminatory job market of years past and the fact that Negroes have lacked opportunity and incentive to train for jobs from which they were excluded, there is a need for affirmative action to involve them in currently all-white employment.

Where a white man and a Negro are equally qualified, given the need to compensate for past discrimination, the Negro ought to get the job. Though some would extend the principle of compensatory employment to unqualified workers, such a solution would boomerang in a brief time. Negroes would not have the same incentive to train properly as whites; white workers would not respect less competent fellow employes who were hired solely because of race; society would suffer from a job not well done.

Wherever possible, Negroes should be trained for jobs from which they have been barred. It should not be hard to produce fully qualified Negro countermen for hamburger stands if the employer wants to hire without regard to race. A rough rule of thumb in terms of numbers or percentages can help determine when the affirmative approach no longer will be needed.

To the extent that Negroes move into once all-white jobs, whites will not have those jobs. But there is no reason why in a time of unemployment whites should control the job market. The solution is not to discriminate but to provide full employment. Eliminating discrimination should contribute to this goal by increasing Negro purchasing power and equipping Negroes to participate on a skilled basis in the economy as a whole.

Q. ***Can successful integration be forced by law? Doesn't there have to be a change in the hearts and minds of men first?***

A. From the beginning of time law has regulated *conduct* quite apart from attitudes. Actually, more than any thing else, law has been changing the hearts and minds of men.

People's feelings have had nothing to do with the fact that hundreds of thousands of Negroes have voted for the first time as a result of the white-primary cases. The armed forces were rapidly desegregated by Presidential order. Transportation has been desegregated with almost complete success by I.C.C. orders and lawsuits.

Litigation has brought about some, often substantial, desegregation of every Southern state university system. Court-ordered school desegregation is now under way in some of the deepest Southern areas and has been more extensive in border states. State F.E.P.C.'s and the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity have provided job integration.

Private and parochial schools have *followed,* rather than taken the lead, in these events. Those who, as a result of law, have rubbed shoulders for the first time on a basis of equality have learned they can get along well with their peers, no matter what their race.

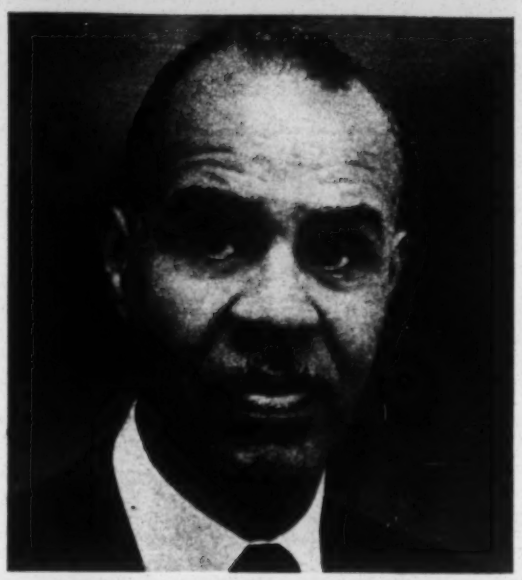
Moreover, had it not been for the enlightened climate created by the 1954 school cases, we would not be witnessing the protest demonstrations of today. Law works, too, so that people who want to do the right thing have been able to fend off criticism by saying the law requires them to act. Some mayors and school superintendents have privately asked to be sued so that they can desegregate with impunity.

BUT where there is a housing or job shortage, or where education is deficient, law requiring integration can't make up *that* difference. And in such cases law requiring integration is less likely to be successful. You can't integrate housing very well if it is in short supply, and there is no room for anyone to move about. It is not easy to integrate jobs in an era of substantial unemployment.

The Negro protest, therefore, if it pushes the country to grips with its economic, housing, educational and other fundamental problems, which must be solved to integrate successfully, may well save the nation as a whole — not merely its underprivileged colored citizens.

The New York Times Magazine

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.



Roy Wilkins, N.A.A.C.P. executive secretary.

James Farmer, national director of CORE.

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, psychologist.

James Baldwin, author ("The Fire Next Time").

NEGRO LEADERS WHO TELL WHAT THEIR PEOPLE HOPE FOR

What the Marchers Really Want

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom will take place this week. Here five Negro leaders answer five basic questions concerning their goals.

THE March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom this Wednesday—a kind of emotional climax to the Negro civil-rights drive—raises the basic issue: What do Negroes really want?

In an effort to find the answer, five questions were put to five Negro leaders. In alphabetical order, the respondents are: James Baldwin, author, whose latest book, "The Fire Next Time," is concerned with white-Negro relations; Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, professor of psychology at City College, whose testimony played an important role in the Supreme Court's 1954 school integration cases; James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), whose group originated the sit-ins and Freedom Rides; the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference after the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott of 1956; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.), the best-known and largest of the civil rights organizations in the country.

In essence, the contributors assert that what is sought is not merely lip-service to "equality" but equality in all areas of life. They report that the Negro is deeply resentful of daily humiliations, angry and impatient with the economic gap between whites and Negroes. Four of the contributors are guardedly optimistic about the gains thus far. But one of them feels that, in terms of trying to achieve a free country, "almost [no progress] at all has been made."

There is disagreement on how long it will take for Negroes to attain equality—with predictions ranging from one to five years. Nor is there great optimism that racial bias will be eliminated easily. The hope is expressed that the reform of racial practices will remove support for at least the more obvious prejudices.

Here are the five questions and the responses.

* * *

1 *The concept of equality seems to be basic in the civil rights drive by Negroes. Just exactly what do this concept and this term mean to you?*

BALDWIN: It depends on what is meant by equality. On one level, which I would love to think of as resoundingly obvious, equality simply means what the historic amendments to the Constitution say: that no one shall be victimized, politically or economically, by reason of "previous condition of servitude." We are fighting for civil rights—since we are citizens—and our rights as citizens have nothing whatever to do with the bugaboo of social equality. On some day in the future, perhaps, white men and I, and their sisters and I, shall become sufficiently free and friendly with each other for sister to feel free to say "No" to me when I ask her hand in marriage.

As of this moment, I gather she would not feel free to do so; nor will I, as a Negro feel free to ask her until my situation in schools, housing, employment, voting, labor union and labor opportunities is radically changed.

CLARK: It is an ironic example of human folly that the descendants of those who sought and fought for freedom for themselves now seek to deny freedom to others or now claim difficulty in understanding the Negro's desire for freedom. What do Negroes really want? Negroes want what other human beings want—respect, dignity, the opportunity to grow and to be evaluated in terms of their worth as individuals. The term "equality" means to every thoughtful Negro exactly what it says. Equality is not qualifiable. Either the American Negro has the same rights, privileges and responsibilities as other American citizens or he does not.

He cannot verify the racist's claims that he is "inferior" by a willingness to postpone further the attainment of his rights. To do so would be to accelerate the moral erosion of America and to deny validity to democracy.

FARMER: Individuals, of course are not equal. Some are tall, some are short; some are strong, some weak; some rich, some poor; some smart, some dull; some good, some bad. But

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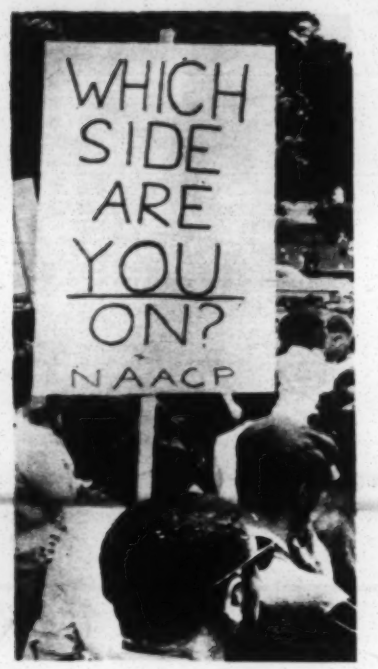
Signs of Troubled Times



What the Marchers Really Want

(Continued)

the inequality of men should be determined by the exercise of their prerogatives without regard to the color of their skin. Races, however, are equal, not in terms of their present status in society, but in terms of innate abilities and capacities. Further, individuals should have equal rights and privileges —a just equality before the laws and morality of our society in which all people are able to exercise an equal number of options as citizens.

KING: My concept of equality means the untrammeled opportunity for every person to fulfill his total individual capacity without any regard to race, creed, color or previous ancestry. In terms of specifics, the Negro seeks to escape the penalty imposed because of his "high visibility" in job opportunities, housing, education, health and recreational facilities, and public accommodations.

Housing and employment opportunities seem most critical—if any priority can be assigned to the many ills the Negro suffers. When you control how much a man earns, you determine to a large measure where his family lives, whether his children will go to college, etc. The Negro's insistent demand for equality must be approximated, if not totally fulfilled. It is the only hope for the soul of this nation. The Negro is the most glaring evidence of the white American's sin and hypocrisy.

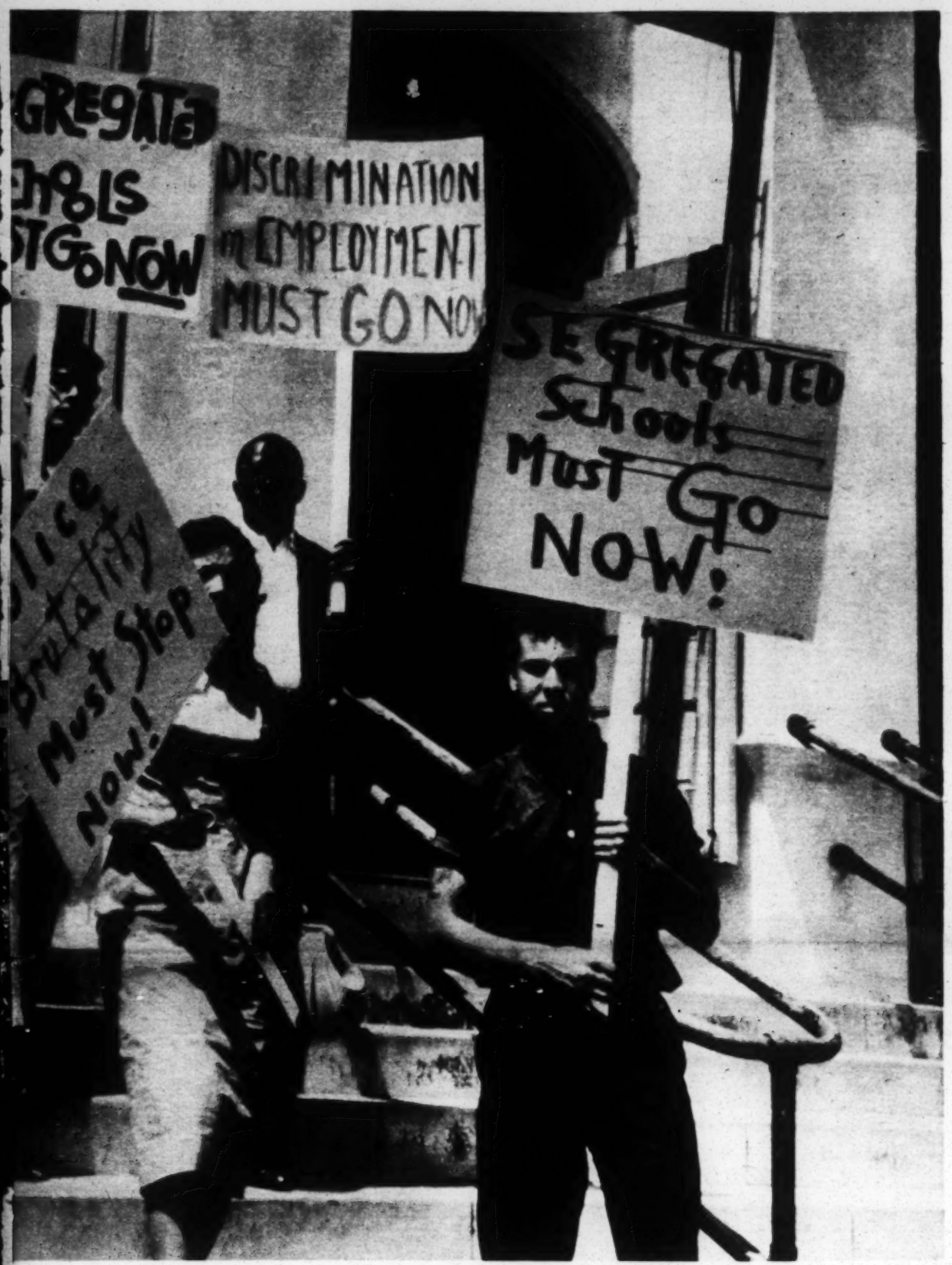
WILKINS: Equality is the basic goal of the N.A.A.C.P. and of the entire civil-rights movement. It is recognized that individuals, within particular races and across all ethnic lines, vary greatly in their talents, capacities and endowments. In these respects they are not equal—but under the United States Constitution all stand equal before the law in their legal and human rights. The barriers which set the Negro apart from his fellow Americans must be leveled before substantial and lasting progress can be made toward real equality.

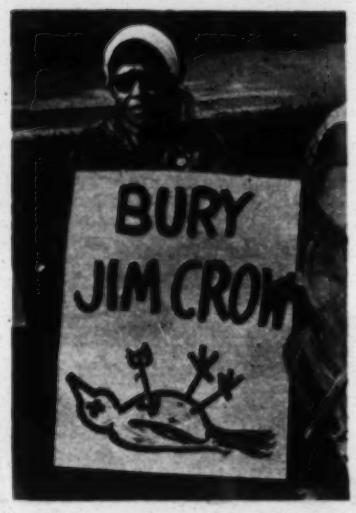
The concept of equality connotes the recognition of individual merit without regard to the color, race, religion or national origin of the individual. In an egalitarian society, no one is preferred or rejected solely on the basis of his ethnic origin. Each person is accorded the same opportunities and treatment as other persons, irrespective of race. In such a society, skin color has no more significance than hair or eye color. The attainment of this kind of democratic society is the goal of civil-rights advocates.

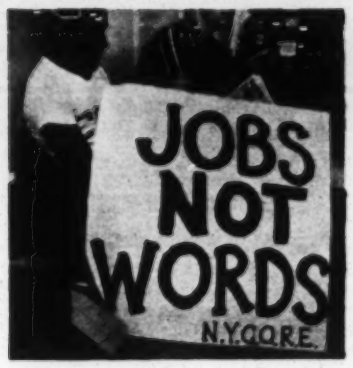
2 *How do you expect to achieve this equality?*

BALDWIN: In my own view, a great part of our dilemma, and particularly the American Negro's dilemma, is that the American cult of mediocrity makes equality, here, a matter of descending to the lowest common denominator. It is a sad comment on our common situation here that I should feel compelled to state that I do not say this out of hostility, or even out of bitterness.

The truth is that the concept of white supremacy on which depends







our present use of the word "equality" will take many generations to die. In order, however, for Negroes to achieve the equality I tried to suggest in my answer to the first question, all American schools, real-estate boards, registrars, labor unions, etc., and all the American attitudes, including that of "Mrs. Murphy," will be forced to change.

I cannot be fitted into the society as presently constituted, even if I, as a Negro, wished to be. To give a dangerous and concrete example: I do not object to the fact that Senator Eastland of Mississippi is alive, but I do object to his power—power which is given him by the American republic, or, to put it another way, by the previously mentioned cult of mediocrity. I certainly reject, with vehemence, any notion that I, as a Negro, should ever become "equal" to such a man.

I, therefore, speaking as a Negro, expect to achieve "equality" by forcing Americans to re-examine the reasons that we all, North and South, have allowed so much power to accrue to so many dubious institutions, and unworthy habits of thought, and so many mediocre men.

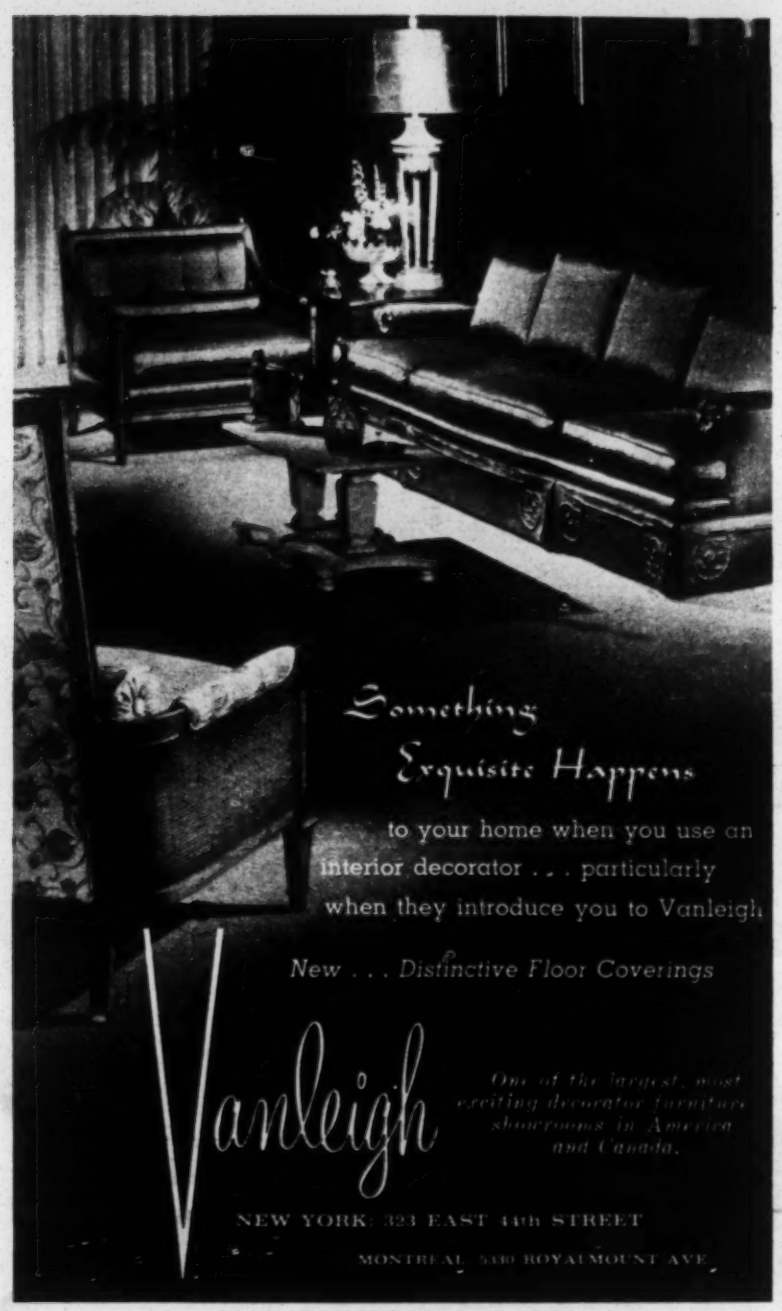
CLARK: The American Negro cannot hope realistically to obtain his freedom either with ease or through the use of weapons. The Negro has no military power and he is a numerical minority. If he had military weapons, he would probably repeat the human folly of violent revolution and seek to redress his grievances through the ritual of bloodletting. If he succeeded, he would then proceed to institute some similar form of intolerable tyranny upon others.

Fortunately, this blind alley is not available to the American Negro. He has only the power of his personality and the insistence that his rights as a human being be respected. He has nothing to lose but his life. He can, therefore, demand that it be lived with that dignity which is essential to humanity. He can give vitality to the democratic promise by using the machinery of democracy—the courts and the constitutional guarantees of freedom—to press relentlessly toward unqualified equality. If he cannot obtain equality through nonviolent protests, then America's claims of democracy for all will be revealed before the world as a mockery. This would be tragic, not just for Negroes but for all mankind.

FARMER: CORE sees its role in this struggle as the "cutting edge" of the movement in which the rightful demand for moral and legal equality will be fought with, and tempered by, direct-action tactics. It is important to remember that the key at this juncture is immediate and complete emancipation, ignoring the inevitable cry for patience and for tokenism.

KING: Tremendous victories have been won through the court's establishing and defining the Negro's rights as a citizen. Increased educational opportunities will move many Negroes closer to the main stream of American life. The Negro now represents a political entity which must be reckoned with in national politics. These and other factors will combine in a broad sense to secure equality for the Negro.

Now, in a more narrow sense, I am persuaded that the use of nonviolent direct action is the most practical and useful vehicle to fulfill the normal dream and aspirations of the Negro, or any oppressed people. More important, it is the most moral and the most powerful. The nonviolent revolution in America, with all of its drama and conscience-searing, is just coming of age. It has (*Continued on Page* 57)



(Continued from Page 57)

True, individual Negroes have achieved fame and recognition. There is a burgeoning Negro middle class enjoying a higher standard of living than the vast majority of the peoples of the world, white as well as black, brown and yellow. At the upper levels, many new employment opportunities have been opened up to Negroes. More are attending colleges than ever before.

But, on the other hand, the gap between the median income of white and Negro families has widened in the past decade. Automation has hit the Negro worker with deadly impact. The rate of unemployment among Negroes is at least twice that among white workers. Certain trade unions, despite state F.E.P.C. laws, still discriminate against Negro workers.

Progress has been made but, in the main, it has affected only a small minority of Negroes.

4 ***How long, in your opinion, will it take before you attain this goal?***

BALDWIN: How long it will take to attain "this goal" depends on how truthful white Americans are able—or willing—to become about themselves and their institutions and their goals. At the moment, such confusion reigns in this country that it cannot be said that white Americans have any goals to offer.

Not many white people were in the streets of Birmingham during the campaign there to achieve the American revolution; not many white people appear to have any notion of what Negroes are fighting for. This can only mean that they have forgotten what, according to their own testimony, America was meant to become, and I find this a most sinister matter.

CLARK: I have deliberately changed "you" to "we" in this question, because I am convinced that the attainment of racial democracy in America is an American goal — an American imperative — not a restricted goal of Negroes alone.

If I understand the complexity and pace of the contemporary world, we do not have the luxury of time that was available to a more leisurely 19th-century or pre-atomic 20th-century time. Social injustices and social problems which could have been accepted and lived with for decades or even centuries before must now be resolved swiftly. We need only look at the rapidity of the social and political changes which are occurring in Asia and Africa to begin to understand this problem. Within this context of the condensation of social and political time, the Negroes' demands for racial democracy in America cannot be postponed. They must be met now.

FARMER: We must win in at least the visible areas of discrimination immediately — within the next two or three years. Negroes will wait no longer for their proper enfranchisement.

KING: I should think that race and color prejudice will have all but disappeared in their most obvious forms in the next five years. The present temper of the Negro demands for equality will not allow statutory segregation to survive more than another year or two.

There are three discernible stages. First, we are able to see that even in the Deep South hard-core states, the overwhelming majority of white people say "later," instead of "never." Thus massive resistance has been conquered.

Secondly, though segregation is still with us in many forms, I believe if the present trend continues (and it must), for the most part we shall have a desegregated nation within the five years above mentioned.

Finally, we long for the day when color aristocracy will give way to character aristocracy. This will take considerably longer. I would hazard the guess that this could be as long as the turn of the century—a generation away.

WILKINS: There are too many imponderables and variables to warrant making a guess as to how long it will take to achieve the goal of equality. If somehow, miraculously, all racial barriers were leveled at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, there would remain vast obstacles in achieving equality.

The Negro has so long been deprived of opportunity that he faces a monumental task of catching up. Even the removal of the roadblocks will not guarantee immediate equality. What the Negro needs now—today—is the leveling of the barriers which prevent him from getting on the highway to equality. Once the wall is down, and special effort has been made to provide equal education and vocational training, the Negro will be on his way to equality. The goal is in sight, and certainly the black and brown children of this generation will live to enjoy full equality with their white fellow citizens.

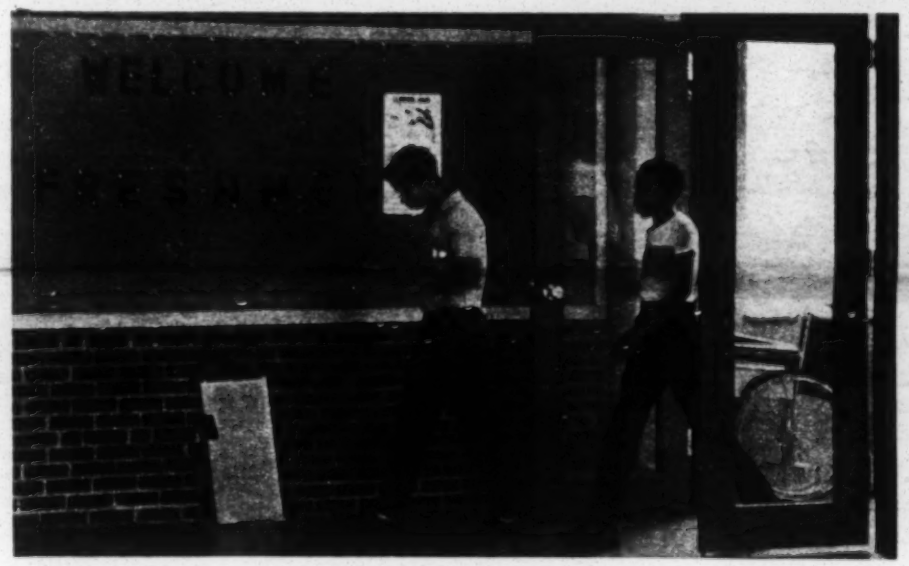
5 ***How does one eradicate racial bias in the thinking of white people?***

BALDWIN: One probably does not eradicate racial bias in the thinking of any people. In any case, I take the Negro's intentions to be considerably less utopian than that. I, anyway, don't care what a white man feels or thinks about me. I don't care whether or not he likes me. I simply do not want him to be in a position to implement his bias by oppressing me and my children.

I might add that his being in such a position, ghastly as it is for me, is yet more dangerous for him. It is not the racial bias in the thinking of white people which menaces this country today. It is the fact that the entire social structure confirms, corroborates and perpetuates this bias. This means that the best among us are imprisoned by the worst.

Birmingham, for example, is not a city of monsters but a city of frightened and tormented people. I am convinced that they would much rather do good than evil, would rather be free than bound. But, at this moment in American history, it demands a certain heroism to think for oneself, or to do the right thing. More people would be free to do right if we could establish in this country a moral climate in which the individual mind was less penalized and the popular mind less adored.

CLARK: Attitudes are



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Atlanta Negroes learn how to fill out voter-registration forms.
"Four contributors are guardedly optimistic about the gains thus far."

pretty complex and often irrational things. It is precisely because of the difficulty in controlling man's attitudes toward his fellow man that we have created laws and established police powers which seek to control man's behavior. Racial prejudice is not only nonrational, but it also seeks to defend itself by making virtues out of distortion, unreality and primitive emotions under the guise of protecting superiority and civilization.

I sometimes get the feeling that many American whites are desperately seeking to be free of their own racial irrationalities. The Negroes' insistence upon racial equality might help to free those whites who are still capable of being freed.

FARMER: Only the bigot himself can end his own bigotry. It was Gandhi's teaching that the extension of love in a fight for freedom struck deep into the guilt and conscience of the oppressor. It is not enough simply to examine the fruitlessness and stupidity of bigotry. It is essential that each of us re-examine our moral posture as regards our fellow men.

Breaking down barriers of segregation—in housing, employment, public accommodations—is the first step. Individuals then will at least have an opportunity for creative contact. It is thus that stereotypes can be destroyed. The walls must come down. Then bridges can be built.

KING: Nothing can serve to dispel racial bias in the minds of white people so much as a confrontation with the problem. The entrenched dilemma of American Negro-white relations has been fostered as much by ignoring the problem as lack of treatment. There was not only a lack of medicine; there was no diagnosis.

Even to date, despite the most comprehensive civil-rights bill in history, the Federal Government has yet to launch an effective day-by-day program that strikes at the flesh-and-blood considerations of what segregation does to the Negro in Birmingham as well as in the Brooklyn ghetto.

WILKINS: There is no pat answer to this question. The bias is rooted in emotion. Information is helpful, but not enough. The racial myths persist despite all kinds of scientific evidence to the contrary. Definitive studies, for example, have been made and widely publicized demonstrating that Negro occupancy per se does not depress property values. Yet the myth persists, not only among ignorant white people, but also among some of those whose education and position should immunize them against fairy tales.

Some aids to ridding white people of racial bias would include: exposure to integrated schooling and living; challenge to square their bias with the ethics of their religious faith and the tenets of their democratic political creed; appeal to conscience; citation of the peril to the national prestige and security stemming from racial bias in the United States; explanation that the real goals of the Negro in no way involve taking anything away from whites — except their false sense of superiority.

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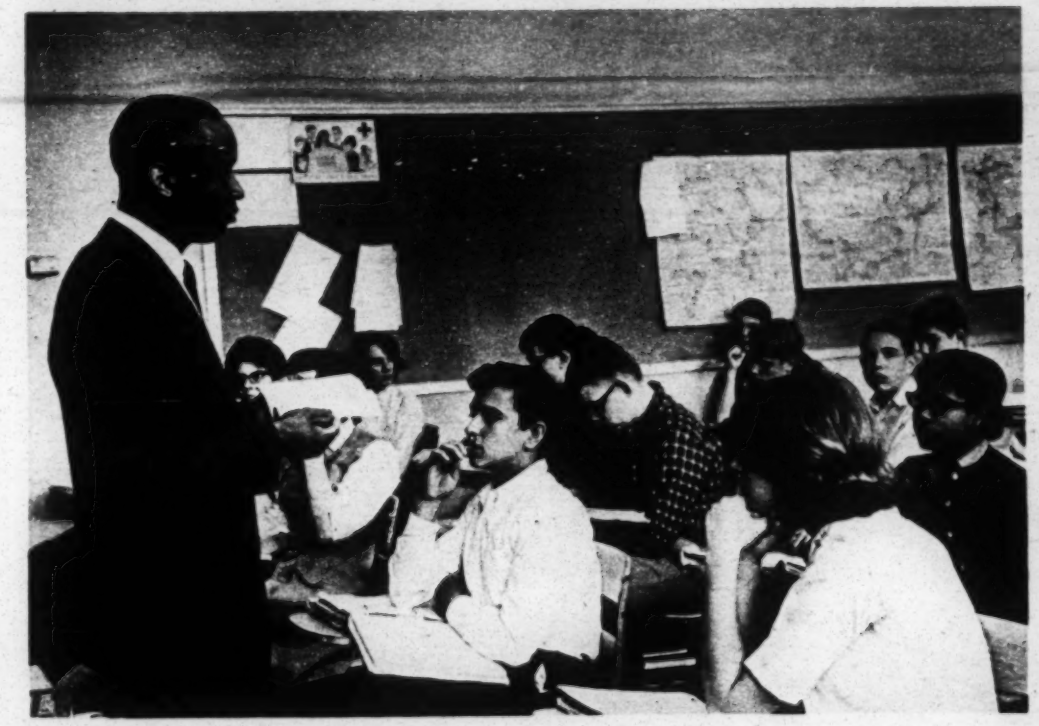
REALIZATION—"Implicit in the American self-image is 'the good life'—and to an increasing degree, Negroes are making it come true for themselves and their children." Above, an executive in a New York bank; right, a Sunday brunch on upper Riverside Drive in New York; below right, a teacher in a high school in Princeton, N. J.

The Negro's Middle-Class Dream

By C. ERIC LINCOLN



A FAMOUS professor at a large university used to begin one of his lectures in social psychology with a description of the characteristics of a typical American family. After he had described the family's income, address, religion, the kind of car they drove, organizations to which they belonged and the occupation of the father, he would then demand to know what social class the family belonged to. But before the students could answer, the professor would add as an apparent afterthought: "Oh, yes, I forgot to mention that this is a *Negro* family!" Inevitably, the students were stymied. What had begun as a simple problem became insolubly complex by the addition of the word "Negro."

Where do Negroes fit into the prevailing American class structure? Most sociologists say they don't. Negroes have a *parallel* social structure, somewhat—but not entirely—analogous to that of whites. This social parallelism, or two-caste society, is created by the color barrier which, with the rarest exceptions, prevents lateral movement from class to class between Negroes and whites. As a prominent Negro matron said in Detroit, "We Negroes and whites visit each other at times, and frequently we belong to the same civic organizations and attend the same functions, but the lines are there, and no one has to say where they are."

The Negro class structure had its roots in the institution of American slavery, which, in ignoring the African's cultural presumptions, leveled all classes, and force-fused highly disparate individuals and groups into one conglomerate mass — "the Negro slave," or simply, "the Negro," a word which, in America, became synonymous with "slave" or the "descendant of slaves." Prince and servant, Eboe and Mandingo, Moslem and spirit-worshipper were all the same to the slave master, who saw them only as commodities to be bought and sold, or as a labor supply for his vast plantations.

WHATEVER the basis of past distinctions, the Negro social structure in America had to evolve out of conditions connected with plantation life, and within a context which recognized the absolute superiority of the white slave owner (although not necessarily that of the small, non-slave-holding white farmers, who supplied the "overseer" class, and who were looked upon by house servants and slave owners alike as "poor white trash").

The Negro's "society," then, had four more or less distinct social classes. In ascending order, they were: (1) field hands (who had least contact with the socializing influences of the white environment); (2) mechanics and artisans (bricklayers, carpenters, iron workers, bakers, etc., who were frequently hired by the month or the year to merchants or builders in the cities); (3) valets, butlers, maids, cooks and other household servants (whose frequent personal contact with whites made them the most "acculturated" class); and (4) free Negroes (who had bought their freedom or had become free by manumission—often because of faithfulness or some heroic exploit).

As slaves, the house-servant class had by far the highest proportion of mulattoes. While this did not by any means exempt them from the normal rigors incident to being slaves, including sale, the light-skinned mistresses of the slave masters were often granted petty privileges and their children were more frequently given their freedom than those of any other class.

At the end of the slave period, the mulattoes sought to establish themselves as a distinct occupational and social class within the Negro subculture. For the most part, they continued as servants and retainers to their erstwhile *(Continued on Page 91)*

C. ERIC LINCOLN is a professor of sociology at Clark College in Atlanta who is on leave this year studying college administrative procedures at Brown. His new book, "My Face Is Black," will appear this week.

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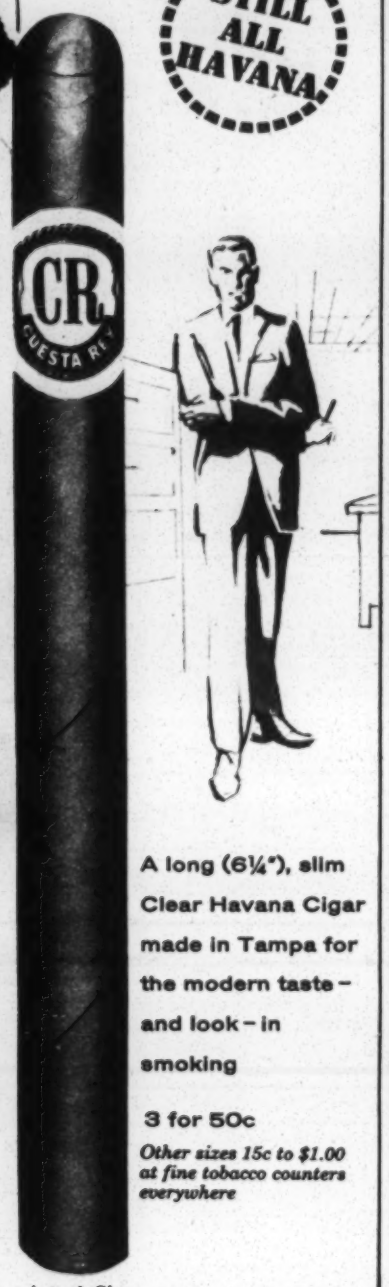

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The Negro's Dream

(Continued From Page 35)

masters—as dressmakers, barbers, coachmen and the like. For more than a generation they clung tenuously to a certain degree of status derived from catering exclusively to the "quality" folk (as they had done in slavery) under the then current slogan of (serving) "mighty few white folks and no niggers a'tall!"

BY the turn of the century, however, as the economy of the South began to revive, the mulatto "retainers" were progressively displaced by European immigrants and poor whites who were suddenly willing to do "Negro work." From that date neither occupation nor color has been a reliable index of social standing among Negroes.

Today, a light skin is not an automatic key to social status. In this day of the Negro's increasing race pride and his subtle impulse to nationalism, a light skin *can* be a handicap, especially if it is associated with "recent" miscegenation. Mass education and the indiscriminate rise to power and money of significant numbers of Negroes irrespective of their grandparents' station in the slave society have all but destroyed the effectiveness of the Negro's private color bar. Leadership in civil rights as well as in the professions has long since passed from the mulatto class. As a matter of fact, the number of mulattoes in the general Negro population seems to be declining steadily, and there is no evidence that legal integration will soon replace clandestine miscegenation in restoring the ratio of light color.

THERE is no unanimity of opinion as to what proportion of today's Negroes fall into the traditional "lower," "middle" and "upper" classes of the Negro social structure. Prof. Tillman Cothran, head of the graduate department of sociology at Atlanta University, estimates that "not more than 25 per cent of the Negro population can be called middle-class by any reasonable standards. And not more than 5 per cent can be called upper class."

Other sociologists have argued that if one applies the full spectrum of criteria by which the white social structure is measured — ranging from income to education, affiliation, residence, etc. — the Negro middle class is reduced to 4 per cent or 5 per cent of the Negro population, and the Negro upper class vanishes altogether.

Such an estimate is, I think, too drastic. If the theory of

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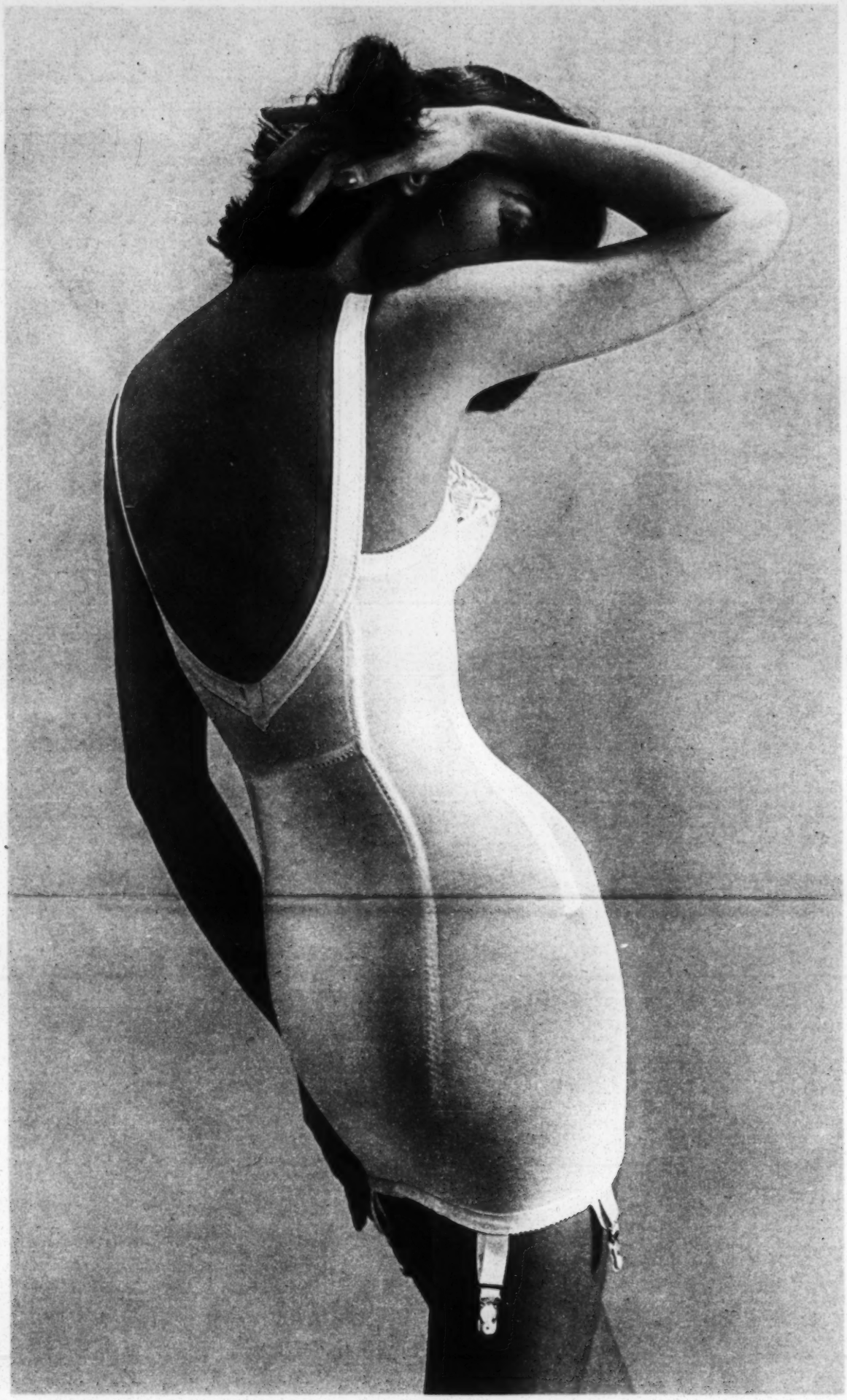

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(Continued from Preceding Page)
parallel social structure is valid (and there seems to be no other way to measure "class" in an essentially segregated society), certainly it can be shown that Negroes and whites of similar education and income exhibit many of the same desires, restraints, conformities and general patterns of behavior.

AMERICA'S self-image is that of an essentially equalitarian society best represented by the middle class. Most Americans concede that there are a few snobs and millionaires at the top, and a few poor people in Appalachia, or somewhere, at the bottom, but America is middle class, and most Americans identify themselves as belonging to the middle class.

Implicit in this identification is a belief in "democracy" and "fair play," and also the expectation of "the good life"—a home, a car, a regular vacation, an education for the children, regular promotions, and maybe even extras like a boat or a summer place. Despite the pessimism of the sociologists, more and more Negroes share this dream, and to an increasing degree they are making it come true for themselves and their children.

The Negro middle class is made up primarily of Negro professionals, with school teachers probably constituting the largest single bloc. Teachers, along with doctors, lawyers, college professors, small businessmen, ministers, and postal workers have traditionally made up the bulk of the Negro middle class.

However, the recent availability of new kinds of jobs not previously held by Negroes has begun to modify the character of this group. Technicians, politicians, clerical and sales personnel, social workers, labor-union officials, minor government bureaucrats, and an increasing managerial class in such agencies as Federal housing and local units of national corporations have helped broaden the occupational range of the Negro middle class.

UNDER the Kennedy-Johnson Administration a few Negroes have been appointed to the upper echelons of Government officialdom, and within the past two or three years a few Negroes have reached executive status in white corporations. A recent dinner in New York honored seven Negroes who were vice presidents or held managerial positions in major firms. In Washington, Dr. James Nabrit, president of Howard University, and Dr. Frank Jones have been elected to the board of directors of a major bank. And in that city, several Negroes have been elected to the Board of Trade.

It is difficult to set a salary range for a given social class because social status does not depend upon money alone. Some upper-class whites are impoverished, but their families have once held fortunes and they have traditions of culture and attainment. Since the American Negro's family traditions seldom antedate the Civil War, Negro society puts an undue emphasis on money and material acquisitions. It is often said by Negro critics themselves that "anybody with a dollar, no matter where he stole it, can belong to Negro society."

Most Negroes, like most other Americans, earn their living legitimately, of course, but because of job discrimination and lack of skills, the total income of the typical middle-class Negro family will be substantially lower than that of a typical white family of the middle class. An arbitrary figure of $7,500 a year as the average income of a middle-class family would severely limit the number of Negroes who could be called middle-class.

SOME Negro families do exceed a $7,500 income, but the vast majority of those who do are families in which both husband and wife work full time. Very frequently among home-buying Negroes, the head of the family works at two jobs, and occasionally at three. Such supplementary work or "moonlighting"—often driving a taxi, waiting on tables, tending bar or bellhopping—is known as "a hustle," a term quite familiar to the Negro middle class.

In many of the large cities of the North such as New York or Boston where undeveloped land is nonexistent, the middle-class Negro, who has the means and the desire to live elsewhere, is locked in the black ghetto. Only with difficulty can he find a house or apartment outside the ghetto in a white community. As a consequence, many Negroes despair of ever leaving the slums, no matter what their education or income.

Money that would normally go for a new house is spent in the hopeless task of refurbishing antiquated apartments, or in conspicuous consumption which somehow helps them to forget the horror of living in the nation's Harlems. (In the South, the housing problem is not nearly so acute. Space for building can be had in most Southern cities, although it is likely to be in a segregated community.)

THE style of living of the Negro middle class does not differ radically from that of its white counterpart. Bridge is a favorite pastime among both men and women. Those who have the leisure belong to innumerable social clubs. An increasing number of Negro men play golf and participate

(Continued on Page 94)

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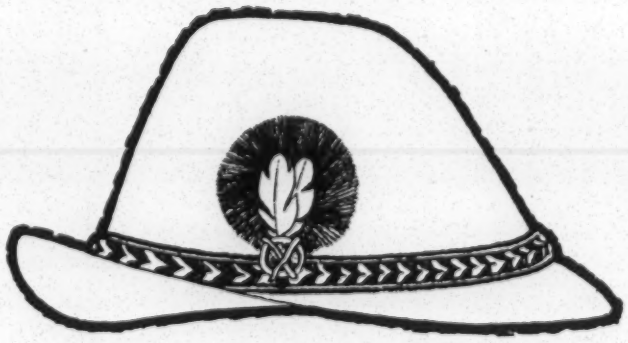

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(Continued from Page 92)

in water sports where facilities are available. In the South, fishing and hunting are favorite pastimes, but only if one has the full regalia of dress, and all the latest equipment shown in the sports magazines.

To a far greater degree than whites, Negroes maintain affiliation in the graduate chapters of their college fraternities and sororities, and these organizations are important indexes of social stratification. Women of a given sorority tend to marry men of its fraternal opposite number. Together, the eight major Negro sororities and fraternities constitute the nucleus of any imaginary "blue book" of Negro society.

THE children of the Negro middle class are taught to aspire to middle-class standards. They take lessons in piano and creative dancing on Saturday mornings and attend carefully planned parties on Saturday night. A few are sent East to private schools.

Sometimes the interpretation of middle-class values takes an unusual twist. A Negro matron in a Memphis department store, for example, refused to corral her two children who were busily chasing through the store and littering the aisles with merchandise. She explained: "The white kids do it and the salesclerks think it's cute. I don't want my children inhibited by feeling that they can't do anything any other kids can do."

In Washington, among those aspiring to the middle class, or those who are recently "in," status is measured by the quantity and the cost of whisky served one's guests. The most conspicuous feature in such a home will be the bar appointments, and it is considered equally insulting for a guest to refuse a drink as it is for the host to offer his guests "cheap whisky." One Washingtonian gained prominence in his set by consistently being first to serve rare and expensive imports before they were well known in the Negro community. He learned what was "in" by frequenting an exclusive liquor store patronized by high Government officials.

IT used to be said that the difference between a Negro making $50 a week and driving a Cadillac and a white man making $100 a week and driving a Chevrolet was that the Negro, having nowhere to live, needed the bigger car to sleep in! On Atlanta's West Side, where the Cadillac (or Lincoln) frequently comes with a split-level ranch house, it is popular to have the main (or "status") car match the house in color and appointments.

A second car for the Negro professional family is not un-

(Continued on Page 96)

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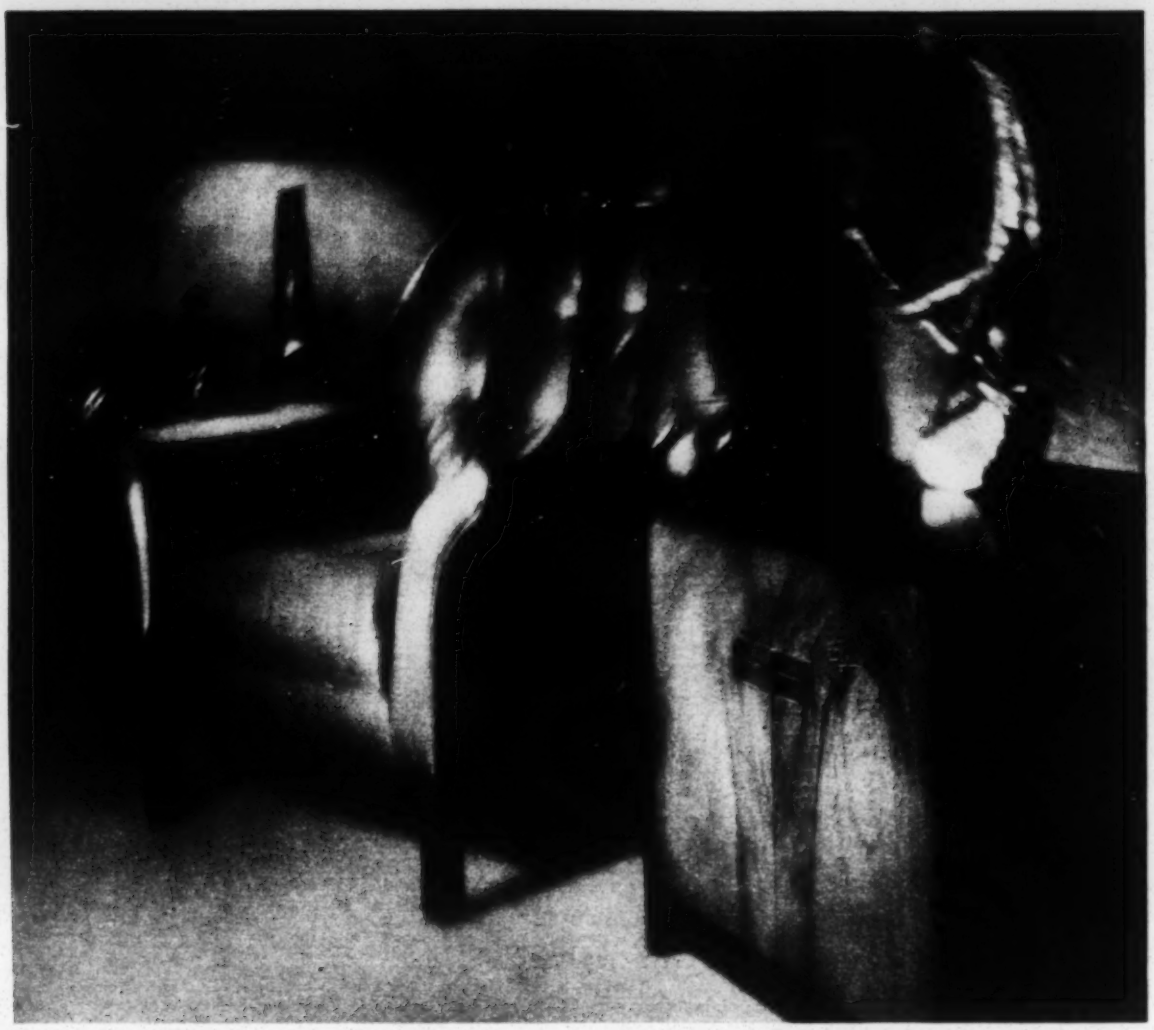

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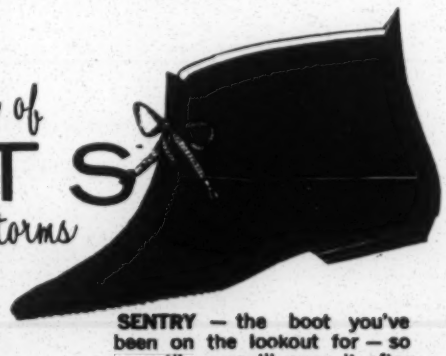

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(Continued from Page 94)

usual. Unlike most white middle-class families having two cars, the Negro's second car is likely to be as big and expensive as his first. An expensive automobile to drive to work is often as much a matter of personal prestige for the working Negro woman as for her husband. Hence, it is common to see large numbers of Pontiacs, Oldsmobiles and Mercurys parked near the schools where Negro women are employed as teachers.

A cottage at Oak Bluffs, on Martha's Vineyard, or in Maine or Upper Michigan can be claimed by a few. A very small number of Negroes go to Europe and to the Caribbean or Mexico on vacation. A sort of pilgrimage to Africa has high status value for those seeking to "understand their pre-Western heritage."

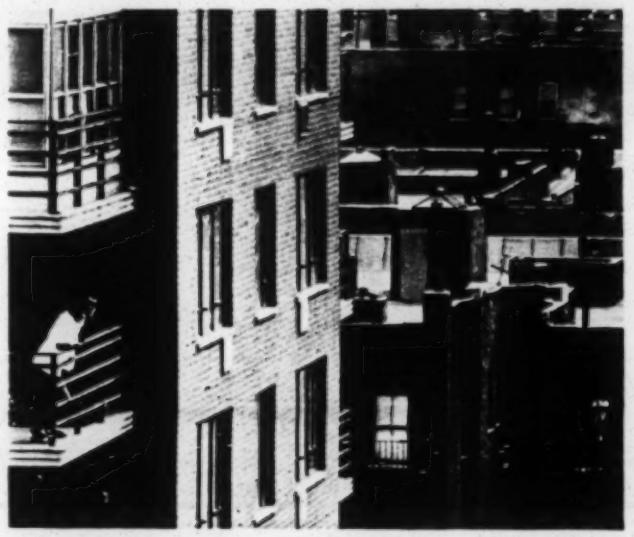
Some Negroes are in the middle class because there is nowhere else for them to go. These few might be considered "upper class" but there is a certain incongruity in talking about a Negro "upper class" so long as the color barrier operates to bar Negroes who are otherwise qualified from full participation in American social life. "There may not be an upper class," says Clarence Coleman, southeastern director of the National Urban League, "but there is a 'power élite' which abstracts itself from the rank and file of the middle class and participates to an important extent in the decision-making of the white power structure where Negroes are concerned."

CERTAINLY this power élite does exist. But where it was not created by the white establishment, its power derives from white recognition and respect. Militant civil-rights leaders have discovered this again and again when the white establishment has refused to negotiate with the Negro community except through "recognized channels."

The Negro middle class, like any middle class, is preoccupied with making secure its hard-won social position. This is a characteristic of middle-class aspirations.

Because of this preoccupation the Negro middle class has been criticized frequently for not being more deeply and realistically involved in the struggle for civil rights. The criticism is well placed, for given more manpower, more money and more dedication, it is obvious that more walls could be breached. But this is not the whole story, and the lack of total involvement may not be an accurate index of middle-class feelings and intentions.

MUCH of the criticism has come from within the ranks of the middle class itself. The Urban League's Clarence Coleman sees the middle class as the buffer between the militants, whose aspirations are frequently unrealistic in terms of present possibilities, and the power élite which seems concerned to protect itself and its privileged positions from too rapid social change.



UP FROM THE SLUM—Lenox Terrace, for upper middle-income tenants, rises over the roofs of New York's Harlem.

James A. Tillman Jr., executive director of the Greater Minneapolis Fair Housing Program and a frequent writer on problems of social change, describes the Negro middle class as "that class of Negroes who have bought the inane, invalid and self-defeating notion that the black man can be integrated into a hostile white society without conflict."

Tillman denounces the power élite as "the fixers and go-betweens who cover up rather than expose the violent nature of racism. They are," he declares, "the most dangerous clique in America."

Tillman's sentiments are echoed by Cecil Moore, militant civil-rights attorney and head of the Philadelphia N.A.A.C.P. Moore, who himself came from an accomplished West Virginia family, insists that "the Negro middle class, and all those who consider themselves above the middle class, 'subsist on the blood of the brother down

(Continued on Page 99)

(Continued from Page 96)

under,' the brother they are supposed to be leading. Who do these Negroes think they're kidding?" he asks, and then answers his own question. "They're kidding nobody but the white folks who are willing to pay 'philanthropy' to keep from having to come to grips with the central problem, which is 'full and complete citizenship for all Americans, *right now!*'"

DESPITE all such criticism, however, the Negro middle class has borne the brunt of the civil-rights protest. Critics of the so-called "Black Bourgeoisie" have not always given them credit for the maturity and social responsibility upon which the Negro's fight for first-class citizenship has finally depended. The civil-rights fight, at least insofar as it visualizes an integrated society, is a middle-class fight. The N.A.A.C.P., CORE, the Urban League and the followers of Dr. Martin Luther King are all middle-class. (Indeed, the lower-class Negro has yet to be stirred by the promise of integration. He is more concerned with such immediate needs as jobs and housing than with abstract values like integration. He looks neither to Martin Luther King nor to Roy Wilkins; in fact, the leader of the black masses has yet to appear.)

In Atlanta and other Southern cities during the massive sit-ins of 1962-63, housewives baked pies, made sandwiches and provided transportation for the students. Negro businessmen donated food, gasoline and other supplies. Then doctors, nurses, professors and businessmen walked the picket lines. Similar middle-class support has assisted the activities of CORE in New York, Cleveland and other cities in the North. Voter registration is essentially a middle-class project.

Middle-class leadership and support of the civil-rights movement has not been without ambivalence. Desegregated schools frequently mean that Negro teachers will lose their jobs. Negro businessmen often lose their most competent clerical help to recently desegregated industries. Negro restaurants, drug stores, real-estate firms and the like may be adversely affected by desegregation. Some Negro churches have lost members to white churches. In a fully integrated society, the Negro middle class would lose its identity. Indeed, it would cease to exist.

SOME Negroes recognize all this, of course, and fight against it. Nor can it be said that the majority of the middle class is active in the rights struggle. What can be said is that the struggle is for the

(Continued on Following Page)

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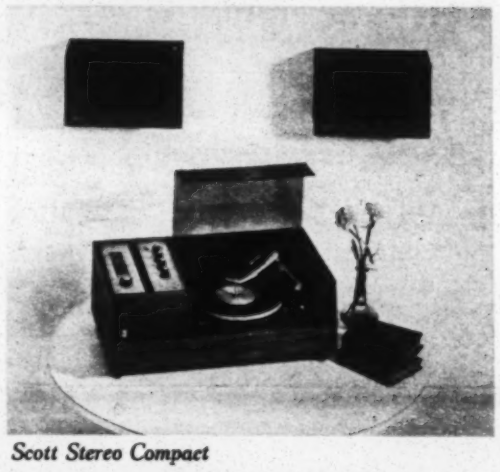

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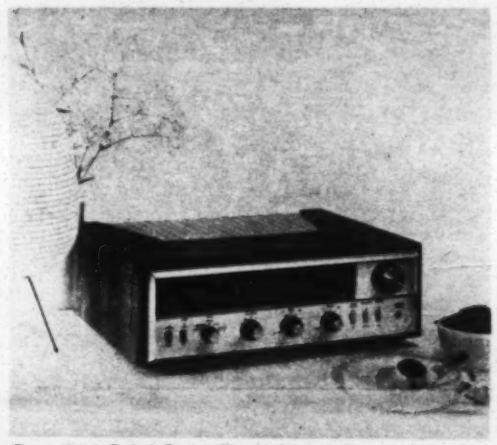

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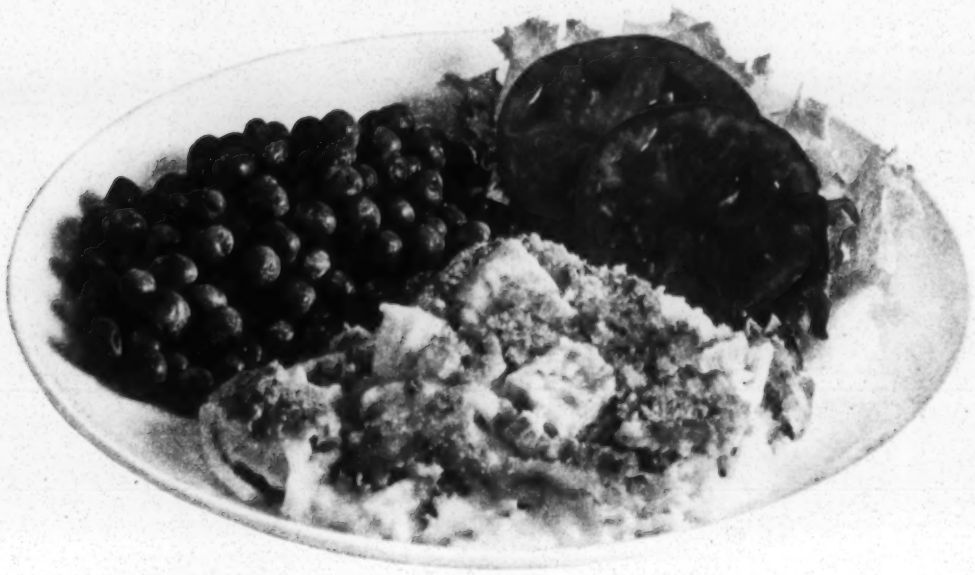

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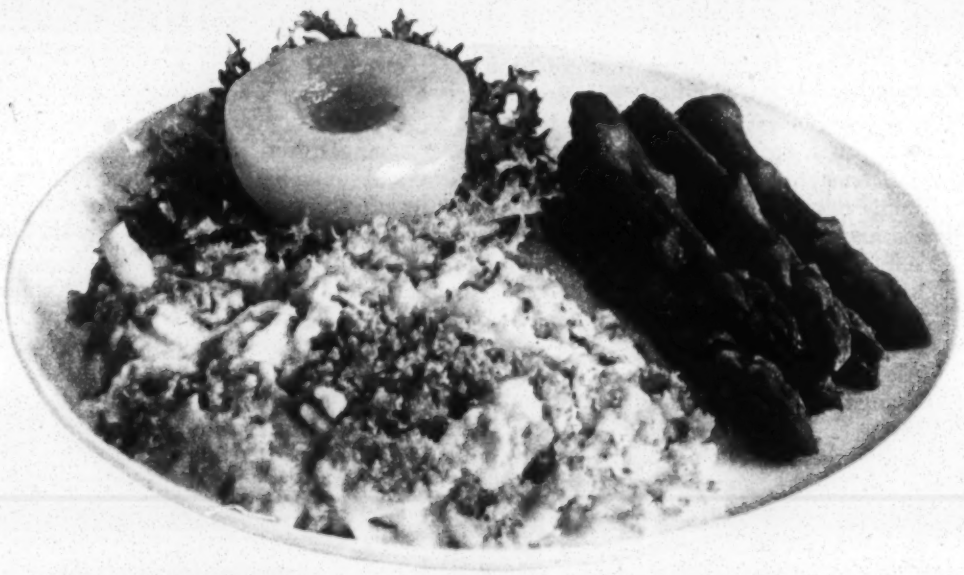

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Stouffer's Frozen Foods

From the recipe collection of Stouffer's famous restaurants

SUBURBIA: NEGRO—The split-level and the car (often two of them) are status symbols in southwest Atlanta.

(Continued from Preceding Page)
most part led, financed and supported by the Negro middle class and, of course, its white allies.

Certainly, Negro leadership has become a "profession," and in some cases a lucrative one. Yet most Negroes trying to help improve things are in search of neither fame nor fortune and may be themselves disadvantaged by the race issue. A. Maceo Walker and Jesse Turner of Memphis, for example, both executive officers of a sensitive banking business that has important white as well as Negro depositors, come to mind. These men and others like them have little to gain for themselves personally, yet they have given leadership to the civil-rights movement in their city for years. Other cases could be cited across the country.

IN Washington, I talked with the distinguished Negro attorney, Belford Lawson, and his wife, Marjorie McKenzie, who, as associate judge of the Juvenile Court there, is no less distinguished. The Lawsons were undisturbed about the "black backlash" against the Negro middle class, although they felt that the middle class was just beginning to realize its responsibilities to the Negro masses. Nor did they recognize a middle-class backlash against the lower class (which has been roundly criticized by some Negroes for rioting in the streets and undoing the patient and painful accomplishments of middle-class leaders).

"We must press on to the next phase," Lawson said. "And it would be foolish to wait until all of us have reached the place a few of us have reached today. Negroes, like other people, move at different rates of speed. Our circumstances vary. Now we have a handful of civil rights and no money. Our next front is economic. We want to buy stocks in banks and corporations and sit on their boards. Every time a Negro reaches an executive position in a major corporation, he is in a better position to help that Negro in the streets without a job."

Mr. Lawson believes that it is time to stop complaining and to move on into the American mainstream. "Breaking into the white man's economy" he believes to be essential to any further progress on the part of Negroes. "In Washington," he says, "where many social and cultural affairs are integrated, many doors would open if the Negro would only push on them."

Negroes are pushing — for status and respectability and economic security. They are less concerned with integration for integration's sake than they are with being comfortable — middle-class — and unhindered in enjoying all that America has to offer. The riots in the city streets are not the work of sinister Communist agents, except where such agents move in to exploit an already festering social situation. Nor are they the work of hopheads and hoodlums bent on the destruction of the fruits of years of patient interracial effort.

THEY are the social expressions of pent-up anxiety and frustration which derive from the hopelessness of the conditions under which those people live. *They* cannot hope for "the good life." *They* cannot appropriate the "middle-class image," the American norm for democratic living.

I sat recently in a comfortable middle-class home in northwest Washington talking with Jerry Coward and his wife, both school teachers in the District of Columbia school system. "You know, when we moved into this neighborhood five years ago," Jerry said, "the whites all threatened to move out. A few stayed. And since that time, two brand-new white families have moved in, right down the block. Professional people, too. When white people start moving into, instead of away from, a Negro neighborhood, I guess we've got it made."

I guess they have.

Harold Martin 2-2-65 Atlanta

'Sometimes Hard Not To Hate And Not To Pass Hate On'

A lot of letters come in, commenting on that column about the three Negro boys who walked down the street bumping people on purpose. A few of them from out in the state said that getting bumped served me and everybody else in Atlanta right, because Atlanta had been too easy on the Negroes here and hadn't kept them in their place. There were letters from Negroes, most of them cooks and maids and nurses, who have to ride the buses every day. They said this bumping incident was something they had to put up with all the time, at the bus stops.

These young Negroes come through the crowd, they said, shoving and bumping people, and snatching their pocketbooks, and the only way to stop them is to put a good tough Negro policeman there to keep an eye on them.

There were letters from Negro mothers who said that they had tried to raise their children right, and that I ought not to condemn a whole race because of the actions of a few hoodlums.

But there was one letter which seemed to sum things up better than any other. It was from a Negro mother who said this sort of rowdy behavior was a product of old angers and humiliations long suffered. And that she, as a mother, had been guilty of passing on her own anger to her children. She knows now she was wrong, but she couldn't help it. Her letter explains why:

"Mr. Martin, I think the Negro people, especially the women, have taught hate to their children. It is bad to be poor and if you are a Negro, it is twice as bad. If you have had to wait all day with a sick child before you could see a doctor, you would know what I mean.

"Some of my worst experience was spent at Grady Hospital. The doctors treated you like you wasn't even human. I used to cry and promise myself I wouldn't ever go back, but if you had a sick child and no money, you went back and took the same bad treatment.

"So some of the feeling had to be passed on to the children. I have four children. The two eldest were girls. We did without and missed meals to send the girls to school.

"But some of the hate I had was passed on to them, especially the younger girl. I am sorry now and try to tell her to try and be a little understanding, and that you can't lump all people together, white or black. But it is hard to undo things that has been taught nearly all your life. I have twin boys 14 and tried not to make the same mistake. I want them to be well adjusted people and to accept all people as they are and I think I have succeeded. So we all has faults, and I hope you will understand what I am trying to say. So please don't put all the blame on the boys."

Yours truly,
MRS. HELEN KIMBALL.

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The Harris Poll

Ark Gazette 2-9-65 SNC

Negro Majority Opposes Busing and Boycotts

Education - General

By Louis Harris

Sharp and dramatic shifts have been taking place in the thinking of American Negroes about education. Most Negroes now believe that solid progress in moving toward integrated schooling has been registered in the past year. They are even more optimistic about the future.

Partly as a result of these beliefs, the rank and file of Negroes now indicate disagreement with a number of the stated aims in education of some civil rights spokesmen. According to a just-completed survey of a national cross-section of American Negroes, a majority is now opposed to busing children to other neighborhoodsto achieve school integration. An even larger majority does not approve of school boycotts. As recently as 1963, 5 out 8 Negroes favored busing.

However, these results do not mean that Negroes have cut back on their demands and objectives for ultimate integrated education for their children. To the contrary, by better than 6 to 1, Negroes want their children to attend mixed classes in school. The vast majority feels that Negroes do better work when studying alongside white children.

★ ★ ★

THESE NEW findings do imply, however, that most of the Negro community, both North and South, wants to pursue a course of responsible pressure to achieve integration in education. Most of all they indicate a desire to realize the benefits of greater freedom rather than to register protest for the sake of protest. In fact, there are real signs today that many Negro parents view the education of their children as a precious and indispensable experience, much as it was to newly arrived immigrant groups of 50 and 100 years ago.

Opposition to the use of school boycotts graphically illustrates the seriousness with which Negroes now take the education of their children. The major reasons cited for opposing the boycott tactic are that it tends to

DESPITE THIS deep desire for integration and equality in education, Negroes nonetheless are opposed to use of the school boycott today. The cross-section was asked

"Do you think it is generally a good idea or a bad idea to conduct school boycotts where children are kept away from school in order to protest the lack of integration in schools?"

Boycotts good idea	19%
Bad idea	64%
Not sure	17%
Why Approve Boycotts	
Gets results	8%
Lets whites know how we feel	5%
Focuses public attention on problem	3%
Good for short periods	2%
Only way to force integration	1%
Why Oppose Boycotts	
Makes children disrespect education	23%
Negroes can't lose a day of school	16%
Doesn't help	10%
Confuses child	10%
Adults should solve problem	5%

This generally adverse view toward the use of boycotts might be less overwhelming were Negroes not increasingly convinced that the quality of education in their own neighborhoods has improved. Simi-

gro parents view the education of their children as a precious and indispensable experience, much as it was to newly arrived immigrant groups of 50 and 100 years ago.

Opposition to the use of school boycotts graphically illustrates the seriousness with which Negroes now take the education of their children. The major reasons cited for opposing the boycott tactic are that it tends to give the children a disrespect for education and that Negro children can ill afford to miss even a single day of school.

Negroes report that the quality of the education in their neighborhood schools is improving slowly, but surely. In 1963 Negroes felt schools in their home areas afforded inferior education compared with schools in white neighborhoods. Opinion has now shifted to the point that, by a slim margin, Negroes believe the quality of education their children receive is equal to that received by most whites. The main reason given for this improvement is increased integration in education.

This shift in Negro thinking is dramatically illustrated in the answers to the same question asked in July, 1963, and again in this survey:

"Because of where they live today, Negro children go to Negro schools and whites to white schools. Would you like children in your family picked up in buses every day so they could go to a school in another part of town with white children, or would that be too hard on the children?"

	1965	1963
Prefer busing	35%	50%
Too hard on children	52%	30%
Not sure	13%	20%

However, the desire for integrated education has not abated. Similar cross-sections of Negroes were asked:

"Would you or would you not like to see all Negro children in your family go to school with white children?"

	1965	1963
Go with whites	68%	70%
Not go with whites	11%	10%
Not sure	21%	20%

What is more, Negroes see real advantages for their own children in an integrated education. They were asked:

"Do you feel that Negro children would do better or worse work if they all went to school along with white children today?"

	1965	1963
Negroes will do better work	68%	65%
Will do worse work	2%	3%
Do about the same	21%	19%
Not sure	9%	13%

Negroes can't lose a day of school 16%
Doesn't help 10%
Confuses child 10%
Adults should solve problem 5%

This generally adverse view toward the use of boycotts might be less overwhelming were Negroes not increasingly convinced that the quality of education in their own neighborhoods has improved. Similar cross-sections of Negroes were asked:

"All in all, do you feel your children are receiving as good an education as white children around here, or are they not getting as good an education?"

	1965	1963
Negro education as good as whites	40%	35%
Inferior education	40%	48%
Not sure	13%	17%

	1965	1963
Why as Good as Whites		
Schools more integrated now	26%	11%
Improvements in teaching, courses	13%	17%
Children doing better	5%	5%
Children go to Catho- schools	2%	2%
Building new schools	1%	—
Why Not — Good as Whites		
Negroes have inferior facilities	26%	30%
Public school too crowded	8%	9%
Whites have different books	6%	9%

OVERALL, when asked to compare the situation on integrated education today with that two years ago, 46 per cent of all Negroes report they feel they are better off; only 1 per cent believe regression has taken place. The remaining 53 per cent either see no change or are not sure.

When asked how they think things will be five years from now, 65 per cent feel the cause of integration in schooling will be still more improved, with only 1 per cent expecting that things will be worse.

Some Negro leaders have taken such signs of satisfaction with progress up to now as an indication of growing complacency in the Negro community. They fear that Negroes may be too quick to settle for what has been called only token integration.

Basically, however, what Negroes appear to be saying is that they feel in a small, but significant measure that the white community has been willing to take first steps toward fulfilling the promise and pledge of national leadership for greater equality, especially in education.

June 9, 1950

Mrs. Sadye A. Thompson
Urban League of Greater Little Rock
914 Gaines Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Thompson:

Thank you so much for the information you obtained for us about the Arkansas professional associations. It will be a great help to us in preparing our report for NEW SOUTH

We appreciate very much your help and cooperation.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

Also written likewise:

Sol Sutker (Okla.)
Dr. Harold L. Trigg (N.C.)
Mrs. Ruby S. Lyells (Miss.)
A. Stephen Stephan (Ark.)
Gordon W. Lovejoy (Fla.)
Daphine D. Doster (Nurses - N. C., Va.)
Frances S. Buck (Nurses - Tex., Okla., La., Ark.)

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June 6, 1950

Mrs. Jane P. Simpson, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simpson:

I am sorry to be late with the information you requested, it just slipped my mind in the crowded days of finals and getting ready to go on a trip to Virginia. I am attaching the information I have been able to secure in a short space of time.

Sincerely yours,

A. Stephen Stephan

A. Stephen Stephan

Thanked 6/9/50

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ARKANSAS

Teachers. Arkansas Education Association by vote of membership this spring (1950) abolished reference to race in membership and anyone who holds a teaching certificate may qualify for membership. White and Negro teachers will continue to have separate education meetings.

Doctors. Negroes are not permitted membership in the Arkansas Medical Society.

Nurses. Negroes are permitted to be members of the Arkansas State Nurses Association. Ten delegates to the biennial national conference on nursing, held in San Francisco this spring, were appointed by the state board of the Arkansas State Nurses Association. One of the delegates was a Negro public health nurse.

Librarians. Negroes are permitted to be members of the Arkansas Librarians Association and this has been true for years. Negroes have attended meetings for years.

Scientists, Physical and Social. Negroes have been permitted in the Arkansas Academy of Science for years, though few joined. This year for the first time two Negroes appeared on the program and gave papers in the social science section.

Lawyers. Negroes are not admitted to the Bar Association of Arkansas. The Committee on Integration of this association has filed with the Supreme Court this spring a petition for the integration of the bar. If the Supreme Court approves the petition then all lawyers, including Negroes, would be required to join the Bar of Arkansas.

Social Workers. Negroes have for a long time been attending the meetings and have been members of the Arkansas State Conference of Social Work.

The Urban League
OF GREATER LITTLE ROCK
FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

914 GAINES STREET LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS PHONE 2-6592

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RECEIVED
JUN 5 1950
Southern Regional Council

June 3, 1950

Mrs. Jane Simpson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Simpson,

The following associations have been opened to Negro members:

Nurses - Arkansas State Nurse's Association - Negroes admitted, June 1949.

Social Workers - Arkansas Conference of Social Work - Negroes admitted for a numver of years - Date not available at present.

Lawyers - Arkansas Bar Association Inc. - A private institution - No Negroes admitted - This will soon be taken over by the Supreme Court order of intergration.

Teachers - Arkansas Education Association - Negroes not admitted as members. You will find an article from the Arkansas Democrat regarding this matter.

The othe professional groups that you named, Negroes have not been admitted and there is no information concerning them.

Am sorry that you had to write the second time. Will be glad to help you any further information is needed.

Respectfully yours,
Sadye A. Thompson
(Mrs.) Sadye A. Thompson

Encl.

Negroes Vote To Affiliate With AEA

The Arkansas Teachers Association, Negro, accepted an invitation to become a part of the Arkansas Education Association yesterday, as ATA closed its 51st annual convention in Dunbar High School.

The decision came after a three-hour debate before the 1,000 delegates attending Friday afternoon's session, and was approved by the ATA board in a session yesterday morning.

The AEA, in session here Thursday, had amended its constitution to admit Negro teachers to membership, but had provided that the two groups would "continue to meet separately."

The teachers packed the Dunbar auditorium to take part in the heated discussion. No place on the globe was as hot as that session for about an hour Friday afternoon. Several teachers in expressing their views stated that to give up their organization and become a part of AEA on a restrictive basis would be unwise for several reasons:

1. They would be members numerically only and not in active participation.

2. They could not do a constructive work in one body and meet separately.

One unidentified person took the floor and stated "Is membership in the AEA so important as to take second class admission into it."

"We should not become affiliated with the AEA on any conditional terms!" cried another voice.

Benefits Cited.

Speakers in favor of becoming a part of AEA declared that if the two organizations were united, they would be better able to work out the problems of the profession and demand that the needs of all the schools in Arkansas be supplied. When the debate was over and a vote was taken, those in favor of the proposal won by an appreciable majority.

The ATA session opened Thursday.

L. C. Williams, Arkadelphia, keynoted the Thursday morning session with a call for devoted service on the part of teachers in the interest of mankind.

In the Thursday evening session, John M. Ross, director of speech at AM & N College, Pine Bluff, said that according to a survey made by him, the children of this state are not able to read as fluently as is necessary in this age."

Dr. J. B. Nash, professor of education, University of New York, placed emphasis on achievement as a method of gaining a sense of belonging. "Every American realizes that we must recognize any man in accordance with his ability to achieve," remarked Dr. Nash. "Negroes must continue to achieve in order to gain their rightful place in American society," he further stated.

Other speakers included U. S. Commissioner of Education Earl J. McGrath, U. S. Senator J. W. Fulbright, A. B. Bonds, state education commissioner.

Officers for next year are: E. H. Hunter, principal of Jones High School of NLR, president; W. C. Potts, principal of Phelix High School, Marion, Ark. vice president; Frank Smith, superintendent of Eastside District 5, Conway county, Menifee, Ark. extension secretary; Mrs. J. N. Stanfield of Carthage, recording secretary.

NEGRO BOARD MEMBERS ELECTED IN STATE OF ARKANSAS MARCH 1953

Arkansas County
Arkansas Co. Dist. (All Negro District)

Tom Hill, Pres., Rt. 2, DeWitt, Ark.
R. L. Phillips, Secy, Rt. 1, Almyra, Ark.
James Beckless, Roe, Ark.
John Lamb, Rt. 1, Almyra, Ark.
T. I. Gaither, Crocketts Bluff, Ark.

Columbia Co.
Walker Dist. (All Negro Dist.)

Cleve Smith, Rt. 5, Magnolia, Ark.
W. S. Wheeler, Rt. 5, Magnolia, Ark.
T. L. Story, Rt. 2, Emerson, Ark.

Conway Co.
East Side Dist. (All Negro Dist.)

R. E. Hemphill, Pres., Center Ridge, Ark.
Carl Odom, Secy., Plumerville, Ark.
Lee Wert, Menifee, Ark.
Elijah Brewer, Springfield, Ark.
Sammie Criswell, Springfield, Ark.

Grant Co.
Has one Negro board member but he is not identified in our list.

Hempstead Co.
Has two Negro board members but they are not identified in our list.

Howard Co.
Howard Co. Training (All Negro Dist.)

Julius Owens, Mineral Springs, Ark.
C. S. Crofton, Secy., Mineral Springs, Ark.
Worth McGee, Mineral Springs, Ark.
Lewis Turner, Mineral Springs, Ark.
William Goodloe, Schaal, Ark.

Childress (All Negro District)

Robert Coulter, Pres., Nashville, Ark.
Walter Harris, Secy., Nashville, Ark.
Tom McGehee, Center Point, Ark.
W. G. Johnson, Sr., Center Point, Ark.
Report shows 10 but only 9 listed.

Jefferson Co.

Charles Knott, 2301 Eureka St., Pine Bluff, Ark., Dollarway Dist.
Scott Macklin, Sherrill, Ark., Sherrill Dist.
Leon Lever, Rt. 6, Pine Bluff, Ark., County Dist.
J. S. Walker, Wabbaseka, Ark., Wabbaseka Dist.

Logan Co. Gray Rock Dist., (All Negro Dist.)
Felix Burton, Pres., Rt. 3, Paris, Ark.
J. E. Parks, Rt. 3, Paris, Ark.
Montgomery Byrd, Rt. 3, Paris, Ark.
T. D. Franklin, Rt. 3, Paris, Ark.
Rufus Jones, Rt. 3, Paris, Ark.

Miller County
Miller Co. Dist. (All Negro Dist.)

John Nelson, Pres., Rt. 1, Ida, Louisiana
G. H. Henderson, Secy., Rt. 1, Doddridge, Ark.
James Munerlyn, Rt. 1, Bloomburg, Texas
James Evans, Rt. 1, Ida, Louisiana
Morris Holmes, Rt. 1, Ida, Louisiana

Nevada County
Oak Grove District (All Negro Dist.)

A. R. Merrida, Pres., Rosston, Ark.
Wade Mendenhall, Secy., Rosston, Ark.
C. C. Bazelle, Rosston, Ark.
Herbert Zackery, Rosston, Ark.
Oscar Johnson, Rosston, Ark.

Ouachita County
William Center (All Negro Dist.)

Isaac Lilly, Pres., Rt. 2, Chidester, Ark.
Alfred Curry, Secy. " "
R. W. Hunter " "
Noah Harris " "
Booker T. Washington " "

Phillips County
County Dist. (All Negro Dist.)

C. D. James, Pres., Rt. 1., Helena, Ark.
Leon Phillips, Secy. " "
Ernest Haynes " "
A. B. Glenn " "
Riley Davis, Rt. 2, Lexa, Ark.
Prince Mays, Rt. 2, Lexa, Ark.

St. Francis Co.
Report shows 2 but there is no strictly Negro district and these two are not identified.

Sevier Co.
County Dist. (All Negro Dist.)

D. B. Bell, Pres., Lockesburg, Ark.
J. W. Murphey, Secy. "
B. L. Thompson "
Hazel Walls "
L. R. Austin "

NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE AT DURHAM
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

RECEIVED
FEB 24 1954
Southern Regional Council

February 20, 1954

Thank you note 2-23-54

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

This is a reply to your letter of February 17, 1954, inquiring about Negro members of school boards in North Carolina.

Dr. Harold Trigg, President of St. Augustine College, Raleigh, serves on the North Carolina State Board of Education. Dr. W. J. Trent, President of Livingston College, Salisbury, was appointed last year to the Salisbury Board of Education. Mr. F. J. Carnage, an attorney in Raleigh, was appointed to the Raleigh Board of Education last year.

Three other Negroes have missed election or appointment by narrow margins. Dr. B. O. Barnes of Wilson ran for the Wilson City Council on an education platform but missed by a few votes. Dr. Hubert Eden of Wilmington, I believe, had a similar experience last year.

You may be interested to know that Gastonia has a Negro on the City Council who also serves as City Treasurer.

I hope this information will assist you in the interesting and timely job you are undertaking.

Sincerely yours,

W. H. Brown

William H. Brown, Director
Bureau of Educational Research

WHB/g

Dr. Downing On Roanoke School Board

DR. L. C. DOWNING
Appointed

ROANOKE—A Negro surgeon was appointed to the Roanoke City School Board last week. Dr. L. C. Downing, superintendent of the Burrell Memorial Hospital since 1915, was chosen to fill the vacancy left by the resignation of Rev. A. L. James.

Dr. Downing, long active in civic affairs, will serve out the term of Rev. Mr. James, which was effective from July 1. He was one of three members elected to the board.

JTG 7-24-54

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, Ga.

November 2, 1954

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1954

The following report of cities and counties in the South employing Negro police is drawn chiefly from a mail survey of police officials conducted by the Southern Regional Council in July and September, 1954. In a few instances employment of police was listed on the basis of newspaper reports.

The summary table preceding the listing of individual cities and counties indicates the momentum which the movement to employ Negro police has gained since the Southern Regional Council's first annual survey in 1945.

Growth of Negro Police in the South, 1945 - 1954

Year	States Employing	Cities Employing	Number Uniformed Policemen	Number Plainclothes Policemen	Number Policewomen
1945	9	29	131 *		3
1946	10	42	208 *		5
1947	10	41	196	25	7
1948	11	54	248	23	8
1949	12	62	301	33	7
1950	13	77	369	41	17
1951	13	82	381	44	18
1952	13	96 Cities 6 Counties	471	60	50
1953	13	112 Cities 18 Counties	545	87	90
1954	13	143 Cities 22 Counties	618	92	112

* Includes both uniformed and plainclothes policemen

Employment in Cities and Counties, 1954

City or County	Uniformed Policemen	Plainclothesmen	Policewomen
Dothan, Ala.	1		
Mobile, Ala.	2		
Montgomery, Ala.	4		3
Talladega, Ala.	2		
Ft. Smith, Ark.	2		
Hot Springs, Ark.	2		
JEFFERSON COUNTY, Ark.	2(Deputies)		
Little Rock, Ark.	4		
ALACHUA COUNTY, Fla.	2(Deputies)		
Belle Glade, Fla.	2		
BROWARD COUNTY, Fla.		2(Deputies)	
Clearwater, Fla.	3		
Cocoa, Fla.	2		
Coral Gables, Fla.	1		
DADE COUNTY, Fla.		3(2 Deputies, 1 School)	
Dania, Fla.	1		
Daytona Beach, Fla.	7		3(Part-time)
Deland, Fla.	1		
ESCAMBIA COUNTY, Fla.	2(Deputies)		
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.	2		
Ft. Myers, Fla.	2		
Ft. Pierce, Fla.	2		
Gainesville, Fla.	2		
Haines City, Fla.	2		
Hallandale, Fla.	1		
Hialeah, Fla.	2		
HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY, Fla.		2(Deputies)	
Hollywood, Fla.	1		
Homesstead, Fla.	2		
Jacksonville, Fla.	14		
Key West, Fla.	3		
Lake Worth, Fla.	1		
Lakeland, Fla.	4		
Melbourne, Fla.	1		
Miami, Fla.	55	3	
Ocala, Fla.	2		
Orlando, Fla.	4		
Ormond Beach, Fla.	1		
Panama City, Fla.	1		
Pensacola, Fla.	2		
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4		
Sanford, Fla.	1		
South Miami, Fla.	2		
Tallahassee, Fla.	3		
Tampa, Fla.	6	4	
Titusville, Fla.	1		
West Palm Beach, Fla.	7	2	
Albany, Ga.			2(School)
Athens, Ga.			4(School)
Atlanta, Ga.	16		10(School)

City or County	Uniformed Policemen	Plainclothesmen	Policewomen
Augusta, Ga.	7		5(School)
Columbus, Ga.	4		
Dalton, Ga.	2		
East Point, Ga.		2(1 School)	
Griffin, Ga.			1(School)
Macon, Ga.	4		4(School)
Marietta, Ga.			1(School)
Savannah, Ga.	12		
Thomasville, Ga.			3(School)
Waycross, Ga.	2		
Hopkinsville, Ky.	3		
JEFFERSON COUNTY, Ky.	6(Deputies)		
Lexington, Ky.	6		1
Louisville, Ky.	24	6	2(Plainclothes)
Owensboro, Ky.	2		
CADDO PARISH, La.	3(Deputies)		
Lafayette, La.	3		
Monroe, La.	2		
New Iberia, La.	1		
New Orleans, La.	6	6	12(School)
Shreveport, La.	2		
Greenville, Miss.	2		2
Gulfport, Miss.	2		
Indianola, Miss.	1		
Ahoskie, N. C.	1		
Asheville, N. C.	3		
Burlington, N. C.	3		
Carrboro, N. C.	2		
Chapel Hill, N. C.	2		
Charlotte, N. C.	8		
Clinton, N. C.	2		
Durham, N. C.	10	2	6(School)
Fayetteville, N. C.	4		2(School)
Gastonia, N. C.	5		
Goldsboro, N. C.	2		
Greensboro, N. C.	9		
Greenville, N. C.	1		
GUILFORD COUNTY, N. C.		1(Deputy)	
High Point, N.C.	6	2	
Kinston, N. C.	3		
Lenoir, N. C.	2		
Morganton, N. C.	2		
Raleigh, N. C.	5		
Reidsville, N. C.	2		
Rocky Mount, N. C.	2		1(School)
Salisbury, N. C.	2		
Wilson, N. C.	2		
Winston-Salem, N. C.	13		6(5 School)
Enid, Okla.	2		
Lawton, Okla.	2		
Muskogee, Okla.	2		

City or County	Uniformed Policemen	Plainclothesmen	Policewomen
Oklahoma City, Okla.	8	6	
Ponca City, Okla.	1		
Shawnee, Okla.	1		
Stillwater, Okla.	1		
Tulsa, Okla.	12	7	1
TULSA COUNTY, Okla.	2(Deputies)		
Beaufort, S. C.	2		
BEAUFORT COUNTY, S. C.	1(Deputy)	1(Deputy)	
Charleston, S. C.	8	1	6(School)
Clover, S. C.	1		
Columbia, S. C.	4		
Conway, S. C.	2		
Darlington, S. C.	1		
Dillon, S. C.	1		
Florence, S. C.	3		
Hartsville, S. C.	1		
HORRY COUNTY, S. C.		2*	
Lake City, S. C.	1		
Marion, S. C.	1		
Mullins, S. C.	1		
Orangeburg, S. C.	2		
Rock Hill, S. C.	2		
Spartanburg, S. C.	1		4(School)
Sumter, S. C.		2	
Timmonsville, S. C.	1		
Chattanooga, Tenn.	8		
DAVIDSON COUNTY, Tenn.		7(Deputies)	
KNOX COUNTY, Tenn.	2	6(Part-time)	
Knoxville, Tenn.	9		
Memphis, Tenn.	16		3(School)
Nashville, Tenn.	16		12(School)
Amarillo, Tex.	2		
Austin, Tex.	6		
BEXAR COUNTY, Tex.		1(Deputy)	
Beaumont, Tex.	2		
Corpus Christi, Tex.	1		
Dallas, Tex.	4		
El Paso, Tex.	4		
Fort Worth, Tex.	4		
Galveston, Tex.	11	4	
GALVESTON COUNTY, Tex.	14	6(Deputies)	
HARRIS COUNTY, Tex.		2(Deputies)	
Houston, Tex.	24	1	1
Lubbock, Tex.	2		
Orange, Tex.	2		
Port Arthur, Tex.	4		2
POTTER COUNTY, Tex.	2(Deputies)		
San Antonio, Tex.	9	2	1
TRAVIS COUNTY, Tex.		1(Deputy)	
Temple, Tex.	2		
Waco, Tex.	1		
Wichita Falls, Tex.	1		

* Employed in summer months only at Atlantic Beach

City or County	Uniformed Policemen	Plainclothesmen	Policewomen
Alexandria, Va.			3(School)
Cape Charles, Va.	1		
Hampton, Va.	4	1	1
NANSEMOND COUNTY, Va.		1	
Newport News, Va.	6		3(School)
Norfolk, Va.	5	3	2
NORFOLK COUNTY, Va.			2
Petersburg, Va.			1
Portsmouth, Va.	2		
PRINCESS ANNE COUNTY, Va.	2		
Richmond, Va.	16	3	2
Roanoke, Va.	3		

T O T A L S

States	Cities	Counties	Uniformed Men	Plainclothesmen	Policewomen
13	143	22	618	92	112

Georgia Com. People who saw governor

Supt. of Ed. in ~~Destroto~~ which have desegregated

Lady Editor - Mt Dora, Fla.
Mabel Norris Reese, Editor

~~Lady Editor in Miss, Cent~~

Georgia

Bd. of Control
M. Jackson
Grace Hamilton

Lawyers –
(Wm)

Teachers – Separate
(Betty)

Dentists –
Separate

Doctors –
(Bob Grant)
Irving Greenberg
Ma. 3733
Separate

Nurses – Ga. State Nurses Assoc. – Miss Price (Mon. & Tues.) At. 7676 – set sep. at mtgs.
Mrs. Hudson, Pres.
(Mrs. Morenus)
Miss Theodora Floyd – State Dept. of Health
Hd. of Div. of Nursing
Ma. 4033

Librarians – Mrs. Virginia Lacy Jones, Library School, AU.
(Jamison)
Wa. 9440

Check

Social Workers –
Bob Taylor, Open – Miss Christine Adams, Child Welfare, Juniper St. –
always – Ga. Conf. of Soc. Work – 1920-21 org. – practice – no N. officers
– AASW – 1 Negro officers
M C Jackson –
also on NAACP Bd.
Atl. Soc. Wkers Club – not open –

Mann. Thomasina Morford –
USES – Minority Group Consultant –
~~Fed. Security Agency~~
Wage & Hr Bd. DC –
Empl. Service Corps

Atl. Art Assoc. Herbert D. Oliver. — Healey Bldg.
(High mus.)
Gallery is open —

Georgia

Engineers — no Negro engineers in State
(Saporta)

check

Architects) — no Negro architects in State
(Saporta)

check

International Assoc. of Public Employment Services
(Personnel workers in State Empl. Services)

	Alabama	Arkansas * (over)	Florida
Lawyers	Ala. Bar Assoc. - open 7 N. members (opened c. 25 yrs ago) - attend mtgs, vote, receive ABA lit. - no restrictions, acc. to sep.	Ark. Bar Assoc - white Its Ctte on Integration in 1950 filed petition with Ark. Sup. Ct. for integration - if approved all lawyers, incl. Negroes, will be required to join ABA.	Fla. Bar Assoc. - open 1950. -
Teachers	Ala. Educ. Assoc - white Ala. State Teachers Assoc - Negro	Ark. Educ. Assoc. - white Ark. Teachers Ass. - Negro A&A amended Const. 1950, to admit Negroes but provided that mtgs. be sep. ATA accepted invit. to join.	Fla. Educ. Assoc. - white
Dentists	Ala. Dental Assoc. - white: Negroes invited to scient. sessions & exhibits at state meetings. Forwards dues of N. dentists to Amer. Dent. Ass. (35 N's partic. in this plan.)	No - Ark. Dental Assoc - wh	Fla. Dental Assoc. - white
Doctors	Med. Assoc. of state of Ala. - white Ala. State Med. Assoc - Negro: 1950 resol. asking adm. to county & state med. socs.	No - Ark. Med. Soc. - white	Fla. Med. Ass. - Open 1950 (90 licensed N. drs. now eligible for membership)
Nurses	Ala. State Nurses Ass. - Opened, 1949 (20 N. members now - seg. laws followed) (Voted by 15 Districts in state - open in District 1 (B'ham ind.))	Ark. St. Nurses Ass. - opened, 1949 10 delegates to Nat. Conf. on Nursing in S7, 1950, appointed by State Bd of ASNA - 1 a Negro. (Cannot attend District mtgs.)	Fla. State Nurses Assoc - open
Ala. Ass. of G. Nurses invited to membership - willing, but will depend on dist. + orgs. action			
Librarians	Ala. State Library Assoc. - white	Ark. Librarians Ass. - open - N's attend mtgs. Open for years to N. membership	Fla. Library Assoc. - white (Dade County [Miami] Library Assoc. is open)
Soc. Workers	Ala. Conf. of Soc. Wkers - constit. states that membership open to all. Negroes can attend prof. but not soc. functions	Ark. Conf. of Soc work - Open "for a no. of years" - members & attend meetings -	Fla. Conf. of Soc. Wk. - open - Mr. Edwards (Sk Wrb. League) knows Negro members
Engineers	No info	No - no info	No
Architects	Ala Soc. of Archs., AIA - Open by constit. - no members. (Ala. Archs. Home Plan Service, sponsored by ASA, existed 1946-49, had Negro charter member.)	No - no info	No
Public Supl. Services (IAPES)	— Policy non-restrictive, although state chaps. is within their local jurisdiction - Pres. states he has "no knowledge that any		(Fla. Chap. IAPES, inactive)
Press Assoc	Ala. Press Assoc - white	No info.	No info

(*) Ark. Academy of Science (phys. & soc. scientists) — Open to U. membership for years, but few joined. In 1950, for 1st time, 2 Hopeds were on program & gave papers in the social science section.

Georgia

Lawyers	Ga Bar Assoc - white
Teachers	G&A - white
Dentists	Ga. Dental Assoc - white
Doctors	Ga. Med. Assoc. - white
Nurses	Ga. State Nurses Assoc. - white Ga. Assoc. of Colored Grad. Nurses - Negro
Librarians	—
Soc. Workers	Ga. Conf. of Soc. Work - open since beginning, c. 1920 Ga. Chap. - NASW - open (has 1 Negro officer) - always has been open
Engineers	- None in State
Architects	None in State
Empl. Service	(cont.) Chapter in the Assoc. restricts its membership". (Gentlemen's agreement that annual convention will not meet in the South.)
Press	No info.

	Ky.	Louisiana	Miss.
Lawyers	Ky State Bar Assoc. admitted 1938 - full partic in all but soc. events.	Yes - La. State Bar Assoc Admitted since c. 1928 - but do not attend & so have not "tested" membership. (12 members as of 6/50) (N.O. fed.)	No
Teachers	No - KEA - white	No (but Exec. Bds meet together) La. Educ Assoc - white La. Educ. Assoc. Negro	No
Dentists	No -	No La. State Dental Assoc - white Pelican Dental Assoc - Negro "sep. but friendly"	No
Doctors	Ky State Med Assoc - white	No - La. Med. Soc. - white La. Med. Assoc - Negro.	No
Nurses	Ky. State Nurses Assoc - 1948 (both district & state - full) Ky. State Pub Health Assoc. VNA - 1911 School Assoc of Nurses - 1918 All full membership -	(La. State Nurses Assoc. - white No (N.O. gp. willing but B. Rouge & Shreveport opposed) La. State Ass. of Col. Gr. Nurses - Negro	Miss. Nurses Assoc - open since 1948 - seg. laws restrict N. partic.
Librarians	Yes - Ky Library Assoc - 1946 - full partic. (Louisville Pub Lib. Staff Assoc org. 1905 has always had Negro members - have held offices.)	La. Library Assoc. - 1947 Yes (but segreg. laws followed - ∴ Negroes have not attended)	No
Soc. Workers	AASW, Ky. Chap AA of Gr. Workers, Ky Chap Only 2 S.W. orgs in State - has always had full partic.	Yes (AASW - no chap) (sent N. delegate to nat'l mtg. 1949) La. Conf. of Soc. Workers - open	Miss. Chap. AASW - open for "at least 5 yrs" - no restrictions but N. members have not been asked to serve on ctees etc.
Engineers	None in state	Yes (but no Negro engineers in state) La. Engineering Soc. - open by Constit.	No
Architects	Sev. in state, but no info. - no partic. in prof assocs, regardless	? (only 1 in State) La Arch's Ass, AIA	No
Empl. Services	—	—	—
Pers.	No info	No info	No info

	N.C.* (over)	Okla.	S.C.
Lawyers	No - NC Bar Ass.	Ok. Bar Assoc (no connection with Amer. Bar Assoc. which has color bar.) - admission to practice in State = memb. in OBA - ∴ Negroes are members.	SC Bar Assoc. - Negroes are members (dues, publics) but attendance at mtgs. (usually banquets) has not been tested. (Negroes belong to local bar assocs. - neg. as they set calendar of cases to be heard from official docket)
Teachers	No - NC Edu. Assoc	Okla. Educ. Ass. - white Negro Okla. Educ. Assoc. - Separate	SC Educ. Assoc - white Palmetto Teachers Assoc - Negro
Dentists	No - N.C. Dental Assoc.	Okla. Dental Assoc. - no info.	SC. Dental Assoc - white Palmetto Med., Dent. & Pharm. Soc. - Negro
Doctors	No - NC Med. Soc.	Okla. State Med. Ass. - white - as of 1950, N. drs. invited to scientific sessions - must be recomm. by local county med. society.	SC Med. Soc - white Palmetto Medical, Dental, & Pharmaceutical Soc. - Negro
Nurses	NC State Nurses Assoc - full membership in 1949	Ok. State Nurses Assoc - opened c. 1946-47, (cannot attend District mtgs)	SC State Nurses Assoc - white Palmetto State N. Assoc - Negro
Librarians	No	Okla. Library Assoc - Open since its beginning - no restricts.	S.C. Librarians - white Ctte on Library Service, Palmetto Teachers Assoc - Negro
Soc. Workers	- NC Conf of Soc Work. has always been open - full membership	AASW - local chaps in Tulsa & Okl. City - Negroes admitted as full members	S.C. Chap. - AASW Yes - full membership SC Conf of Soc Work - Yes
Engineers	No	Okla. Soc. of Prof. Engineers - no restrictions but have been no N. registered engineers. Teacher at Langston now applying for registration - if accepted, can join.	No - no Negro engineers in the State.
Architects	No	Ok. Chap, AIA - not banned by Constit. But no N. archs. in State	No - not open, although there are 1 or 2 in the State.
Empl. Services	N.C. Chap, IAPES - open to full membership		
Bess	no info	no info	no info

(*) NC State Bankers' Assoc
accepted the two N. banks
to full membership
in 1947.

	Tenn	Texas *(over)	Va.
Lawyers	Tenn Bar Assoc - white	Tex. Bar Assoc - white	Va. State Bar Assoc. - white, mainly social. Va. State Bar - commonly called the "integrated bar" - 1938 - professional - all lawyers, incl. N's, belong. Old Dominion Bar Assoc - Negro - sim. to USBA.
Teachers	Tenn. Educ Assoc - white	Tex. Educ. Assoc - white	Va. Educ. Assoc - white. Va. Teachers Assoc - Negro
Dentists	(Tenn. State Dental Assoc) No (But Negroes in annual seminar)	Texas Dental Assoc - white	Va. State Dental Soc - white. Old Dom. Dent. Soc. - Negro
Doctors	Tenn. State Med. Ass - white	Tex. Med. Soc. - white	Med. Soc. of Va. - White. Old Dom. Med. Ass. - Negro
Nurses	(Tenn. State Nurses Assoc.) Yes - since 1946	Texas State Nurses Assoc - white. Tex. Col. Grad. Nurses Assoc - Negro	Va. State Nurses Assoc - White. Old Dom. Col. Grad. Nurses Assoc - Negro
Librarians	Yes (Tenn. Library Assoc - but no N. members)	State Assoc. of Librarians - open since 1938 - full partic. (incl. office assignments) since 1940.	Va. Library Assoc - open - since beginning, about 1913
Soc. Workers	Yes (Tenn. Conf. of S.W.) 1932	Texas Soc. Welfare Assoc - open — sev. yrs ago decided not to meet where Negroes denied facilities	Va. Chap, AASW - open. Va. Conf. of Soc. Wk - open
Engineers	Yes - 1949 - full membership	No info	No info.
Architects	No -	No info	Va. Chap, AIA - no Negro members, but open.
Empl. Bureau	—	—	Va. Chap, IAPES - include
Press	no info	No info	No info.

(*) Texas Acad. of Science – open; 2 Negro scientists appeared on last program.

State Assoc. of Sociologists, Chemists, & Psychologists – has extended membership to Negroes.

Publications List

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

18

Indicate
No. Copies

PUBLIC EDUCATION

_____ NEW SOUTH, February 1955: "New Ways on the Campus," by Guy B. Johnson; a current list of desegregating colleges and universities; college editors on segregation. **10c**

_____ NEW SOUTH, October 1954: "The Supreme Court Decision and the Appalachian South," a field report by Robert G. Menefee. **10c**

_____ NEW SOUTH, February 1954: "We are Unnecessarily Excited," by Benjamin E. Mays. **10c**

_____ NEW SOUTH, December 1953: "The Last Round of Debate" before the Supreme Court. **10c**

_____ NEW SOUTH, July 1953: "The Court Takes More Time." **10c**

_____ NEW SOUTH, February 1953: "South Carolina's School Amendment," by Howard G. McClain. **10c**

_____ WANTED: AN EDUCATED SOUTH. 24 pages, illustrated, 1947. **10c**

_____ ANSWERS FOR ACTION: SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH 20c

(TEN OR MORE COPIES: 15c EACH)

Here is a handbook for every citizen who takes an active interest in the life of his community. In readable question-and-answer form, it discusses the implications of the Supreme Court decision and constructive next steps we can take. A large fold-out map of the South shows in color, county by county, the distribution of Negro population in the region. The full text of the Supreme Court's decision is included. 32 pages, June 1954.

_____ CHANGING PATTERNS IN THE NEW SOUTH 50c

(FIFTY OR MORE COPIES: 42c EACH)

A memorable collection of more than 40 articles from NEW SOUTH, 1946-1955, tracing the far-reaching trends in Southern race relations. Here is the story of emerging new practices in voting, law enforcement, government, employment, the press, libraries, travel, the armed forces, higher education, and the public schools. An invaluable record for every person interested in the South's problems and promise. 120 pages.

OTHER PUBLIC SERVICES

_____ NEW SOUTH, April-May 1954: "State Parks for Negroes: New Tests of Equality." **10c**

_____ NEW SOUTH, January 1954: "The Color Line in Southern Libraries," by Anna Holden; and "Where Can a Negro Read a Book ?" by L. D. Reddick. **10c**

_____ WANTED: A HEALTHY SOUTH, by Dorothy Dickens. 30 pages, illustrated, 1946. **10c**

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

_____ NEW SOUTH, October-November 1953: "Negro Police in Southern Cities." **10c**

_____ NEW SOUTH, May-June 1951: "Negro Municipal Workers in the South," by Harold O. DeWitt. **10c**

_____ THE NEGRO IN OUR ECONOMY, by W. Hardin Hughes. 19 pages, illustrated, 1946. **10c**

_____ WANTED: THE SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR THE NATION, by Rupert B. Vance. 30 pages, illustrated, 1946. **10c**

_____ NEW SOUTH, August 1952: "Negro Firemen in the South." **10c**

PREJUDICE AND POLITICS

_____ NEW SOUTH, October-November 1952: "How Prejudice Lost at the Polls," a Georgia story. **10c**

_____ NEW SOUTH, November 1951: "Making Democracy Work in South Carolina," by Marion A. Wright. **10c**

_____ NEW SOUTH, January-February 1950: "Race Baiting Comes a Cropper" in a New Orleans election. **10c**

_____ RACE AND SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH SINCE 1940, by Luther P. Jackson. 26 pages, 1948. **10c**

RACE AND RELIGION

_____ NEW SOUTH, August 1954: "The Churches Speak" on the school segregation decision. **10c**

_____ NEW SOUTH, October-November 1952: "Conscience and Segregation at a Christian College." **10c**

_____ CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE AND THE SUPREME COURT DECISION ON SEGREGATED SCHOOLS, by Mrs. M. E. Tilly. 6 pages, 1954. **10c**

LOCAL PROGRESS

_____ NEW SOUTH, May 1952: "Kentucky Progress: Changing Patterns in a Border State," by Priscilla Robertson. **10c**

_____ RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT 15c

(TEN OR MORE COPIES: 10c EACH)

A guide to modern police practices, designed to aid community groups in getting improved police systems. It discusses the problems which prejudice creates and the ways in which truly professional work can overcome them. A checklist and other suggestions for local action. 20 pages, 1952.

_____ NEW SOUTH, March - April 1952: "Miami: A City Works at Human Relations," by M. A. F. Ritchie. 10c

_____ YOUR COMMUNITY LOOKS AT ITSELF: A Manual for the Home Town Self-Survey. 76 pages, 1951. 50c

_____ GREENVILLE'S BIG IDEA: A Report on the Greenville, S. C., Self-Survey 10c

DIAGNOSIS AND PRESCRIPTION

_____ NEW SOUTH, June 1953: "A New Era in Human Relations," by Marion A. Wright. 10c

_____ NEW SOUTH, January 1952: "Wings of Eagles," by Paul D. Williams. 10c

_____ NEW SOUTH, December 1951: "Toward the South of the Future," a statement of policy and aims of the Southern Regional Council. 10c

_____ SAFETY, SECURITY, AND THE SOUTH, by Alexander F. Miller and Mozell C. Hill. 28 pages, 1950. 10c

_____ THE CONDITION OF OUR RIGHTS, a Southern compilation. 39 pages, 1948. 10c

AGRICULTURE

_____ NEW SOUTH, October 1951: "Changes in the Cotton South," by Lewis W. Jones and Ernest E. Neal. 10c

HOUSING

_____ NEW SOUTH, October 1951: "Housing in Our Cities. The 1950 Look." 10c

_____ HOUSING IN THE SOUTH, 18 pages, illustrated, 1948. 10c

NEGRO ACHIEVEMENT

_____ AMERICA'S TENTH MAN, 30 pages, 25th printing, 1947. 10c

_____ SINGERS IN THE DAWN, a brief anthology of Negro poetry compiled by Robert Eleazer. 24 pages, 1946. 10c

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—CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

August 19, 1960

Mr. William T. Liggett
Associate Director
Nat'l Conference of Christians & Jews, Inc.
1615 Chemical Bldg.
St. Louis 1, Mo.

Dear Mr. Liggett:

In reply to your letter of August 12, we are sending the enclosed copies of a few items taken from our files. I believe these may be of help to your editor in preparing his articles on Negro crime. I would also like to suggest that he read the chapter on crime in Vance and Demerath, The Urban South; it is pretty arid, but good background.

I suppose all that can be said in support of the theory that racial characteristics are a factor in the Negro crime rate was said or summed up by Senator Russell of Georgia in a senate speech of March 16. See the Congressional Record for that date, beginning at page 5301.

Your letter was ~~pretty~~ most interesting because, as it happens, we some months ago commissioned a highly qualified person to write a pamphlet for us on this subject. The first draft of his manuscript is now on my desk and appears to be quite good. I expect it may be published late in the year.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures: thermafax copies,
newsclips

September 23, 1960

Dr. J. R. Cunningham
Executive Director
The Presbyterian Foundation, Inc. (U.S.)
Wachovia Bank Building
Charlotte 2, N. C.

Dear Dr. Cunningham:

We were glad to receive your thoughtful letter of September 16. We think you are fully justified in your concern for the appearance in many places of the country of resentment against authority on the part of youth; it is doubly regrettable that this resentment so often takes the form of law defiance. I am not sure that Negro youth are particularly offensive in this regard, or that the resentment you speak of is racial in origin; on the other hand, this is simply an opinion which I cannot do more than state in the belief that environmental conditions generally influence behavior more than does race.

I think you would be interested in knowing that we are, because of our concern for the very problem you discuss, preparing to publish something in this field. We have under way a study and interpretation of Negro crime, being done for us by Dr. Elmer Johnson, who until just recently was Assistant Director of Prisons for your state and has now returned to the faculty of North Carolina State. I hope we may publish around the first of the year; Dr. Johnson has completed his first draft. We have in preparation also a pamphlet dealing with the more basic conditions which may underlie the dissatisfactions of urban Negro youth; this is being written by Dr. C. H. Parrish, of the University of Louisville, but I cannot as yet predict when it may be finished. One valuable reading already in print is the Summer, 1959 issue of the Journal of Negro Education, which was devoted entirely to the subject of juvenile delinquency among Negroes.

It occurs to me that there is a field here for the same kind of good work which your committee did on the lunch counter situation. One might hope that responsible bi-racial committees could be established as preventive measures as well as for the settling of disputes. The Negro clergy of Charlotte, I am sure, constitute a resource of leadership which the city might well call upon, and which, aided by white leaders, could accomplish much in this area.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
L

LWD:a

October 3, 1960

Dr. Elmer H. Johnson
Associate Professor of Sociology
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you very much for the material and references on the South's high rate of violent crime. I have made copies for our files and forwarded copies to Mr. Wright. Both your notes and the other material were engrossing; they will, I feel sure, meet Mr. Wright's needs.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM:a

Crime

October 3, 1960

Mr. Marion Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Dr. Johnson's letter and notes are enclosed. I checked all the additional references ("other references") in the Atlanta Public Library today. The three books were not available; the Cohen Annals article made no mention of race. The Brearley article from Social Forces (which Dr. Johnson cites in his comment on the second of Folk's conclusions, page one of Johnson's letter) seems to me to contain the most nearly useful statistical data, however it is quite old and it should be noted that the table was based upon facts about slain persons only. It is assumed that "the victim and the offender generally belong to the same group with reference to color, nationality, and age." (I wonder how true this is in the South?)

Here are excerpts from the only table in the article:

Homicides Per 100,000 Population, 1920 and 1925 combined:

Alabama	7.42	(white)
Florida	12.54	"
Kentucky	8.65	"
Louisiana	8.73	"
Mississippi	8.30	"
North Carolina	4.68	"
South Carolina	8.58	"
Tennessee	7.98	"
Virginia	6.67	"

Mean (unweighted) for 40 states listed: 5.10

No information was given for Georgia, Alabama, and Texas. Only 40 states were listed.

From this 40 state table, I have listed in diminishing order those 10 states having the highest white homicide rate per 100,000 (1920-1925 combined).

Top Ten, in Decreasing Order

1.	Florida	12.54	6.	Mississippi	8.30
2.	Wyoming	9.30	7.	Tennessee	7.98
3.	Louisiana	8.73	8.	Colorado	7.67
4.	Kentucky	8.65	9.	Montana	7.58
5.	South Carolina	8.58	10.	Alabama	7.42

Sincerely,

Marge Mangerson
Research assistant

MM:a

Negro Crime
& delinquency

October 21, 1960

Dr. J. R. Cunningham
Executive Director
The Presbyterian Foundation, Inc. (U.S.)
Wachovia Bank Building
Charlotte 2, N. C.

Dear Dr. Cunningham:

Since my letter to you of September 23, I have been reading the Procedings of the White House Conference on Children and Youth (title: "The Nation's Children"). In Volume Three there is a paper by Lewis W. Jones of Tuskegee Institute which says some things that relate to your query about Negro youth. I thought you might be interested in the following excerpts:

> "The experiences of Negro children in the South during the past decade might well be expected to have affected their conceptions of themselves. Their behavior and conduct offer evidence of some attributes of their self-image. Their self-image esteem ranges from pride to bumptiousness. Ideas they hold about their opportunities are expressed in striving to realize an ambition by some and demand for unearned rewards by others. Consciousness of having powerful and influential advocates of their greater opportunity is expressed in quiet confidence by some and a challenging arrogance by others. Encouragement to venture where their parents did not dare has affected the respect shown for parents and teachers who urge caution and restraint. As in all revolutionary circumstances in which a new freedom is gained there is considerable aimless, random, irresponsible behavior on the part of those who have no constructive goals. Uncertainty and a sense of inadequacy are revealed in a truculence that challenges any imposed discipline.

"The one clear feature of the new self-image of Negro youth of whatever status is a sense of security expressed by assuming positive and sometimes aggressive attitudes and postures. ...

* * *

"Negro youth strive to give the impression of not feeling inferior even if the behavior of some is clear evidence that they are over-compensating for such feeling. Unfortunately, a type of juvenile delinquency among Negro children and youth is appearing in the South. It is expressed in challenges to the traditional authority of whiteness and to that of Negro adults who occupy their positions through white authority.

"Perhaps the most unfortunate aspect of the young Negro's conception of himself is that he must depend upon himself to carry his battle with the support of few, if any, white people in his local community..... It is certainly unfortunate when Negro youth get the idea that they must protect themselves or be prepared to do so because the duly constituted authority for preserving the security of citizens in their home communities leaves them at the mercy of enemies who would do violence to them. While their elders are cautioning them to turn the other cheek, many come to feel that their security lies in their readiness to meet violence with violence.

* * *

"A third feature of the new self-image is that young Negroes do not feel themselves to be a helpless minority. Instead they consider the die-hard segregationists, whatever their positions may be in the community or however important may be the political offices they hold, to be the minority. And they scoff at them as ludicrous buffoons clinging desperately to a lost cause. The young Negro in the South sees himself as belonging to the majority that includes the federal government, Negroes who have advanced outside the South, and white people of powerful influence outside the South. Problems posed by this feature of the new self-image are: 1) raising an obstruction to an early rapprochement with young Southern whites, and 2) the disenchantment possible if their allies give them too little or too tardy support.

* * *

"The major question the Negro youth's new self-image raises is what positive approaches can be taken in order that a constructive productive humanism can mature out of the current personality conflicts in a setting of social confusion."

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director

LWD:a

February 1, 1961

Mr. Earl Raab
400 First Street - 3rd Floor
San Francisco 5, California

Dear Mr. Raab:

There are so many things which might be suggested, in response to your letter of January 19. If this letter goes somewhat wide of your mark, please let me know and we shall try to offer further suggestions.

I am sending you several things under separate cover which may give some light to your query about post integration problems.

As to Negro nationalism, there is a chapter in Harry Ashmore's new book, The Other Side of Jordan; Nat Hentoff had an article in the Reporter for August 4, 1960; there was a piece by Alex Haley in the Readers' Digest, March, 1960. I am enclosing one clip from a Southern newspaper.

As to Negro youth, I was impressed by the paper of Lewis W. Jones, titled "Negro Youth in the South"; this is to be found in the proceedings of the White House Conference on Children and Youth: these proceedings are collected in a series titled: The Nation's Children, and Mr. Jones's paper is in Vol. 3.

As to new trends in leadership, there has been a lot written, especially since the sit-ins began, and I hardly know what to suggest. Among the pieces which announce that new leadership is superceding old, two which occur to me first are one by Louis Lomax, Harpers, June 1960; and an

article by Michael Walzer in Dissent, Summer, 1960. There is also a pamphlet titled Unfinished Revolution, by Tom Kahn, published last year and available from the Liberation Press, 110 Christopher Street, New York 14, price .50¢. I think you would find interesting the November, 1960 issue of Interracial Review, especially an article by Harold Fleming. I would recommend also George McMillan's article in Look, July 5, 1960. Included in the package being sent is a copy of a paper of mine which I am currently revising with the expectation that it will be published in Phylon.

Finally, both on the matter of Negro nationalism and Negro opinion, there is a two part article by Harold Isaacs in Phylon, Fall & Winter, 1960, "Five Writers and their African Ancestors." I have, by accident, gone at this backwards: I have not yet read the first part, but have read the second, and found it extraordinarily interesting.

Let me know if we can be of further help.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:A

Enclosures: thermafax copy, newsclip
Mailed separately;
The Student Protest Movement, Winter 1960
Price, Towards a Solution of the Sit-in Controversy
Morland, Lunch-Counter Desegregation in ... Texas
Westfeldt, Settling a Sit-in (Nashville)
McMillan, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement
Report L-20, L-22, L-17

Proud scholarship winners mass behind principal Charles S. Lewis. As members of the freshman class at Detroit's Central High School, the students four years ago were given opportunity for intensified study on voluntary basis throughout high school. Their response was overwhelming. This year, some 90 are college-bound, 42 on 60 scholarships.

DETROIT HIGH SCHOOL CHALLENGES NATION

Central's stepped-up program proves Negro students' ability to learn, seek further education

Ebony, Aug. 1964

By HAMILTON J. BIMS

AMID the stillness of early morning, a couple of teen-agers, a boy and his sister, piece their way listlessly through the wreckage of an urban renewal project, wander alone across a tiny footbridge that spans a freeway and make their way reluctantly toward a high school that no longer cares. The boy clutches a second-hand history text. His sister carries a notebook containing her homework from the previous night: the words, "I will not talk in class," written 200 times. It doesn't much matter that they are 20 minutes late.

The pair are just two of the hundreds of thousands of luckless youngsters—mostly Negroes—in big cities across the nation who have fallen victims to a serious blight among centrally located schools. Following the massive shift to the suburbs the last decade or so, many educators have fallen derelict in their duties to city youngsters. Teachers, as well as administrators, attempt to use examples of juvenile delinquency and poor classroom performance as proof that slum kids—particularly Negroes—do not want to learn. Arguments to the contrary by sociologists too often fall on deaf ears, as officials scoff at the theories, maintaining an attitude of "show me."

In such a climate of sloth and skepticism, it is being left to a handful of unusually energetic high schools in decaying neighborhoods across the country to finally destroy the myth—by actually producing Negro graduates who are every bit as good as any in the nation.

One of the more ambitious of these efforts is a program at Detroit's teeming Central High. Mainly middle class white just 10 years ago, Central now has a student body of more than 95 per cent Negro, many from extremely deprived backgrounds. Where once the neighborhood boasted such prominent residents as the multi-millionaire Dodge and Kresge families, it is now beset by creeping slum tenements, crime and juvenile delinquency. Ten years ago many of its students could afford tutors. Today many find it difficult to keep lunch money. As might be expected, academic standards quickly began to drop. For the first time in Central's history, discipline became a serious problem. Many teachers, weary of playing both constable and instructor, simply lost interest.

Taking over more than four years ago, principal Charles S. Lewis refused to succumb to the pall of despair and gloom that was gripping other secondary school officials in deprived areas of large U. S. cities. And as an expert in experimental curriculum (he taught it summers at

Continued on Next Page

DETROIT HIGH SCHOOL *Continued*

the University of Michigan), he possessed the know-how as well as the will. "It was a major opportunity," he recalls. "I figured I'd see if the things I'd been teaching all those years really worked."

Tough-guy Lewis first took pains to weed out the troublemakers. Some 50 were sent home the first year. This problem erased, teachers relaxed their muscles and settled down to the business of teaching. The principal then gathered together his nine department heads and plunged into an almost revolutionary project--one aimed at providing the freshman class with a high school education comparable to any in the city.

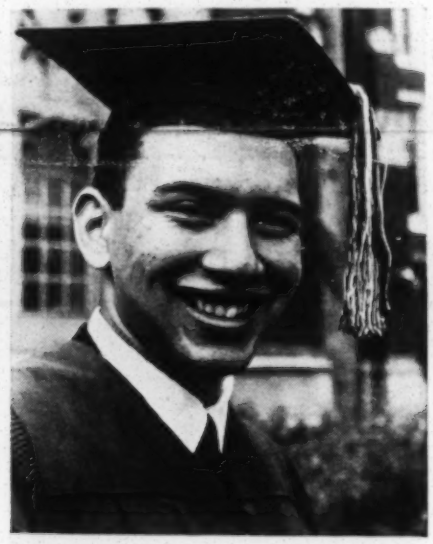
Four years later, the students have not let him down. A fourth of that class (or about 90) is college-bound, compared to about five per cent among last year's seniors. Of these, 42 earned a total of 60 scholarships, where a year ago only 14 got grants. Allowing for renewals, the 42 students will receive some $160,000 in scholastic aid.

Innovator Lewis refuses to gloat, but he sees the achievement as a major thrust with vast implications nationwide. "Most graduates of predominantly Negro schools are at a decided disadvantage at college," he points out. "Aside from poor preparation, there's the problem of money. There's also another problem—motivation. What we've tried to do mainly is change their self-image. A human can hardly do a job if he doesn't believe in himself."

Central's success story, however, was something more than an inspirational talk—it required one of the most elaborate and sustained curriculum plans yet tested on the high school level. Where the minimum credit hours for graduation in Detroit is 160, Central offered as many as 200—and more—to willing students, extending its school-day far into the afternoon. Teachers then grouped their students into three ability classifications. Where possible, they remained with a class a full year instead of the usual semester. To prepare students for college, classes were set up in notehand (simplified shorthand) and typing.

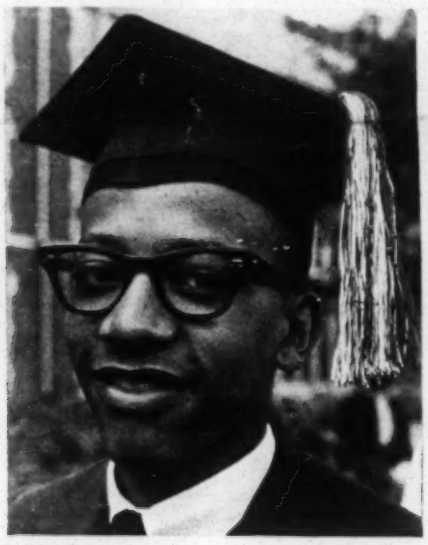
Top graduate Hazel Armstrong, 18, led students who benefited from program. A nursing hopeful, she enrolled in 198½ credit hours, 38½ above that required for graduation. It paid off with average of 3.943 out of possible 4.000, netted two scholarships.

Class president Larry Simmons addresses classmates at commencement. Negro students made up 359 of 364 graduates.

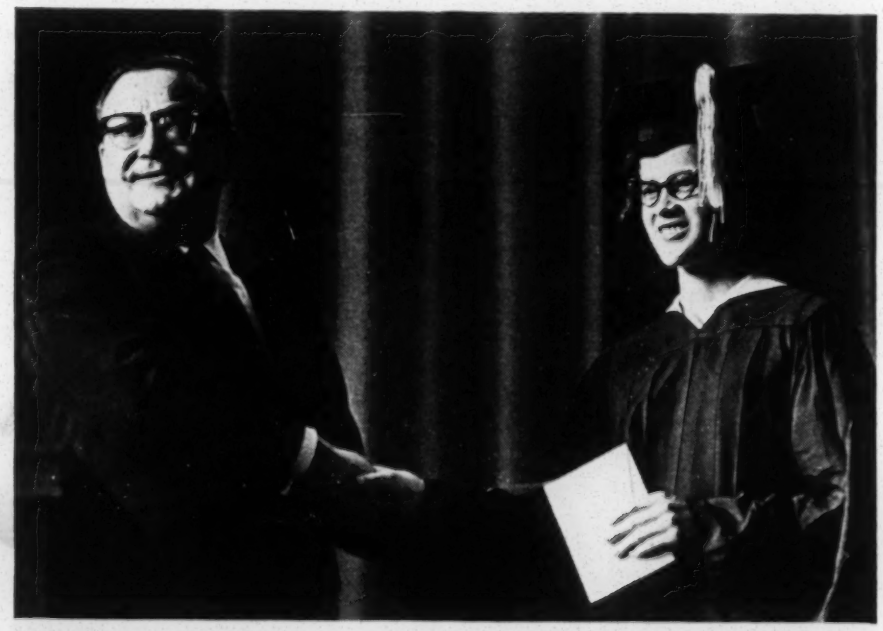


Future engineer Anthony Johnson is typical of space-age students. B-plus graduate will study aeronautical engineering.

Football standout Anthony Rutherford won one of Central's four athletic grants —to Mich. State. Trophy is for prep play.



Medical career awaits Larry Mann, an A-student leader of school's National Honor Society. He has grant to Mich. U.



White student Edith Boyd receives certificate from principal Lewis. She topped class in number of credit hours assumed, amassing total of 201. Whites, once the huge majority at tradition-steeped Central, now comprise barely two per cent of some 3,000.

Urban League director Francis A. Kornegay chats with Mary White (c.) and Corliss Smoot, whom his organization will assist at Wayne State University. Programs like Central's are causing educators to reevaluate their appraisal of Negro students.

During conference with assistants who helped plot dramatic program, principal Lewis (r.) discusses its success. Included are department heads, counselors and Central's two assistant principals. Important aspect of program is its economy: no budget adjustment was necessary. Lack of money is common excuse among many high school educators.

Special library featuring advanced works of literature is a major component of program. Tenth graders are exposed to such authors as Tolstoi, Faulkner, Sinclair Lewis, Thomas Mann. Reading is recognized as major weakness of high school students.

Informal relationships between teacher and student are encouraged. Here senior class in English literature takes time out to discuss problems in day-to-day school work. Drop-out rate at Central is less than 10 per cent, compared to 29 per cent nationally.

Adequate library is open far into the afternoon. Well-equipped school has graduated prominent figures, including Nobel Prize-winning atomic scientist Melvin Calvin. Area, once upper-class, has had such residents as wealthy Dodge and Kresge families.

Continued on Next Page

Chemistry students Shirley Smith and Roy Stewart conduct experiment in transfer of electrons from lab solutions. Because it is continuous, Central program also is affecting lower classmen. School hopes to place half its grads in college in 10 years.

Promising artist Michael Newman has won local recognition both as a musician (he sings, plays several instruments) and as an artist. To center students' interest on school, principal Lewis first took pains to weed out all habitual troublemakers.

DETROIT HIGH SCHOOL *Continued*

In addition, the school took full advantage of an array of special programs offered by the school system: team teaching, television classes, and the Detroit Experimental English Program (DEEP Reading), a project exposing tenth graders to such authors as Tolstoi, Faulkner, Sinclair Lewis and Thomas Mann. To improve self-image, Central devised courses in such subjects as African history and the Negro in American history and has invited to the school, under a regular program, prominent Negroes in business, the professions and other walks of life. Well-roundedness was another aim, and Central at one time sponsored 37 clubs and other extra-curricular activities. The overall result was a dramatic rise in the school's academic level over the last four years, and a promising future for many youths who ordinarily would have faced lives of narrow perspective and mediocrity.

The story is the more interesting in light of its circumstances. For Central is, in a sense, a microcosm of every other high school similarly situated as the American central city undergoes a profound change, both racial and class-wise. One of the oldest schools in Michigan, Central was for years the darling of the city, boasting such graduates as atomic scientist Melvin Calvin, who won the Nobel Peace Prize for chemistry in 1961, several nationally prominent bankers, a Wayne County circuit judge, three members of the present school board and Detroit's Negro comptroller, Alfred Pelham. In such a climate, academic achievement was seldom a problem. As late as 1954, nearly half of the school's graduates were able to go on to colleges and universities.

Then something happened. Negro students, for years a small minority, began to out-number the whites, as old residents fled to the suburbs to avoid residential integration. "It happened sudden-like," recalls one Negro alumnus, now a teacher at Central, "less than three years at the most." With the racial changeover came special teaching problems. Many of the Negroes were from comfortable backgrounds and fully able to compete. Others, however, had to tackle poverty and low motivation as well as the books. Academic standards dropped. Central —like Centrals in practically every large city in the nation—became what was thought of as a blighted school.

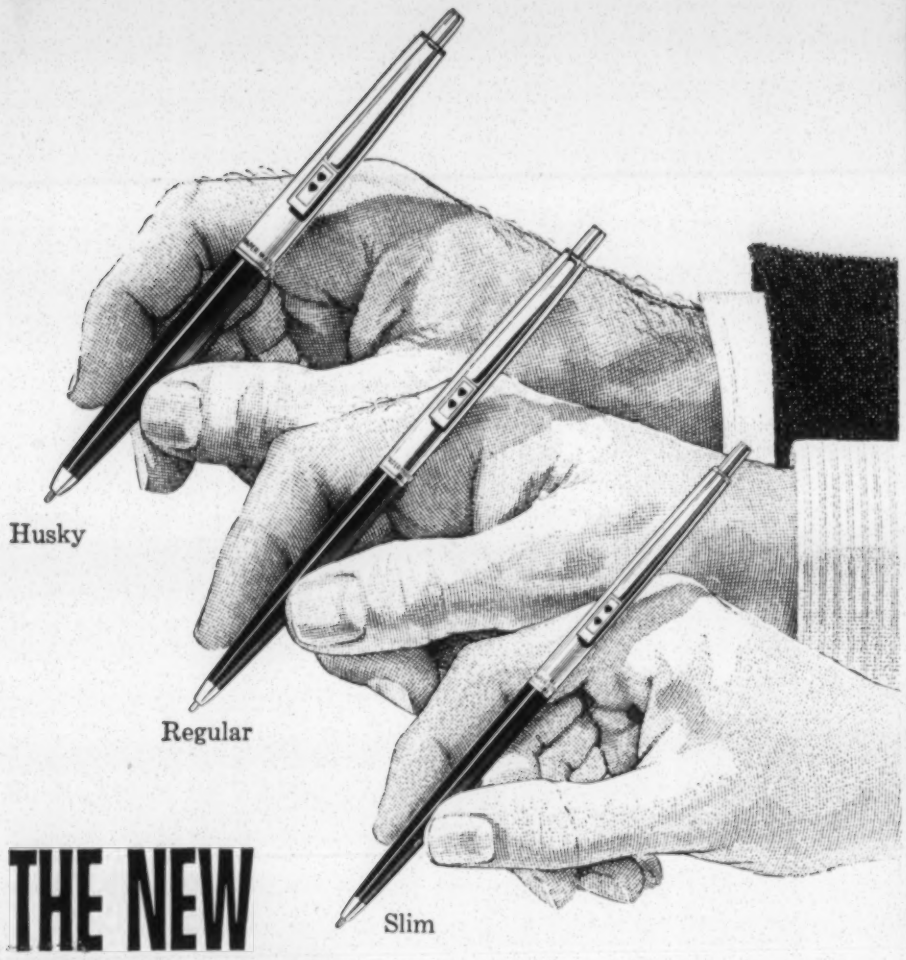
"The big problem here, as elsewhere," says Dr. Lewis, "was that the teachers were in no way prepared to cope with the cultural difference. They took the same approach to the newer kids as they had to those from middle-class homes." With this confusion came a gradual attitude of indifference. Central students, like their counterparts across the nation, fell victims to a creeping atmosphere of helplessness and despair.

Taking over in 1959, Lewis clearly saw that the students were indeed the victims—not the agents—of this new climate. And a great deal of his program depended on his faith in their willingness to enlist, to sacrifice afternoon hours to tedious periods of study. They didn't let him down. They responded, in fact, with an eagerness that must have shamed the cynics. And for many, it was anything but easy.

Hazel Armstrong, for example, is the stepdaughter of a city maintenance man who moved to Detroit three years ago from Kansas City, Kan. "Until last year," she recalls, "I just never thought about college." The youngest of five children, the 18-year-old had little privacy for homework. Because she wanted to be a nurse, she enrolled in all three sciences—physics, chemistry and biology—instead of the required one, amassing a total of 198½ hours, 38½ above that required for graduation. She went on to earn a scholastic average of 3.943 (nearly a perfect 4.000), tops in her class, and received two scholarships to local Wayne State University.

Another example, William Dixon, 18, is the son of a plant guard at Chevrolet. "The courses taught me how to compete with others," he declares. "I really had to work." Offered the added study, William enrolled in 192 credit hours, including 30 in science, his probable major in college. He also took part in a variety of extracurricular activities, including the student council and the Negro History Club. He also earned recognition from the Detroit Phi Beta Kappa chapter and

Continued on Page 30



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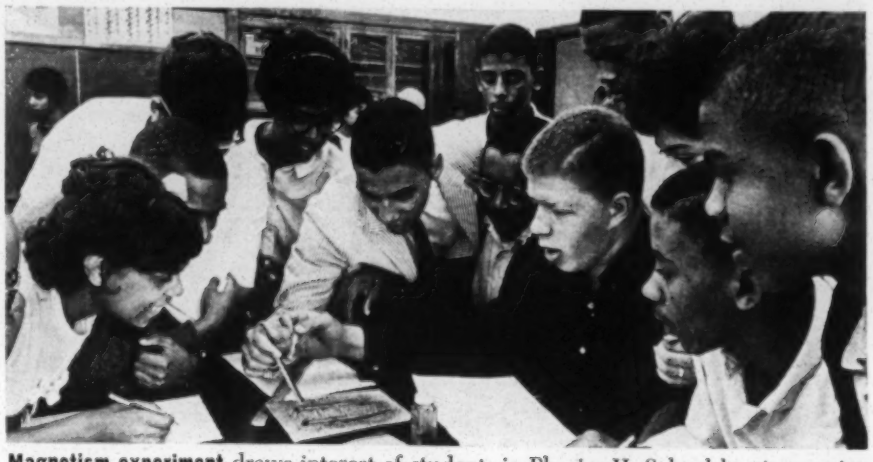
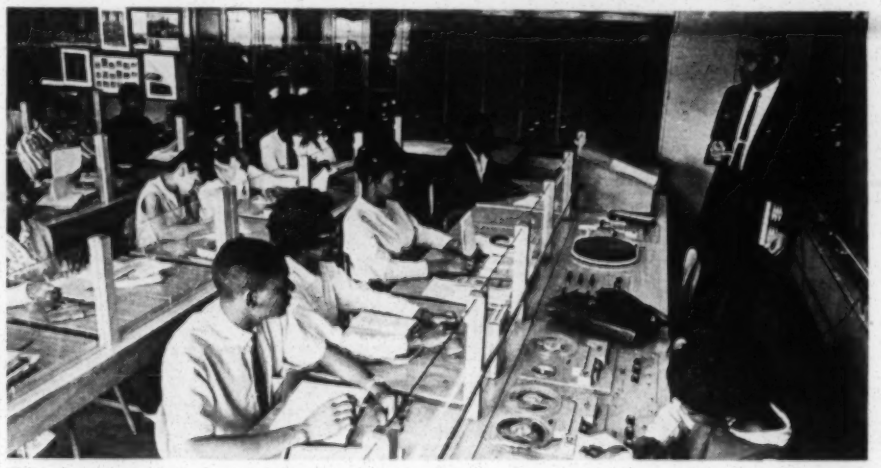
Counseling is important function in raising sights of students. Here counselor Marion Carter advises Pearline Thurston.

Teacher Vunies High, sister of Joe Louis, aids tenth grader in advanced reading program, typical English experiments.



Magnetism experiment draws interest of students in Physics II. School has impressive science equipment, laboratories. Classes are divided into departments, college-wise, with own chairmen. Presently, 52 Negroes are included among Central's 115 teachers.



Top department is foreign languages. Students are exposed to such outstanding instructors as Vance Kinnard, shown teaching French in language laboratory. He was a John Hay Fellow last year at U. of Calif. in humanities. Lab uses tapes, earphones.

DETROIT HIGH SCHOOL *Continued*

was pledged to Central's chapter of the National Honor Society. The effort paid off with a 3.6 average and a $600 renewable scholarship to Michigan U.

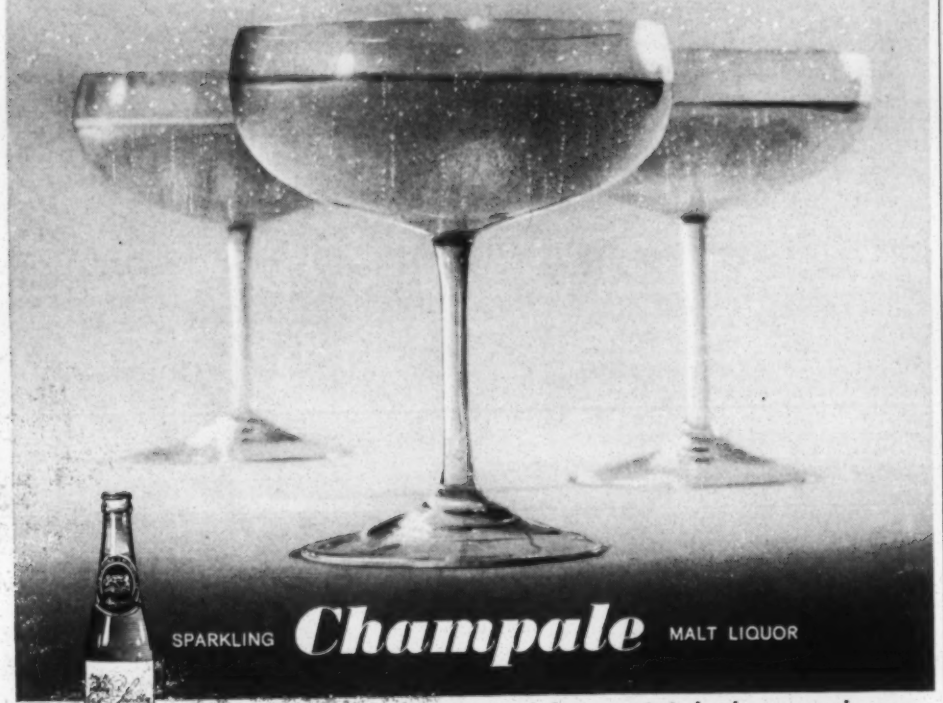
Another interesting aspect of the program—one with vast ramifications nationwide—is its surprising economy. Central has dramatically improved its level of instruction for four full years without any appreciable increase in operating expenses. The difference was not money but teacher enthusiasm—exactly the kind so characteristic of schools in more favored neighborhoods.

Among thoughtful educators, in fact, budget considerations are generally among the last to be raised in devising new modes of instruction. "Money is *saved*," insists Dr. J. Lloyd Trump, associate secretary of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, "by expanding the proper use of large-group instruction, using building space and learning tools more efficiently, permitting students to learn more for themselves . . ."

Despite the advantages, however, there are appallingly few innovations being tested on a wide scale in the nation's public schools—particularly in schools similar to Central. The pattern has been to all but abandon the central district while showering the best teachers,

Continued on Page 32

what
looks like champagne,
pours like champagne,
tastes like champagne,
yet costs
just pennies more than beer?



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Exercise in syntax is given seniors by teacher Yetta Goldstein. Non-credit course in writing improvement was offered college-bound grads to assist them in freshman English classes. College English departments bemoan lack of freshman preparedness.

Biology students examine garter snake, used for demonstration and experiments. As in rest of nation, many of Central's graduates will enter some branch of science or technology, following lure of the space age.

Television class, aired on closed-circuit station, is one of several special programs offered by Detroit school system. Such programs have augmented Central's own devices in experimental study. Average size of normal class at Central is about 35.

Fine arts activities are encouraged under program. In addition to concert band, conducted by Frederick Boldt, school has dance band, a chorus (which has staged operas), modern dance classes, arts and crafts.

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Art classes enjoy a great popularity. Teacher Charles Finger, other faculty members often purchase student work.

Job training plan is major component of Central program. Pearline Thurston works for neighborhood photographer.

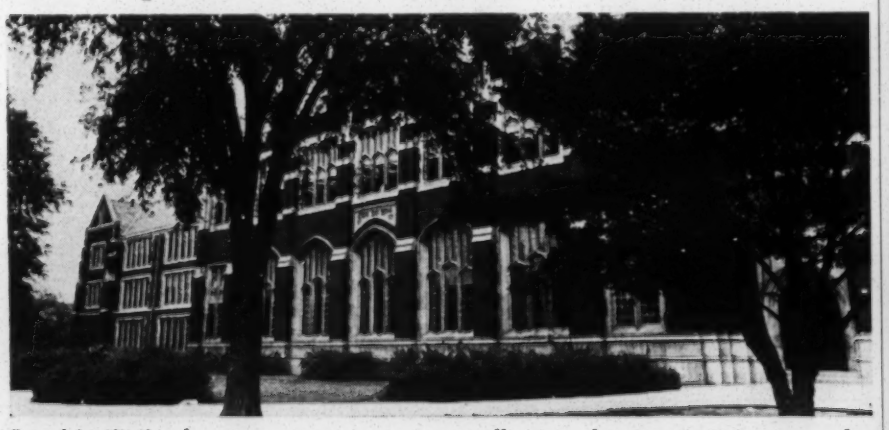
DETROIT HIGH SCHOOL *Continued*

books and equipment on the already favored outlying areas. In central Harlem, for example, a study by Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited showed that the teachers were the least experienced of any in the school system. In Chicago, the report of a blue-ribbon committee, headed by University of Chicago sociologist Philip M. Hauser, found pupils in Negro elementary schools to be two years behind white area pupils in reading achievement; a year, two months behind in arithmetic; two years, one month behind in word meaning; a year, nine months behind in social studies and a year and a half behind in science.

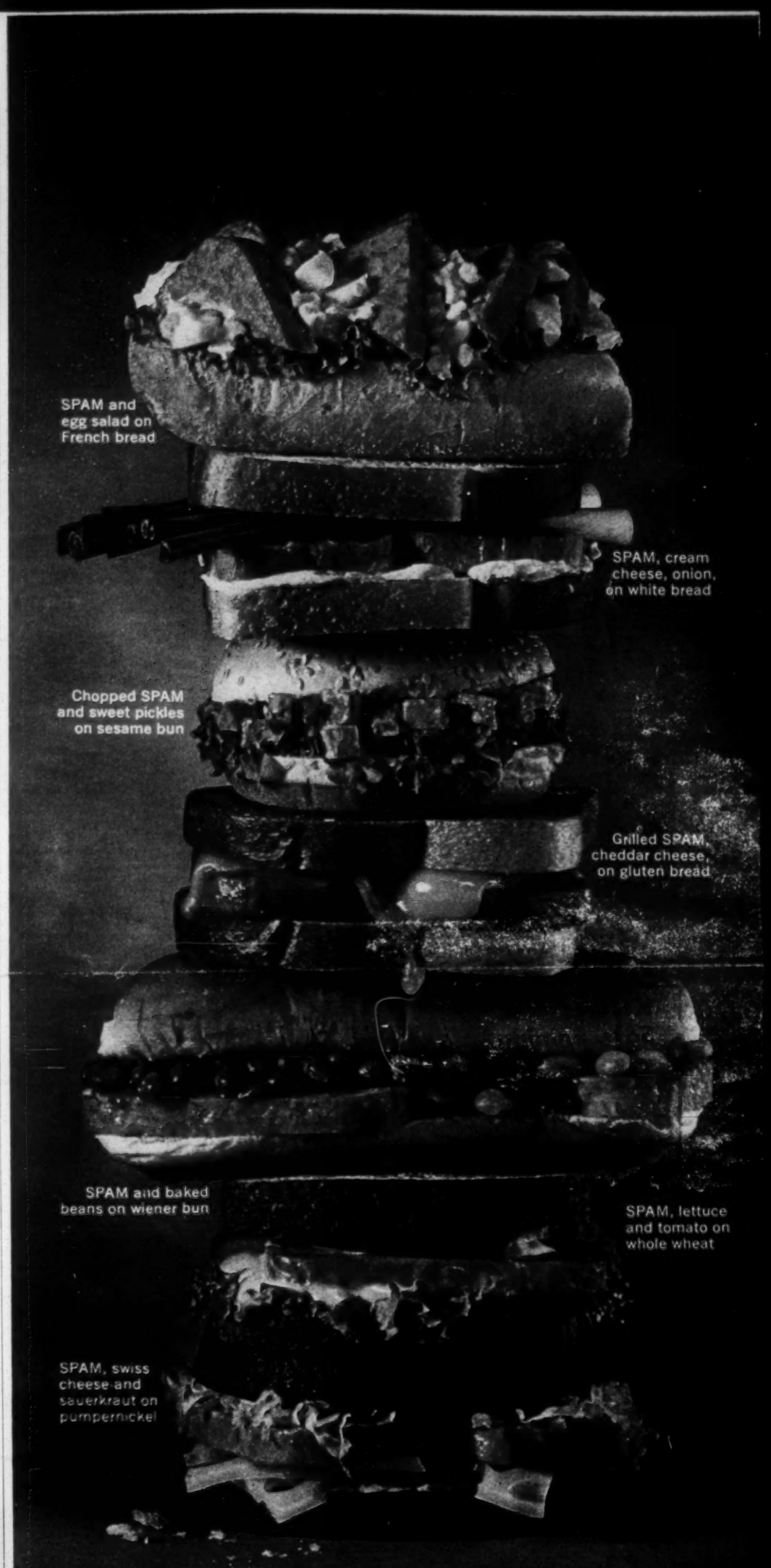
Implicit in this dereliction, of course, is the vague assumption that Negroes are naturally poor students. Many authorities, however, have begun to challenge this notion. Studies by such experts as New York City College sociologist Kenneth B. Clark have indicated that Negroes at integrated colleges—despite their inferior preparation—actually make better students than whites. In a study, *The Negro at Integrated Colleges,* conducted in collaboration with fellow faculty member Lawrence Plotkin, Dr. Clark found that of a sample of 509 Negro students examined between 1952 and 1956, less than 10 per cent failed to graduate, about a fourth the national drop-out rate. Another 10 per cent finished with honors, while about one per cent made Phi Beta Kappa.

The study also revealed—significantly—that Negro graduates of Southern high schools performed generally better than their Northern counterparts. Various hypotheses have been raised to account for the disparity. Richard L. Plaut, president of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, commented that the difference "could probably be accounted for by the fact that the dedicated Negro guidance counselors in the South really give their all to these kids, as contrasted to many Northern counselors who make little effort to raise the sights of their Negro pupils."

The indictment could also apply to many instructors and administrators. Dr. Lewis sees his school as an example of the potential still inherent in the secondary school, whatever its sociological circumstances. His present success with scholarships is admittedly contrived —it resulted from sustained negotiation with three regional schools: Michigan Univ., Michigan State and Wayne State. But once the pattern has been established, he believes, once the myths have been fully destroyed, more institutions of higher learning will follow suit. It is his aim to put half of Central's graduates in college in 1974.



Proud institution has its counterpart in practically every big city in U.S. Many educators, faced with increasing Negro enrollments, allow academic standards to drop under erroneous assumption that Nego students are not very eager to learn, advance.



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Mr. Edward White
Board of Christian Education Field Services
United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.
746 West Fullerton Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60614

Dear Mr. White:

I am listing the better known books on Negro history and culture; most of those we have in our own library are, of course, concerned with some phase of civil rights. We have no films, film strips, or phonograph records. You may wish to check further by looking up Thompson's Race and Region, a bibliography published by the University of North Carolina Press in 1949. Another source would be The Negro Collection, Atlanta University Library, Atlanta 14, Ga.

Carter, Wilmoth A., The Urban Negro in the South, Vantage, 1961.
Frazier, E. Franklin, The Negro in the United States, McMillan Co., 1949.
Handlin, Oscar, Race and Nationality in American Life, Little, Brown & Co., 1948.
Isaacs, Harold R., The New World of Negro Americans, John Day Co.m 1963.
Johnson, Charles S., The Negro in American Civilization, Henry Holt & Co., 1930.
Weyl, Nathaniel, The Negro in American Civilization, Public Affairs Press, 1960.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Carter, Wilmeth A., The Urban Negro in the South
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Frazier, E. Franklin, The Negro in the United States,
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B. Bibliography

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*Alpenfels, Ethel J. Sense and Nonsense about Race. New York: Friendship Press, 1957 An anthropologist presents facts that explode racial myths and superstitions.

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100 Years of Negro Freedom. New York: Dodd, 1961. Teacher reference.

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*Epps, Merl R. and Foster, A. P. An Elementary History of America Including the Contributions of the Negro Race., Nashville, Tenn., 1949 (out of print, but may be found in local libraries).

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Griffin, John Howard. Black Like Me. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961. The story of a white southern-born novelist who actually passed for colored in a serious attempt to discover how it feels to be a colored man in America and also to find out how colored people really live.

Jones, Lewis Wade. Cold Rebellion: The South's Oligarchy in Revolt. London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1962. Covers in brief compass the very broad matter of developments related to Negro subordination in the South since Reconstruction. Deals chiefly with the political leadership of the South and how it has held Negro citizens -- and poor whites as well -- in a subordinate status respecting all rights and opportunities due them as citizens for the hundred years since Emancipation.

*King, Martin Luther. Stride Toward Freedom. New York: Harper and Bros. This book while biographical, also, tells of the victory of passive resistance in the Montgomery bus boycott and is an excellent documentary - an important book on the current situation in the South.

TO: Members of the Committee on Church and Public School Relations and Members of the Weekday Religious Education Section

FROM STAFF: J. Blaine Fister
R. L. Hunt

SUBJECT: Observe Negro History Week! (Week of February 7, 1965)

Our Committee last October adopted the recommendation that "...churches and weekday religious education programs be encouraged to take part in the observance of Negro History Week in February. Persons and systems in public education should be supported who are teaching American history in a way that represents the contribution of all racial and ethnic groups to American life. A bibliography of resources on Negro history, life and culture might be prepared and distributed."

You will find a "Selected Bibliography on Negro History for Adults and H.S. Students," prepared by your staff with the benefit of suggestions from many others, including persons in the staff of the Commission on Race, the Department of Race and Intercultural Relations, and the Commission on Missionary Education. You are free to duplicate all or any part of it with or without credit as to source, for use within your denomination or council. Starred items on the list are suggested for use with high school age persons or groups.

Another resource free: "American Traveller's Guide to Negro History," publication of the American Oil Company, 910 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago 80, Illinois, whose courtesy in supplying free copies for our committee we gratefully acknowledge. This is a useful guide to sights, monuments, and shrines significant in Negro history, arranged by states.

We call to your attention some further resources of quality:

1. "A Guide for the Study of Negro History in the Churches," produced by the City Church Project of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. The experimental edition, about 50 pages mimeographed, will be sent for $1.00 upon request to the Rev. Edward A. White, Director, City Church Project--United Presbyterian Church, Room 8, 746 West Fullerton Avenue, Chicago 14, Illinois. Designed for flexible use by young people and adults in various settings, it consists of 10 sessions including "African Backgrounds," "Slave Trade," "Slavery," "The Civil War," "Reconstruction and Jim Crow," "Three Alternative Solutions to the Race Problem: Compromise, Militant Protest, Back to Africa," "Rise of Negro Protest Organizations," "The Negro in Art, Culture, and Literature," "The Negro Experience," and the "Theological Significance of Negro History."

2. "A Teacher's Notebook of Negro History and Culture For Use with Children in the Church School," compiled by Helen A. Archibald. About 100 pages in plastic looseleaf binding, it is available at $1.50 per copy from the Chicago City Missionary Society, 19 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois 60603. Developed for a day camp staff, it will have wider usefulness in church schools. Sections include "The African Backgrounds," "Great Negroes Past and Present," "The Negores' Experience," "We are American, Too," "Poems Reflecting a Child's World," "The Spirituals." Appendices carry suggestions for use of the materials in the church school, a bibliography and other resources.

3. "The Negro in American History." Curriculum Bulletin, 1964-65 Series, No. 4, Board of Education of the City of New York. 158 pages. Paperbound copies available at $1.00 from Board of Education of the City of New York, Publication Sales Office, 110 Livingstone Street, Brooklyn 1, New York. Cash must accompany order. Make checks payable to Auditor, Board of Education.

XERO COPY

4. Check your own public library for available booklists. The following booklists may be ordered by title from the Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts. (Enclose ten cents in stamps for any title ordered.)

   "Negro Life and History"
   "Negroes First and Foremost" (for young adults)
   "Negroes on the Way" (for adults)

5. The Auburn Library of Union Theological Seminary has a new program on "Urban Education" with bibliographies including one of "Curriculum Material for Teaching the History of the Negro." Address Mrs. James L. Clifford, Auburn Library, 3041 Broadway, New York, New York 10027. (Mrs. Clifford may be reached mornings by telephone on Extension 69 at MO-2-7100 in Area 212.)

6. You will find other resources available through local units of groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the National Urban League. For those to whom no local office is available, inquire of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York; the National Urban League, 14 East 48th Street, New York, New York 10017.

This bibliography was prepared for use by the Commission on Church and Public Education, Department of Educational Development (Division of Christian Education) of the National Council of Churches. It is designed to inform study and discussion, by considering various ideas and opinions, with some of which the National Council of Churches and the reader may agree, or disagree. They must not be regarded as in all cases representing the views of the National Council of Churches, or its constituent denominations.

1/12/65

/sop

SUNDAY

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OCT. 1964

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8:00

8:30 Negro in Am. Life & Thought:

9:00 The Nadir, 1877-1901

9:30 Rayford W Logan

10:00 Dial Press, 1954

10:30

11:00 Dusk of Dawn (Harcourt,

11:30 Brace 1940) W. E. B.

12:00 Dubois

1:00

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SATURDAY

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17

OCT. 1964

Negro History

The Myth of the Negro Past, Beacon 1958

Melville J. Herskovits

Origins of the New South

C Van Woodward (LSU Press) 1961

& The Strange Career of Jim Crow (Oxford U Press) 1957

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Negro History

Integrated Education II (254)

Vol. II No. 5 - Oct-Nov. 1964

sit historians analyze the Negro in Am. History textbooks

(Biblio on school integration)

Repro History

department of church and public school relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

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J. IRWIN MILLER, PRESIDENT R. H. EDWIN ESPY, GENERAL SECRETARY

BP ✓ we should get the travel guide, you may want to get some of these
MA

January 22, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Research should file the yellow bibliog. make yourself a copy

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The enclosed book list going to members of our Committee on Church and Public School Relations may be of interest to you. We do not stock the item--we are telling the members of our committee to duplicate it for use in their respective denominations if they wish, with or without credit. You are welcome to make use of the materials without credit in any way if you wish.

The materials that have come to me from the Southern Regional Council from time to time I shared with other staff members of the Council. I am grateful for the opportunity to keep up with what is being done, and rejoice in the many signs of progress.

Sincerely yours,

R. L. Hunt

R. L. Hunt
Dept. of Educational Developments
Staff Associate
Church & Public Education

RLH:sop

Enc.

B. Bibliography

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*Famous Americans for Young Americans. Albany, New York: The State Education Department, Bureau of Elementary Curriculum Development, 1962.

Franklin, John Hope. From Slavery to Freedom. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1947. A dramatic history of the Negro from his medieval kingdoms in Africa to his life today in the West Indies, Latin America, Canada, and the United States. This is an attempt not only to write a history of the American Negro but to show his relation to the emergence of American civilization.

Griffin, John Howard. Black Like Me. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961. The story of a white southern-born novelist who actually passed for colored in a serious attempt to discover how it feels to be a colored man in America and also to find out how colored people really live.

Jones, Lewis Wade. Cold Rebellion: The South's Oligarchy in Revolt. London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1962. Covers in brief compass the very broad matter of developments related to Negro subordination in the South since Reconstruction. Deals chiefly with the political leadership of the South and how it has held Negro citizens -- and poor whites as well -- in a subordinate status respecting all rights and opportunities due them as citizens for the hundred years since Emancipation.

*King, Martin Luther. Stride Toward Freedom. New York: Harper and Bros. This book while biographical, also, tells of the victory of passive resistance in the Montgomery bus boycott and is an excellent documentary - an important book on the current situation in the South.

PA - fyi - please let MA

Negro leadership

April 8, 1964

Mr. Robert Cohen
927 Ackerman Avenue
Syracuse 10, New York

Dear Mr. Cohen:

I am sorry to tell you that we do not have the information you requested, at least not all neatly printed and ready for mailing. We can send you some things for background reading, make some suggestions, and note possible sources. We also offer you the use of our voluminous files and office space should you be able to come to Atlanta to research your study. We can also introduce you to persons to whom you should talk, and our staff could give you some personal observations.

It seems to me that the sociological profiles you plan would ~~necess~~ necessitate personal interviews. If you must do this by correspondence, we could help you to draw up a list of leadership to whom you could write and send a questionnaire. The problem here would be that all leadership in the civil rights movement (or revolution) is primarily involved in action, and this Summer promises to be even more productive of protest than 1962. You would therefore find it most difficult to get people to write out the thoughtful answers you need; also, most are too busy to do much philosophizing on "where they want to see the movement go."

Under separate cover we are mailing you some things which may be helpful to you. Some of it is just for background and a general understanding of people and events; some will give you bits and pieces of usable information; some will simply tell you the kind of people involved in "the movement" and how they think and feel.

As you probably know, the N.A.A.C.P., C.O.R.E., and the Urban League have offices in New York City. It would be possible for you to make appointments to interview leaders there. Both the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have offices in Atlanta.

Sorry we cannot be more helpful. The study you plan should be most interesting; we would very much like to read a copy of it if you have an extra one available.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
Albany (both reports)
New South:
Jan. 1963, "strictly subjective on Meredith"
Feb. " Marian King
July-Aug. 1963, Laue
Sept. 1963, "March on Washington"
Oct-Nov. 1963, "Direct Action in the South"
Jan. 1962, Louis E. Lomax
April 1962, Herman Long
March 1962, Lillian Smith
Sept. 1962, Robert Coles

Rundown on Negro organizations (very brief) Time, 6-28-63, "Big Five in Civil Rights"

Profiles
Aaron Henry of Mississippi--The Progressive, Dec. 1963, by Margaret Long of SRC
M. L. King, Jr.--articles in Saturday Evening Post and recent Time "Man of the Year"; his books would give you his point of view, beliefs, etc.: Stride Towards Freedom, Strength to Love.
Medgar Wiley Evers of Mississippi--N.Y.Times, 6-1-63

Negro leadership, general
Daniel C. Thompson, The Negro Leadership Class, Prentice-Hall, 1963
Killiam and Grigg, Racial Crisis in America, 1964. (paperback)

Journal of Negro Education, Vol. XXXII, No. 3, Summer 1963,
The Functions of Disunity: Negro Leadership in a Southern City, by Jack L. Walker

Journal of Intergroup Relations, Vol. II, No. 3, Summer 1961,
The Sit-ins and the New Negro Student, Charles U. Smith
The Successful Sit-ins in a Border City: A Study of Social Causation, by August Meier
_____, Vol. IV, No.1, Winter 1962-63,
The Changing Status and Self Image of Negroes in the District of Columbia, by Franklin Edwards

927 Ackerman Ave.
Syracuse 10, New York
April 2, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am a graduate student at Syracuse University, presently engaged in studying several aspects of the Civil Rights movement. One of my interest areas is the paticipants in the movement. Mr. Hal Gross of the Anti-Defamation League in New York suggested to me that you might have some pertinent information on this topic. I am primarily concerned with attempting to obtain some sociological profiles on people in various civil rights groups(CORE, NAACP, etc.) I want to find out who these people are, including what is different about the memberships of various organizations, geographical regions, and population sizes. Besides socio-economic , age and sex data, I would like to find out what the values of the various membership groups are, where they want to see the movement eventually go to and how the composition of these groups has changed and is changing.

CORE
NAACP
SCLC
SNCC

I realize that these are difficult to answer and that there is not much information, but I think they are important to consider and I would appreciate any information you might be able to provide. Thank you for taking time to consider this letter.

Robert Cohen
Robert Cohen

Negro leadership in Atlanta

The Progressive Dec 1963
profile Aaron Henry - by Margaret Long

Albany

ML King Jr. - books

Social Crisis in Am: Jr. - 2 vol
Lewis Killian & Charles Grigg

Reese Claiborne -
ML King Sat Eve Post: series "Man of the Year"
MY series, "Daily Profiles"

RALPH 6-22-64 Cont

McGILL

Errors of Bloc Leadership

Voting closure of civil rights debate, after more than three months of it, by the U.S. Senate still is a major subject of conversation and analysis in the Federal City. Basic to understanding of the Senate decision is that from last October until the date of closure, support of the bill was bipartisan. Efforts were made by individuals and organizations to make it partisan. There were times when they came near succeeding. But the agreement held.

Southern bloc leadership now is under microscopic examination. Consensus is that it made unnecessary errors. First was refusal to admit there was any racial discrimination in the Southern states. The fact that there were daily evidences of it and that in some states violence was inflicted on persons seeking the fundamental right to register to vote made no dent in this facade of opposition.

Much Discrimination

That there was, and is, much discrimination was on the pages of newspapers and the screens of television sets. Hoodlum mobs in various towns were attacking news and camera men because the story of violence and discrimination was being told. Some Southern senators would leave their offices where they had been watching TV news programs revealing protests and discrimination and go on the floor to deny or refuse to admit what their eyes had just seen. The really very bad show in St. Augustine was, for example, in the news and on the screens at the time of the final vote.

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facade of opposition.

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Had the Dixie leaders admitted the long visible fact of injustice and pledged themselves to leading their constituents toward reform, they certainly would have been able to win amendments and avoid closure. They decided, instead, to refuse to admit the existence of any injustices or discrimination. This was their Achilles heel.

A second flaw in the Southern leadership strategy was to attack the clergymen and the church leaders who urged passage of the rights bill as being hypocritical and as mixing in politics. It so happened that the religious pressure also was bipartisan. Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish clergymen and church and temple organizations joined in appeal to dignify human and moral rights with the necessary legal status.

The third error is related to the second. It lay, say the Republican and Democratic bipartisan leaders, in the astonishing decision by the filibuster leaders angrily to insist the civil rights bill was merely politics and was in no sense associated with a moral issue of human beings—also American citizens — subjected to discrimination which was, and is, all too often grossly ugly and violent.

National Commitment

There also is the feeling in unofficial and official Washington, that the filibuster leadership underestimated the national commitment to treating all citizens alike in education, opportunity, public services, and at the ballot box. There has been a backlash against some of the demonstrations, especially those that had no real objective and were unwise in concept and execution. But a majority of the people—and the business and school communities—are weary of chaos, tensions, and violence caused by injustice and discriminations.

The country is prosperous. Times are "good." The filibuster bloc, after three months of so-called debate, found itself becoming a symbol of obstructing the nation's economic progress. Perhaps not all of those who wished to get on with things were thinking in pocketbook terms. But they were weary of the old, old tactics.

There now is opportunity for those who fought the fight, which they believed they had to make, to lead in acceptance of the new laws. Failure can only continue, for a while, the conditions that produced the vote for closure.

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

11-15-64 JC

Negro Leaders Argue and Divide On Next Move in Rights Fight

By JACK ANDERSON

Washington.

BUOYED BY their vindication at the polls, Negro leaders are now quarreling over what to do next to advance their cause.

Outside the South, the voters overwhelmingly repudiated the white extremists. Yet Negro extremists have seized upon the election results as justification for their militancy. They are now back upon their soap boxes.

Most responsible Negro leaders want to take advantage of the election gains to build a political power base, which would give the Negroes a greater voice in government affairs.

Negroes won seats for the first time in the state legislatures of Iowa, Kansas, Oklahoma and Tennessee. New York elected seven Negro assemblymen, three Negro state senators, and a Negro Supreme Court judge. Michigan sent nine Negroes to its House, two to its Senate. The state also elected two Negroes to the U.S. House of Representatives.

In Massachusetts, Negro Edward W. Brooke was reelected state attorney general by a 900,000 landslide, thus emerging as the biggest Republican vote-getter in the state. He is already being mentioned as 72-year-old Sen. Leverett Saltonstall's most likely successor.

POWELL'S PLAN

Noting these gains, Harlem Congressman Adam Clayton Powell has urged fellow Negroes: "The civil rights movement in America should now shift emphasis and area of involvement toward (a) greater political activity and (b) economic development for the Negro masses."

Though the moratorium on civil rights demonstrations has been lifted, many leaders believe demonstrations no longer are needed to dramatize racial injustice. The message has already been put across. Too many demonstrations, they feel, will only destroy their effectiveness.

Washington Merry-Go-Round appears regularly in the daily Atlanta Journal.

Many would like to see more intensified economic retaliation against firms that discriminate against Negroes. Leaders are quietly checking the brand names for example, of products that are manufactured in Mississippi and Alabama mills.

Perhaps the most heartening development, however, has been a new appeal to racial pride. Don Warden, president of the Afro-American Association, has sounded the keynote with a challenge to Negroes to get off the welfare rolls and stand on their own feet.

"The Chinese came to America; they found us at the bottom and they moved up. We're still at the bottom," he recently declared. "The Japanese came to America; they found us at the bottom and they moved up. We're still at the bottom. Irish, Italians, Jews, Hungarians, Cubans came to America and found us at the bottom. These groups moved up. We're still at the bottom."

AFRICANS

African students who come to America to study, he said, have a high scholastic average (22 per cent of them are "A" students, 33 per cent have a "B" average). Yet members of the same race who live in America receive below-average grades.

"We must open up a gigantic war on dropouts and flunkouts," pleaded Warden, "If we are going to save the race.

"I want to know how many dropouts and flunkouts we have reduced every year. I want to know how many people we have taken out of public housing every year. So that I can hold these statistics up to my race and say, 'Look, we're making progress'."—(c1964.)

LOOK ■ MARCH 23, 1965 Volume 29, No. 6

THE NEGRO NOW

BY ROBERT PENN WARREN

Novelist, poet, essayist, Pulitzer Prize-winning author of All the King's Men, Band of Angels *and* Flood

SOMEWHERE BACK IN the minds of many people, there is an image of *the* Negro leader—a glare-eyed robot propelled by a merciless mechanism, stalking forward over the smiling landscape, where good, clean American citizens (including well-adjusted Negroes) go happily about their constructive business. Many of us who are white—in our moments of stereotype and cartoon thinking—share that vision. In those moments, we do not realize that there is, in one sense, no Negro leader. There are, merely, a number of Negroes who happen to occupy positions of leadership.

And a number of those Negroes, some of the best advertised, did not seek such positions. Neither their training nor temperament nor aspirations had seemed to point in that direction. James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (Snick), who wanted to be a novelist, said to me he wished he could be talking about something other than the Negro Revolution—he wished the whole thing were over. The young Martin Luther King, Jr., with the beribboned sheepskin, proclaiming his new doctorate, to hang on the wall of his study in his first parsonage, could not have foreseen the Montgomery Improvement Association, *Time*'s cover and the Nobel Peace Prize. The whirl of history created a vacuum, and they were sucked in.

Some of them have, indeed, found in leadership a natural fulfillment. Here, the unsuspected talent and the unsuspected self have blossomed, and it is no crime for a man to feel at home with, and take pleasure in, what he can do well. Nor is it necessarily a crime to seek leadership. The will to power, grisly as it appears in certain lights, can mate, if uneasily, with love of justice and dedicated selflessness. Even in the bloody infighting among Negro leaders, more may be at stake than organizational aggrandizement or personal vanity; principles and policies may be involved too.

One should not be more appalled by complications among Negroes than by those among white people. Regardless of complexion, social movements are always powerful magnets for self-anointed prophets, spiritual DP's and deviants, sufferers from footless ambition, masochists, bloodlusters and common pilferers from the poor box; and it should be no wonder that the Negro Revolution has attracted some. What is remarkable is that it has attracted so few—or that so few have risen to the threshold of public mention.

In general, the Negro leadership has given the public little reason to be appalled, for in a situation as complicated as this, it would not be easy to imagine a higher level of idealism, dedication and realistic intelligence. If leadership of that quality is supplanted by other, less savory types that are already lurking in the wings, and that certainly do not have any vision of a reconciled society, the white man has only himself to blame. Mayor Robert F. Wagner had only himself to blame if his European vacation, in the summer of 1964, was cut short by riots in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant; everybody knew there would be riots (except perhaps the Mayor), and everything he did afterwards by way of appeasement or amelioration could have been done beforehand and as part of a program that would have inspired the Negro community to some hope and confidence. Then, if there had been disorders, the issues would have been more clear-cut. Looters would have been looters and not liberty-looters.

If now in Mississippi—with no convictions for the Neshoba County killings of the three civil-

continued

COPYRIGHT © 1965 BY ROBERT PENN WARREN. ADAPTED FROM "WHO SPEAKS FOR THE NEGRO?" TO BE PUBLISHED BY RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

rights workers—terrorist organizations, like the Russian nihilists or the Stern Gang of Palestine, emerge among Negroes, then white people must, at one level, assume themselves responsible. Romantic, ruinous and desperate gestures are implicit in the situation. In reference to such a gang of "dedicated retaliators," the Rev. Milton Galamison, leader of the New York school boycott, says: "I refuse to advocate violence as a principle, but almost all oppressed people have had such a group that will retaliate in kind, and this might serve some kind of purpose in bringing about a swifter resolution of a problem that exists." How delicately Galamison balances the matter!

Whitney Young, Jr., of the National Urban League is right when he says that the leaders need victories in order to contain the danger of overreach and to forestall violence; they need something solid and negotiable in the Negro power market. If, in the summer of 1964, they had had something a little more solid and negotiable, James Farmer of CORE and John Lewis of Snick perhaps could have strung along with Roy Wilkins of NAACP and the others in proclaiming a preelection moratorium on demonstrations. It seems that Farmer, in the spring of 1964, following a policy of sweet reason, had put himself on the defensive in repudiating the World's Fair stall-ins; so, at the time of the summer riots and after, he had to insist on a stance of militancy or feel the jerk as the wild boys snatched the rug out from under his feet. If Farmer found himself forced to adopt the new stance, the white people helped force him. They had given little reason for the Negro to believe that they would surrender anything except under pressure. As Galamison put it, there was the fear that LBJ would go Right if he thought he had "the Negro people in his vest pocket."

Negro leaders have, we can be quite certain, a sense of power, and they are willing to apply it when and where it pinches. For power is the key. What the Negro hasn't the power to get, he won't get. But power—as both Negroes and whites need to remember—may operate in more than one dimension. A number of Negroes, feeling the new headiness of power and not bothering to reflect deeply on the dimensions in which it may operate, think of a physical showdown in the streets as their big threat. According to the survey in *The Negro Revolution in America*, by William Brink and Louis Harris, some 52 percent of all Negroes think that if things came to gut-fighting, the Negro would win, and in the Northern slums, the percentage is higher. But among the leaders, the survey can discover only 29 percent who feel that, in a showdown, the Negroes would win; and I am certain that almost all of that 29 percent would be leaders in very low echelons. The leadership, aside from any theological or moral convictions about nonviolence, is realistic. As the Rev. Ralph Abernathy of SCLC summed it up, "The white folks have more guns." And he might have added that they have more votes, more money and more education.

Power in the absolute sense—even in the showdown short of gunpoint—is out for the Negro. Negro leadership, including even Malcolm X, is concerned with *relative* power, and the art of picking the spot where a little pinch will hurt a lot. For instance, in 1948, the Negro vote was significant, but in 1960, it actually elected a President. A Negro boycott might not do decisive damage to a Cadillac agency in Atlanta (and then, again, it might), but would certainly bring howling to his knees a distributor of malt beverages in that city. The art is the art of locating the vulnerable point, and there are many kinds of vulnerability.

There is another aspect to the art of applying relative power. A man may say that he is a hard-core segregationist. But how hard is that core? Is it as hard as his love for, or need of, money? As his desire to have his children educated? As his preference for social order? As his wish to be considered respectable? As his simple inclination to stay out of jail? The only real hard-core segregationist is one whose feeling about Negroes takes precedence over all other feelings mobilized in a given situation. For instance, the feeling for segregation among the parents of Prince Edward County, Va., took precedence over their desire for education for their children. But when parents in some other Southern communities—such as Jackson, Miss.—band together to keep the schools open despite integration, though it is probable that those same parents would prefer to have the schools segregated, their desire to have a school takes precedence over the desire for segregation. In other words, in all sorts of subtle and shifting combinations, the Negro leadership is committed to playing a most complicated tune on the strings of white desires and convictions.

And the string the harpist touches most often, sometimes lightly, sometimes with an authoritative *whang*, is the white man's desire to be a just man. For few men are willing to say: "I am unjust."

To state it differently: By and large, the Negro leadership is concerned with relative power. There is one kind of power Negro leaders feel they have that is not relative. It is moral power. For by the white man's own professed standards, the Negro is in the right.

It is clear to the Negro leaders that drift would doom the Revolution to a dwindling failure or a bloodbath. The floundering consequent upon such a lack of philosophy would deflate one of the proudest boasts of the New Negro—that he, for once, can set the terms on which the question of his fate will be treated. Furthermore, the floundering of the Negro leadership would invite, in the white reaction, similar floundering, similarly disastrous. And, perhaps worst of all, the lack of a philosophy would invite the adventurer to try his hand. But what is to prevent drift or confusion?

We must recognize that the option does not lie between drift and confusion on one hand and an ironbound, brass-studded orthodoxy on the other. Fortunately, a number of Negroes in key, or influential, positions are men of intellectual power and depth of purpose, and these men have put their minds on these problems. This is not to say that one man puts his mind on all the problems, but the thinking of one man supplements that of another. What is important in this *communal* effort is not the quick whipping up of an orthodoxy, but the envisagement of a number of possibilities, options, relations and consequences to be intellectually analyzed and imaginatively explored.

There may be, and sometimes obviously are, violent disagreements on general policy or on particular programs of action. In fact, there is always the possibility of a fundamental split in leadership, with the resultant danger of violence as some fragment of the movement spins out of control. But as long as even the characteristically uneasy cooperation prevails, centripetal force will probably continue to balance the centrifugal, and the communal effort will continue to mean that choices of action

Text continued on page 29

WHO SPEAKS FOR THE NEGRO?

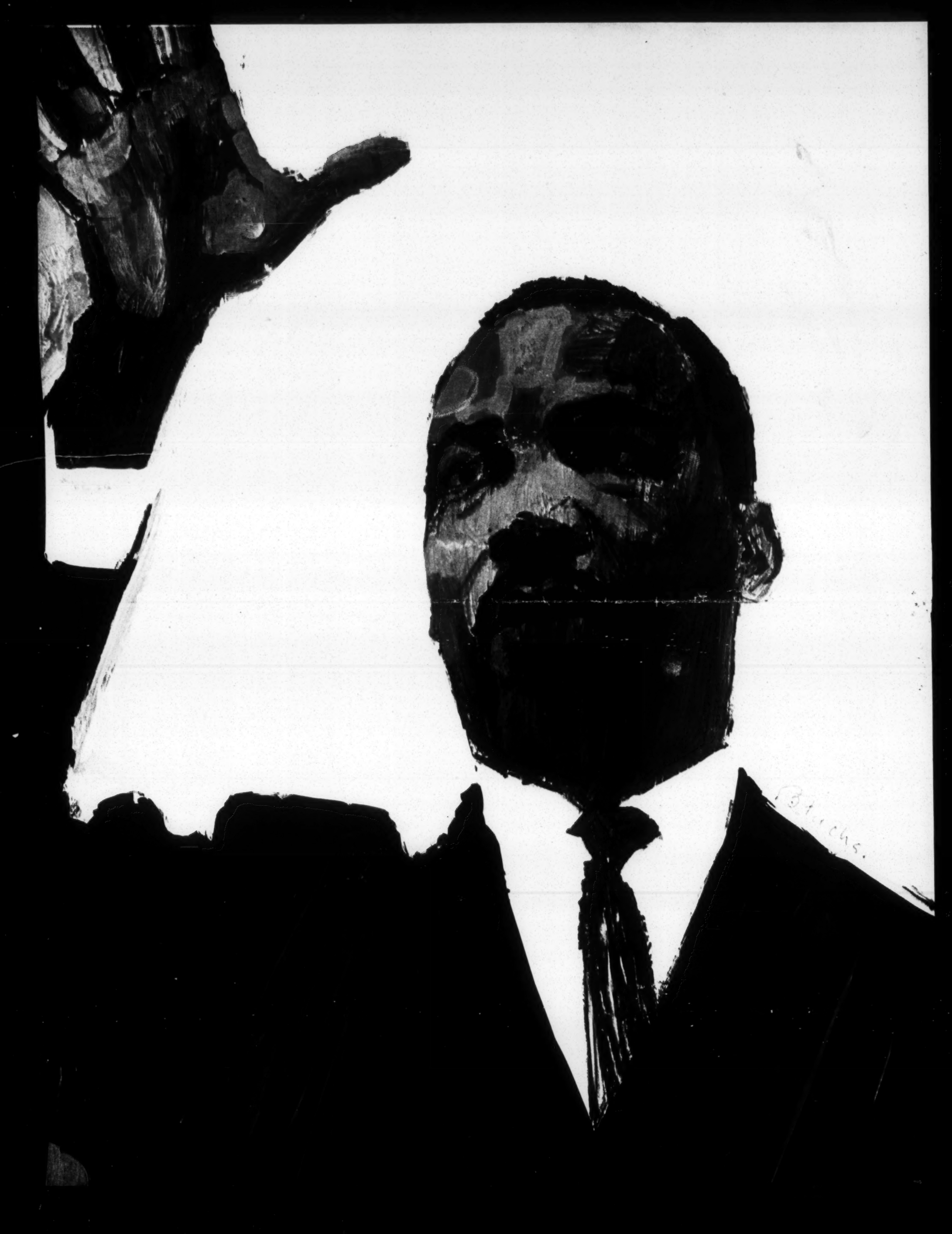
"There is no Negro leader," Robert Penn Warren says. "There are, merely, a number of Negroes who happen to occupy positions of leadership." On this and the following pages, four of the most prominent occupants of those positions candidly discuss their fellow leaders and the problems of leadership.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

"There's always the danger that an oppressed group will seek to rise from a position of disadvantage to one of advantage—thereby subverting justice. It can lead to the kind of philosophy you get in the Black Nationalist movements—black supremacy. Many revolutions have been centered on destroying something. In this revolution, the quest is for the Negro to get into the stream of American life. It's a revolution calling on the nation to live up to what is already there in an idealistic sense. Part of the job of leadership is to keep the hope alive and yet keep righteous indignation alive, the healthy discontent that will keep a revolution moving."

PAINTINGS FOR LOOK BY BERNARD FUCHS



Whitney Young, Jr.

URBAN LEAGUE

"One of the tragedies of the whole civil-rights movement is the inability of the white person to distinguish significant Negro leadership. For example, any Negro who achieves a certain amount of prominence—a Cassius Clay or a Willie Mays—when he utters something about race relations is treated as an expert. There are many people who now are able to write about it, make a wonderful living on it, but let's not confuse this with leadership. A great preoccupation of the white press, whether with Malcolm X or Baldwin or Adam Powell, is a kind of guilt feeling, saying, 'Beat me, daddy, I feel guilty.'. . . There aren't 10 Negroes who'd follow Malcolm X to a separate state. The only appeal he has is to give a Negro who's been beaten down all day a chance to get a vicarious pleasure out of hearing somebody cuss out the white people."

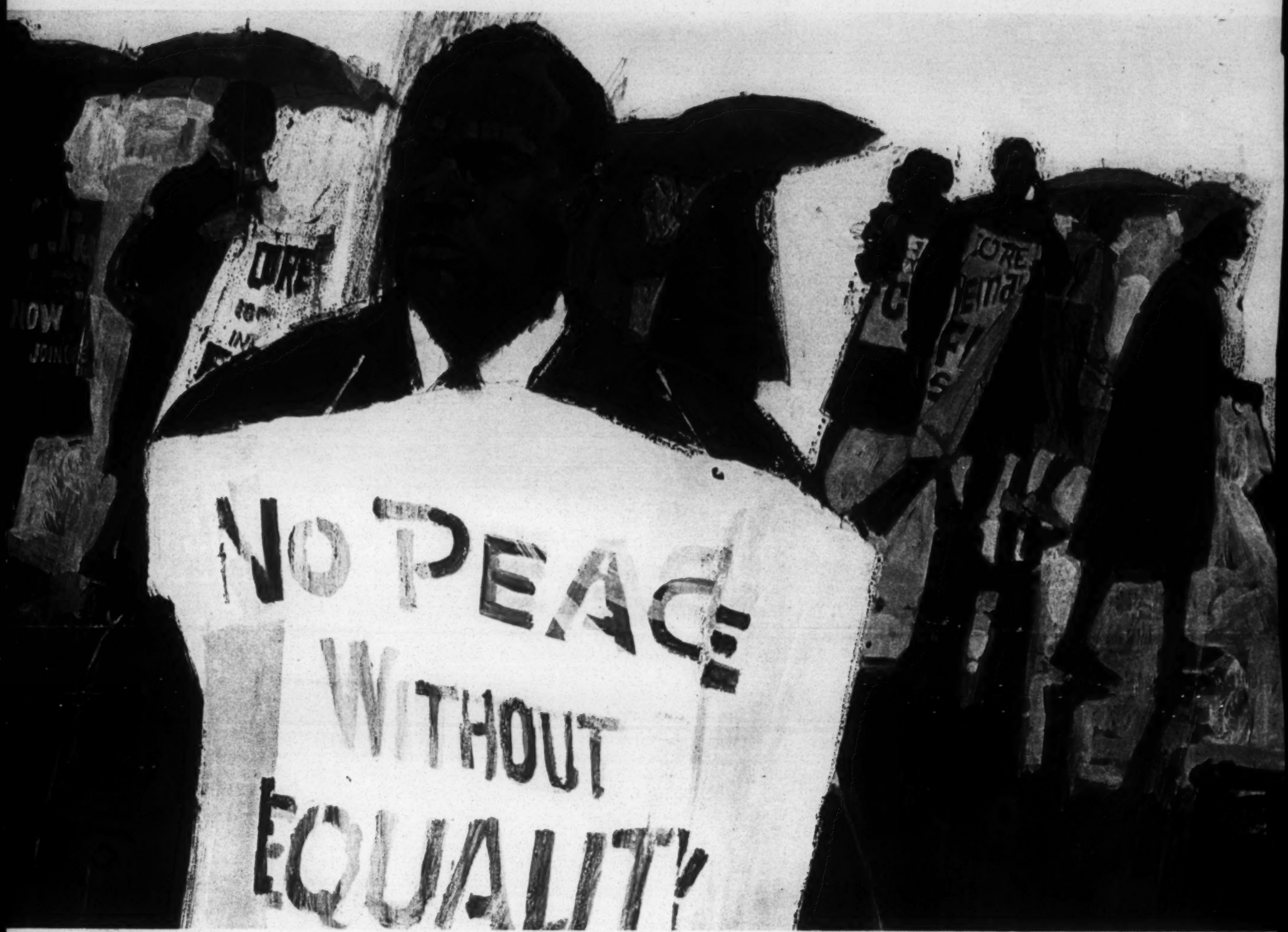
Roy Wilkins

NAACP

"In the present state of Negro-white relations, and the scramble that's going on to get on record and to be uncompromising and to be militant and demanding, people say a lot of things in public about white people having to conform to this—white people must *give up that—white people* must *recognize—white people* must, must, must. *This is a sure way to get on television and to get quoted and to cause tremors in some quarters—or, at least, if not tremors, head-scratching and soul-searching. They don't know us, we say. We know about them, we're so sure, but they don't know about us. Now, when they come over and try to find out about us, why don't we teach them, instead of saying to them, 'We look on you with suspicion. You're just trying to ingratiate yourselves. You don't know how to get on in the Negro world.'"*

continued

Protect
Her
Future
REGISTER
AND
VOT
THE IDEA OF FRE
ALIVE



James Farmer

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

"What is apt to happen now is a competition among Negro leadership, based on the fastest footwork. One man who has fast footwork is Adam Clayton Powell. He has no real relation to the masses—two homes and four cars. He keeps officially a little apartment someplace in Harlem—but [has] this mansion in Puerto Rico and everything else. Yet Powell knows the masses, and he can speak to them, and he becomes a lower-class leader. Malcolm is another one. Malcolm is not lower-class, but he has the footwork to keep pace. He doesn't lead the masses, but he reflects them and verbalizes what they are thinking."

do not have to be made blind. Whatever choices may be made, the purpose is presumably to bring the Negro into full and responsible participation in American society—that is, to achieve integration. But what is integration? For some, integration is rhetoric; for some, it is lines on a school map; for some, it is a quota in a Federally subsidized housing project; for some, it is FEPC. It is, in one sense, all of these things, but at the same time, it is none. It is, ideally considered, the state of mind, the condition of the soul, in which human recognition and appreciation would be mutually possible for us all, black and white.

In speaking of a state of mind and a condition of the soul, I am not complacently repeating President Dwight D. Eisenhower's notion that "you cannot change people's hearts by law." To say that a certain condition of heart must generally and ideally prevail before a social change can occur is to say that no social change can ever come except in the sweet by-and-by. We know from history that you do not achieve an ideal spiritual condition, and then set up a society to express it. Ideals grow out of the act of living, out of the logic of life; and in a long dialectic, even as they grow, they modify living. And so, for all practical purposes, we may think of integration as that process by which we exercise our will to realize and explore, individually and institutionally, that ideal of mutual human recognition and appreciation. If we take this approach, we render irrelevant all the debate about race—whether it is "real" or merely a "superstition." And in doing so, we even undercut the argument, so dear to so many liberals, that the Negro is only, as the historian Kenneth Stampp argues, a white man with a black face. For we are assuming that *if* he is more than that, he may even be more interesting. For if there is a human community to be "recognized," there are also human differences to be "appreciated"—and sometimes, we may add, criticized.

Negro leadership is inevitably concerned with trying to define the crucial points and predict and control institutional development in that process of integration. But since the process of integration is part of the process by which a free society evolves, it is very hard to predict particular arrangements. By its very definition, a free society is one in which there is a maximum range for all people in the expression of taste and preference, and it is very hard to predetermine what, under shifting circumstances, people will want.

Let us assume a time when all desirable legal, economic and social reforms have been accomplished, and there is a reasonable sincerity in white acceptance of them. Now, in that free society of civil rights, fair employment, welcoming suburbs, general prosperity and brotherly love, who has the slightest notion how many Negroes might perversely choose to live in their own communities—James Farmer and Ruth Turner of CORE predict many would—and how many would bleed off into the prevailing white society? There may be, of course, some doctrinaire bureaucrat skulking in the bushes who thinks he can plan it all out and, at benign gunpoint, make Negroes eat cake—i.e., move to Scarsdale, N.Y. But it is doubtful that, in that happy time to come, he could swing it if the Negroes didn't really want that kind of cake.

Some Negro leaders do, no doubt, want to make Negroes eat cake, but it would seem that the great majority of them merely defend the right of a Negro to eat whatever he wants, or will, under new circumstances, want—even turnip greens and hog jowl. Ruth Turner, and others, have observed that once the barriers are down, the human need to "prove" certain things tends to disappear. With freedom, a man doesn't have to think he wants to live in a certain place merely because he is not permitted to. As the novelist Ralph Ellison says: "When the political structure changes and desegregation is achieved, it will be easily seen where Negroes were stopped by law and where they would have stopped anyway, because of income and their own preference—a matter of taste."

If Negroes can't predict as simple a thing as where they might want to live, think of the difficulty in imagining what integration in its deeper aspects might mean.

The word "integration" refers to a shifting, shadowy mass of interfusing possibilities. It refers, in short, to the future. Here, not only the unpredictability of the future is involved, but the fact that among Negroes—among Negro leaders—there is no commonly held vision of what they want the future to be.

Whatever integration may come to mean, it will mean a great change; and change, however deeply willed, is always shocking; old stances and accommodations, like the twinge of an old wound, are part of the self, and even as we desire new life and more life, we must realize that a part of us—of each individual person, black or white—has to *die* into that new life. And there is, of course, the unappeasable resentment that many Negroes must carry, and the suspicion of anything white—sometimes compounded because there is a chic of anger and an imperative of suspicion. I remember a pretty young woman who would not eat with her white guests. Her husband said to me later, "It's funny about my wife. The way she is. She just doesn't like to be around white people."

Many Negro leaders—more and more of them—are becoming aware of the fundamental need for an act of imagination to deal as systematically as possible with that fog of contingency that is the future. For many know that if you do not try to feel into, predict and examine the possibilities of the future, you will become the victim of the future.

Judge William Hastie of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals points out that the leader of any movement must play a double game: "One of the great problems of leadership is that, though ideas be oversimplified in the minds of people, the leadership with more sophisticated thinking attempts to adjust itself to the total need, viewed in a sophisticated way." In other words, the leader must be able to shout the slogan—but he must know its meaning at a level very different from that at which it starts the squirt of adrenalin in the bloodstream of the good foot soldier.

While moving through the hot dust or black mire of a backcountry road in Mississippi, Robert Moses of Snick tries "to see ahead to what the shape of this country will look like in ten years." He gets lost, he says, but he tries to see.

There is another question of means and ends that is acutely important for Negro leadership. A free society, one in which there is a range of choice for the individual, is the minimal aim of the Revolution. But it is clear that a certain amount of force is required to create the context for this freedom.

It is all too easy to call for force; it is sometimes hard to know how to pick up the pieces afterwards. Some years ago, in the course of a conversation about the 1954 Supreme Court school-desegregation decision, Carl Rowan, the journalist who became head of the United States Information Agency, said to me that "bayonets are very educational." They are. They were used with marked educational effect in Little Rock and Oxford, and I cannot see that Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy had any choice, for the duty of the Government is to govern. But I should doubt that Rowan, after his prolonged sojourn in the shifting lights and shadows of the political jungle, would now be as gaily prompted to pick up that particular hickory stick to beat out the tune for education.

In matters outside of education, it is easily understood why the Negro, suspicious or contemptuous of local and state government, turns to Washington for protection and redress. Without Federal intervention, he may not get the vote—or even live out the day; and if it had not been for the FBI, the three bodies would have lain forever under the dam near Philadelphia, Miss., and no arrests would ever have been made. I hazard, in an unlawyerly way, that the Negro Revolution will work some shift in the relation of Washington to state and local authorities, and that may be all to the good. But the appeal to Washington may raise real problems, not merely legalistic ones, about the centralization of power.

THE DOCTRINE of states' rights has frequently been used, and is being used, as an alibi and a screen for some very unworthy proceedings—often quite cynically used and only for some special ad hoc advantage, with total contempt for the principle as principle. But the doctrine of states' rights, as it now anachronistically appears, is a very different thing from responsible localism, and we must ask ourselves if we are prepared to inaugurate a system in which such localisms are encouraged to wither—or to have their roots cut. One thing is certain: In the concentration of power, there is no guarantee of the virtuous exercise thereof.

There is a need for double vision: Force of any kind used for immediate tactical purposes, however worthy, has to be regarded in relation to the freedom being striven for, and the human context in which that freedom is to be exercised. What is now sauce for the goose might someday turn out to be sauce for any number of outraged ganders.

Although on many important questions there is no consensus among Negro leaders, this lack of consensus, of an orthodoxy, should be of cold comfort to the hard-shelled segregationist, for there *are* matters on which Negro leaders *are* in agreement. And these are bedrock matters.

Negro leaders have the will and the strength to demand that they be recognized and respected. As Judge Hastie emphasizes, nothing that the white man can give the Negro is as important as the respect he withholds. And he goes on to say: "As the Negro wins the white man's respect, regardless of fondness or affection, it becomes easier for the two to deal with each other. That respect can no longer be denied."

The Negro leaders are in agreement in their will to face the white man across the table, or across the gun muzzle or hose muzzle, eyeball to eyeball. Behind him, each leader feels the weight of the mass of Negroes who may walk straighter because of what he does. As Dr. King has put it, in *Why We Can't Wait:* "The Revolution of the Negro not only attacked the external cause of his misery, but revealed him to himself. He was *somebody*. He had a sense of *somebodiness*." Dr. King has also written: "The upsurge of power in the civil-rights movement has given it greater maneuver-

continued

ability . . . to form alliances, to make commitments in exchange for pledges, and if the pledges are not redeemed, it remains powerful enough to walk out. . . ." The Negro leaders are determined that whatever change now comes in the status of the Negro will not come, as in the past, as merely a by-blow of the white man's history.

Some people say that the present success of the Negro's drive for recognition as a citizen of the United States is, again, only a by-blow of the white man's history—that as the war between the North and the South made emancipation possible, so the Cold War, in conjunction with the rise of Africa, makes success possible in the Negro's present endeavor. In one very broad sense, this is true: Nothing happens without context. But in another and more significant sense, it is false. History does provide the context in which the Negro's power—a relative power—may be used, but the will to use that power, the method of assembling it and the strategy of its deployment are the work of the Negro himself. It is clear now that the Negro intends to be a maker, not a victim, or, to use Howard Zinn's term, a mere "hitchhiker" of history.

Even those leaders who recognize that the Negro cannot go it alone are agreed on this. They even feel independent of the white money that has, in considerable part, financed the Negro Revolution. And though, as is generally agreed, it would be healthier if there were more Negro money in the pot, it still seems highly improbable that the white hand that holds the purse strings can control policy. It would require a higher-than-usual quotient of paranoia to see here a white plot to control Negro policy. For another thing, the number and variety of Negro organizations and leaders would scarcely permit white control of policy. The logic of the moment prescribes Negro leadership.

THE MOST BEDROCK of all matters on which Negro leaders agree is simple: They mean business. They have been to jail, they have been beaten, they have been shot, and they are still in business. And they are in business for the long pull. However loudly in the schizophrenia of leadership they may shout "Freedom Now!" they know that the pull will be long.

Months before the college students began to pour into Mississippi in 1964 to work in the voter-registration drive, Robert Moses told me it would be ten years before the Negroes could elect a single legislator. And Ronnie Moore, a Louisiana civil-rights worker, had counted each change of heart a victory, and such victories add up slowly.

How far has the Negro come in the past decade? The major victories can be listed in a few sentences. A record six million Negroes registered to vote in November, 1964, hundreds of thousands send their children to unsegregated schools, thousands live in unsegregated houses, thousands at least feel that it is worthwhile to apply for jobs once considered automatically closed to them.

But Whitney Young, Jr., reminded me how far the Negro, and the United States, still have to go. According to his statistics, 20 percent of all Negro workers are unemployed. Family income for Negroes is 53 percent of white income, and the gap is widening. Of 1,000,000 young people (under 21) who are out of school and out of work, 50 percent are Negroes. Negroes get three and one-half years' less school than whites. The Negro adult life span is seven years shorter than the white. Negro infant mortality is actually increasing. Unless the situation of the Negro can be relieved, unless he can be drawn productively into the economic mainstream of American life, civil rights become a travesty.

It will be a long pull, and the leaders are willing to face the hard fact. Many of them are even willing to face the harder fact that the iniquity of the white man is not the only reason it will be a long pull. But they can face the long pull because they know they will win. They are riding the tide of history, and they know it. And part of that tide is their own conviction of strength.

What reaction has the white man had to the Negro Revolution? And on what terms can mere reaction be converted into action?

We cannot discuss this question about the white man in a lump. For the white man is not a lump. To make the simplest relevant division, there is the Southern white man, and the Northern (or non-Southern) white man. They are different from one another, and the difference is a little more than what James Baldwin suggests when he says that the South and the North merely have different ways of castrating you.

As a basis for indicating this difference, we may set up a little formula:

In the South, the Negro is recognized, but his rights are not.

In the North, the rights of the Negro are recognized, but he is not.

But the formula needs a little footnote. If, in the South, as white Southerners like to claim, the Negro is recognized as human, this occurs only when the Negro is in certain roles. If, in the North, the Negro's rights are recognized, they are recognized only in the legal sense; the shadow of a "human right" rarely clouds the picture.

What is the white Southerner ready to concede? He has had a shock. All at once, with little or no preparation, he has been confronted with the fact that what his cook or yard boy or tenant farmer had told him is not true. It is not true that the colored folks invariably just love the white folks. It is not true that the colored folks invariably like it the way it is. It is not true that just a few "bad niggers" are making all the trouble. It is not true that just some "Jew Communists" are making the trouble. A lot of things are not necessarily true. And maybe, even, never were.

If the white Southerner is a book-reading man, he is in for another shock when he finds out that certain things he had been taught in school as gospel aren't true either. These things include some very important bits of anthropology, psychology and history—even Southern history, particularly of the Reconstruction. It is a shock, too, to discover that a high percentage of the faculties of Southern colleges (including, even after massive diaspora, a number at Oxford, Miss.) don't believe in segregation, that one professor of unimpeachably Southern origin, C. Vann Woodward, is the author of a book called *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, and that a professor of "Ole Miss," a past president of the Southern Historical Association and, incidentally, a friend of Dr. Aaron Henry of NAACP, wrote a book called *Mississippi: The Closed Society*. It is a shock to discover that 11 members of the faculty of the Divinity School of Vanderbilt University resigned when a Negro student organizing the Nashville sit-ins was expelled, or that Ralph (better known in the States' Rights party and Citizens Council as "Rastus") McGill of the Atlanta *Constitution* got a Medal of Freedom from the hands of Lyndon Johnson (another Southerner of dubious inclinations).

It is a shock to realize that in Marietta, Ga., the biggest single airplane factory in the world employs high-placed Negro engineers, mathematicians and technicians, and, more horrendously, Negro foremen bossing white workers; that an Arkansas bank president is willing to hire Negro tellers because, as he puts it, "It's coming." It is a shock to realize that the Memphis *Press-Scimitar* strongly supported the civil-rights bill. Or to read an editorial in the student paper of Vanderbilt University rebuking the dean of women for trying to ease out a co-ed who had allowed herself to be kissed good-night by a Negro student (not a Vandy man) at the dormitory door:

"In dating the Negro, the co-ed was violating no rule of this University. Any rule forbidding such conduct would be incompatible with the tenets of the institution, which prides itself as being a center of tolerance for diverging behavior, so long as the behavior violates no valid, legal or moral rule. That is why we see Dean —'s behind-the-scenes enforcement of a regional social norm as placing the University in a somewhat hypocritical stance. If there are any man-made institutions that still can afford to respect integrity of principle, it seems that a university should make the greatest effort."

SUCH ITEMS are even more shocking to many white Southerners than the discovery that Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman and James E. Chaney had really been butchered and buried under the dam, and had not run off and hidden just to get publicity, as Neshoba County Sheriff L. A. Rainey had chosen to believe. The discovery of the corpses under the dam is not as shocking because, deep down and unacknowledged in his guts, the Southerner knows that that event, evil as it is, is implicit in the structure of the society in which he lives.

The other discoveries are not, he had thought, implicit in his society. Therefore, he is shocked. It is not evil that shocks, it is the unexpected.

Long before these recent shocks, the white Southerner, in one dimension of his being, had harbored the scarcely specified memory of a gallantly defeated nationalism, and had felt himself part of a culture waning sadly before the dominant American ethos. Now, when the world, which even in its decay had seemed stable, begins to crack, he is shaken to the core. He is then inclined to strike back blindly.

With the white Southerner, the striking back has a special desperation, for, in a way, he strikes at the part of himself that has sold out, that is the household traitor, that lusts after the gauds and gewgaws of high-powered Yankeedom. He is killing his bad self, and suddenly stands clean in the good self, guilt washed away—by somebody else's blood. The mystical, compulsive thing comes out over and over: I have had a dozen Southerners involved in the "resistance" tell me they didn't expect to win, they "just somehow had to do it."

So, if the Negro is experiencing a "crisis of identity," the white Southerner is too. And now and then, we get hints of some sort of mutual recognition of the fact. The jailer in Jackson, Miss., comes down to tell Stokely Carmichael of Snick good-bye, and clasps the steel bar and weeps and tries to explain what is happening to him. He wants to be understood. And in some sort of recognition springing from his own plight, he knows that the

PAGE (s) MISSING

The Nation 9-7-64

"Agony of the Negro Leader," by Everett C Ladd, Jr.

"pressure to compromise — pressure to win results here + now"

Journal of Negro Education
Fall 1963

XI Civil Rights Leadership (An Opinion Study)
Daniel C Thompson, Howard

INFORMATION ON: National Council for Patriotic Citizenship

as obtained from the Better Business Bureau, Atlanta, Ga. (Mrs. Donald)

The National Council for Patriotic Citizenship was nationally incorporated in the District of Columbia on October 27, 1953. The original organization was by: Hugh Alonzo Robinson, Thomas Edward Reid, W. W. Robinson.

The stated purpose of the organization was to develop love and devotion to the United States and to encourage citizens to have respect and consideration for the Constitution....to support the United States in peace and war....to establish scholarships for achievement in education, and in business....to build an interdenominational Cathedral.

The first inquiry the Better Business Bureau had on this group was in January, 1961. At that time the address was: College Court, Fort Valley, Ga. Mr. H. A. Robinson, executive director, provided the above information and in addition stated "The National Council for Patriotic Citizenship initiated a war against sit-ins because this organization is pledged to respect all constitutional and authorities.

The Bureau has no information on the financial standing, nor any financial statement, not any report on how funds are received or disbursed.

Since beginning operations, there have been no complaints against the organization and there is on file no negative information on it.

SPEED LETTER

TO Southern Regional Council
83 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FROM Horatio C. Thompson
HORATIO'S "ESSO" SERVICE
8278 SCENIC HIGHWAY
BATON ROUGE, LA.

SUBJECT "Southern Communities Utilizing Negro Policemen"

FOLD

MESSAGE

DATE October 15, 1959

I recall several years ago reading a survey compiled by the Council on "Negro Communities Employing Negro Policemen" and the benefits derived by such action. I am in need of two copies now along with any other available literature you may have. Our Sheriff is up for reelection and we are trying to sell him on the idea of employing Negro deputies for East Baton Rouge Parish. Thanking you

SIGNED Horatio C. Thompson

FOLD

REPLY

DATE Oct. 19 1959

Dear Mr. Thompson:

Several reports are enclosed which represent the most recent data in our reference files on the employment of Negro policemen in the South. Our lists are by no means complete. The frequency with which Southern communities are now employing Negroes on police forces has made such a decision no longer "newsworthy"; therefore, our major source of information - the press - no longer gives a complete picture. We hope this limited information will be of some use to you in East Baton Rouge.

SIGNED Marge Manderson

FORM 44-912 U. S. A.

RECIPIENT: RETAIN WHITE COPY, REPLY ON PINK COPY

NEWSPAPER SOURCES INDICATE THAT THE FOLLOWING SOUTHERN CITIES HAVE EMPLOYED OR PROMOTED NEGRO POLICEMEN SINCE 1954

Alabama

Mobile: First Negro deputy sheriff appointed, June 1955.

Tuscaloosa: Several Negro policewomen employed, Spring 1955.

Florida

Miami: Four Negro patrolmen are promoted to the rank of sergeant by the police department, June 1955.

Jacksonville: The Duvall County Sheriff adds several Negro deputies on a permanent basis after May 1954.

Georgia

* Atlanta: Two Negro policemen are promoted to the rank of detective, Fall 1955. Five additional Negro patrolmen were added to the Atlanta police force in November, 1956.

Two Negro deputies are employed to assist in handling Negro prisoners in Fulton County, June 1955.

Maryland

Baltimore: Two Negro police - one a woman - are promoted to sergeant, 1956.

Lorenzo Campbell became the first Negro deputy sheriff in Baltimore's history when he was appointed to that position in February 1957.

A Negro entered the Maryland State Police Academy in July 1957, the first of his race to be enrolled in the school.

North Carolina:

Rockingham: The First Negro policeman is hired to patrol the Negro section, August 1955.

Charlotte: A Negro patrolman is promoted to sergeant, with authority to arrest anyone in his jurisdiction, regardless of race, May 1956.

* A May 1959 report from City of Atlantapolice department revealed that a total of 31 Negro policemen are presently employed. Four of this number are detectives, three are patrolmen serving as turnkeys in police station, 24 are patrolmen.

Virginia:

Vienna: The first Negro policeman in northern Virginia is hired by the Vienna Town Council, bringing the town force to three, September 1955.

Richmond: Thirty-two Negro police officers from seven cities in the state are graduated from the Central Police Training School in Richmond, the first Negroes to attend the school.

Lynchburg: Lynchburg appointed its first two Negro policemen to the city force in January 1957.

Negro Police

November 10, 1960

Mr. Glenn Webb, Manager
Laurinburg Chamber of Commerce
Laurinburg, N. C.

Dear Mr. Webb:

The enclosed material is sent to you at the request of Mr. Benjamin Muse.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure:
New South, Sept.-Oct., 1950, "Negro Police..."
Sept., 1952, "Negro Police..."
SRC tabulations, 1953 and 1959, verifax copy
Rudwick, "The Negro Policeman in the South," reprint, The Journal of Criminal Law, Vol. 51, No. 2, 1960

Mailed separately:
Changing Patterns in the New South, 1955

November 21, 1960

Miss Suzanne Rudolf
502½ Livermore Street
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Dear Miss Rudolf:

We were interested to hear of your research on Negro policemen in the South. We are sending you under separate cover a few items which we have available that are related to your subject. Elliott M. Rudwick, Department of Social Studies, Southern Illinois University, East St. Louis, Illinois, has done the most authoritative recent work on the subject of southern Negro policemen. His findings, however, are still in manuscript form; you may wish to write to him. Professor Elmer Johnson, Department of Sociology, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, N. C., has just completed for us a study of Negro crime. This will be issued as a pamphlet but probably not before February, 1961.

I do not know of any police-community relations institutes held in the South, although it has been called to my attention that the magazine, Social Order, of May, 1960 carried an article by Lewis Radelet in which he stated that such an institute was scheduled for June, 1960 at Wild Acres, N. C.; Mr. Radelet is an associate director of the National Institute on Police-Community Relations at Michigan State University and you may wish to correspond with him. I would suggest also that you write for information on this question to Mr. David A. McCandless at the Southern Police Institute, University of Louisville.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

November 28, 1960

Professor Nelle Morton
Department of Religious Education
Drew University
Madison, New Jersey

Dear Miss Morton:

Under separate cover we are mailing you several back issues of New South, in which we believe you will be especially interested, and several other of our publications. We are entering your subscription as of November, 1960, and the cost is $2.00. You will find subscription blanks inside the New South copies.

As you requested, we are enclosing a copy of a recent study of Negro policemen in the South, by Professor Rudwick. Our own studies are not as recent and you will note that Professor Rudwick has used our material as background for his own study. A longer report of his study is to be published, and we will send you a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Mailed separately:
School Desegregation: the first six years (note bibliography)
Racial Violence & Law Enforcement
New South, Oct. 1960
Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation
Th e Church in Areas of Racial Tension
A Man Had Two Sons

February 6, 1961

Professor Elliott Rudwick
Southern Illinois University
East St. Louis Residence Center
East St. Louis, Illinois

Dear Professor Rudwick:

I read your manuscript, "The Southern Negro Policeman and the White Offender," with real interest. I am hopeful that both this and the long article which you submitted to the Journal of Negro Education will soon be published so that we may order reprints.

Having some familiarity with the difficulties of locating space in the Journals, I do want to raise with you again the possibility of our bringing out something by you on your investigation. As you will imagine, we are eager to have your list of cities employing Negro policemen available, particularly in the form presented in "The Southern Negro Policeman and the White Offender." I would like, therefore, to consider three possibilities: one is that you let us print this list, preceeded by a short article which could well be a summary of the three you have written; the second possibility would be that you give "The Southern Negro Policeman and the White Offender" to us for printing. In either case, the form might be either along the lines of the enclosed Report L-16 or as a New South article. A third possibility, if you could first find a platform from which to speak it, would be like the enclosed address by Tarplee. If it were done in New South it would be a letter press job; in either of the other two cases, we would probably do it by off-set.

Let me repeat that these suggestions are made in case publication of your articles is still uncertain or likely to be long delayed. If you have expectations of early publication, the most desirable thing for us to do would be to buy reprints.

Let me know what you think.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:A
CC: Ben Muse
Enclosures: L-16, Racial Differences in Academic Achievement
Tarplee, The Church in Areas of Racial Tension

March 28, 1961

Mr. Berl Bernhard
Director
Civil Rights Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bernhard:

Mrs. O'Donnell, of your staff, telephoned yesterday seeking information regarding employment of Negro police in the South. I told her that we had such information but it was in manuscript form and we were not free to release it. Some months back we cooperated with Professor Elliott Rudwick, now in the Department of Sociology of the University of Southern Illinois, East St. Louis, Illinois, in furthering his efforts at surveying the employment and use of Negro police. From his study, which was carried out through a mailed questionnaire, Professor Rudwick has written three articles: one is titled "The Negro Policeman of the South" and has been published in the Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, July-August, 1960; this article contains no detailed statistics. A second one, titled "Negro Police Employment in the Urban South," will be published in the Spring issue of the Journal of Negro Education. I am forwarding to Mrs. O'Donnell several pages of statistics from this article. The longest table, however, which is Table I, Mr. Rudwick informs me will not be used by the Journal. A third article is titled "The Southern Negro Policeman and the White Offender." This is being considered for publication by the same journal. I am also forwarding to Mrs. O'Donnell a table headed "Arrest Power" from this article.

The purpose of this letter is to let you know that Professor Rudwick, while glad to make this information available to the Commission, desires that it not be used in any public release or made generally available until such time as it appears in print. I told Mr. Rudwick that I was

confident you would honor his wishes. I would assume that by the time your next report is to be published all of his material would be in print, and that you would be free to use any of it you might care to have.

If you or your staff have any questions regarding the statistics, I would suggest that you take them up directly with Professor Rudwick.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures to Mrs. O'Donnell:
verifax copies Rudwick Negro police tables
CC: Rudwick, Elliott
O'Donnell, Mrs. Garland W. (Librarian)

April 14, 1960

Mr. T. J. Toney
P. O. Box 1080
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

Dear Mr. Toney:

We are mailing you under separate cover some materials which we believe will be helpful to you in the paper you are preparing. We do not have a study on the Negro school teacher, but you will find some references that will give you some quotes.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

New South, November and February, 1959
February 1960
December 1959
Transcripts: Louisville
Washington
The Economic Effect of School Closing
The South and the Nation

NEGRO TEACHERS

The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. XXIX, Winter, 1960, No.1
Daniel C. Thompson, Problems of Faculty Morale, p. 37

The Journal of Negro Education, same issue
Albert W. Spruill, The Negro Teacher in the Process of Desegregation of Schools, p. 80

April 18, 1960

Mr. T. J. Toney
P. O. Box 1080
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

Dear Mr. Toney:

Since writing you on April 14, I have done some additional checking on sources of information on Negro teachers. You very probably have already found these, in your university library, but I will list them for you in the event you have not:

Southern School News, Vol. III, No. 5, November 1956 - a feature titled "462 Negro Teachers Out, Many Land in New Jobs. (Many, if not most. of the 462 were placed in other teaching jobs, according to the arcitle.)

Louisville Defender series, 1958, published in pamphlet form as "A Study on Teacher Integration" and available from that newspaper at 714 W. Chestnut Street, Louisville 2, Ky.

You may wish to look up in Race Relations Law Reporter, Vol. 4, No. 3, the summary of Brooks v. School District of Moberly, Mo. On Nov. 16, 1959 the U. S. Supreme Court declined to review the lower court decision.

New South, our monthly magazine, will publish soon an article dealing with the restrictive legislation and regulations imposed on teachers who may favor desegregation. We will send you a copy when it is published.

The Civil Rights Commission's 1959 report contains, "The Minority Group Teacher" - pages 265-70.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary, Research

Negro Teachers

February 24, 1961

Mr. Howard N. Meyer
76 Tarence Street
Rockville Centre, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Meyer:

We now have offset reprints of our report, The Federal Executive and Civil Rights, and a copy is being mailed to you. The cost is .50¢.

Regarding the requested information on the effect of desegregation on the Negro teacher, we are sending you several things and listing, on an enclosed sheet, bits of information and the sources. For your information, also, we suggest the following:

Southern School News, Vol. III, No. 5, November, 1956 has a feature titled "462 Negro Teachers Out, Many Land in New Jobs."

A 1958 Louisville Defender series, "A Study on Teacher Integration," has been published in pamphletform and is available from that newspaper at 714 W. Chestnut Street, Louisville 2, Ky.

The Civil Rights Commission 1959 report, pp. 265-70, "The Minority Group Teacher," gives data on Negro teacher displacement. (The 1960 report deals with public higher education.)

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Enclosure: excerpts CCR
Mailed separately:

The Federal Executive and Civil Rights
New South, "A Solid South...Or Else" (restrictive legislation)
Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools (see pp. 14-15)
Action Patterns in School Desegregation (see pp. 236-237

P.S. See The Journal of Negro Education, Winter 1960, "The Negro Teacher in the Process of Desegregating Schools," (A. W. Spruill)

EXCERPTS FROM CONFERENCE BEFORE THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS, Second Annual Conference, March 21-22, 1960, Gatlinburg, Tenn.

P. 29 - statement by P. A. Tanksley, Supt. of Schools, Del Rio, Texas, that all four Negro teachers lost jobs when schools integrated.

P. 36 - statement of Frances Tuttle, Supt. of Schools, Holdenville, Okla., "...the two Negro teachers will be dropped from the staff" when the Negro elementary school (55 pupils) is closed and pupils i integrated into the four white elementary schools.

P. 46 - statement of J. L. Darnell, Supt. of Schools, Creek County, Okla., "...a total of 19 teachers have lost their teaching positions in the county as a direct and indirect result of integration. One Negro teacher was rehired to teach in an integrated school where the enrollment is 90% Negro. Two other Negro teachers were given positions in an integrated high school that has six other white teachers. ... There is little liklihood that many Negro teachers will be employed in the county as long as boards of education are made up primarily of white people.

P. 56 - statement of Ralph W. Osborne, Supt. of Schools, Paducah, Ky. "We have no plans for the integration of colored teachers." (Negro teachers in all-Negro schools increased from 33 to 37.)

P. 178 - statement of C. Taylor Whittier, Supt.of Schools, Montgomery County, Maryland, "We have 107 schools, and each year we have had to open new schools, which has meant we have a great need for teachers and an ample opportunity to absorb any of the Negro teachers who would be displaced because of the closing of Negro schools."
(table on p. 192 on Negro teachers)

January 19, 1960

Mr. Obadiah Williams
Robert A. Taft Senior High School
420 Lincoln Park Drive
Cincinnati 14, Ohio

Dear Mr. Williams:

Unfortunately, the only information we are able to supply in answer to your letter of January 12 is incomplete. The only total count of teachers losing their jobs which has come to our attention was made in 1956, and reported in Southern School News, Vol. III, No. 5, November, 1956 in a feature titled "462 Negro Teachers Out, Many Land in New Jobs." (Many, if not most, of the 462 were placed in other teaching jobs, however.)

A 1958 Louisville Defender series, "A Study on Teacher Integration," has been published in pamphlet form and is available from that newspaper at 714 W. Chestnut Street, Louisville 2, Ky. Although it does not contain a complete tally of displaced teachers, it may be of interest to you.

I wonder if you are familiar with Brooks v. School District of Moberly, Missouri. A summary of the case as reported by Race Relations Law Reporter, Vol. 4, No. 3, is attached; since it was published, the U. S. Supreme Court declined to review the lower court decision. (November 16, 1959)

Apart from the problem of displacement of Negro teachers when faculties are not integrated, a number of white and Negro teachers have been fired or resigned from their jobs in some Southern states because of pro-desegregation sentiments. I am unable to suggest a source which might give a complete total. An article which should be published in our monthly New South within several months surveys some of the restrictive legislation and regulation imposed on teachers who might favor desegregation. We will forward a copy of

the magazine to you when it is published, for what worth it may be to you.

Here is one quotation I ran across recently, "In...the University of Mississippi, 31 out of 136 teachers have resigned in recent years, most of them over pressure from legislators determined to weed out hidden supporters of integration." (The Past Is Prologue, American Civil Liberties Union Annual Report, 1958, p. 26) Unfortunately, such random references are probably the only source of information on this area of your subject, integration as it has affected the release of teachers.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

P.S. Since writing the above, the Civil Rights Commission 1959 report has occured to me as a source. Copies of its pages 265-70, "The Minority Group Teacher," are enclosed. They give more recent data on Negro teacher displacement.

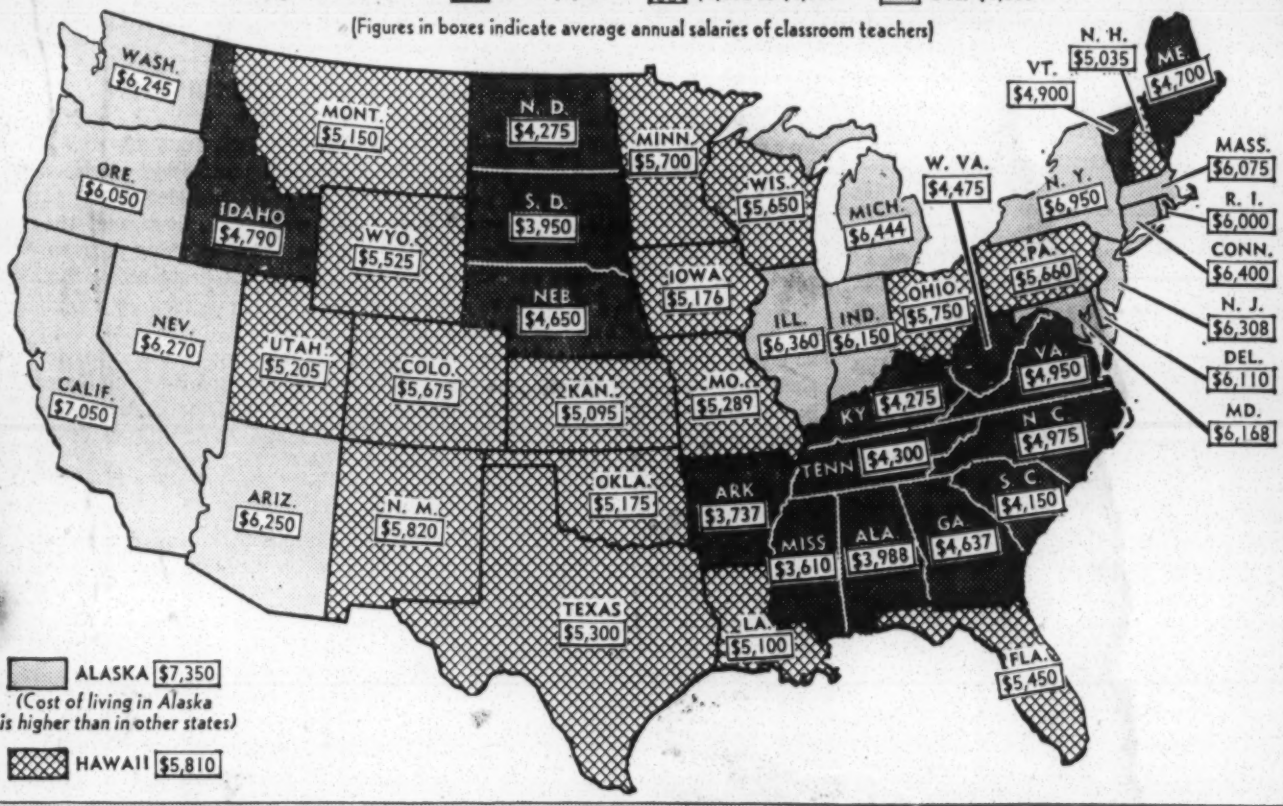
Enclosures: thermafax, Race Relations Law Reporter
Vol. 4, No. 3, Brooks v. School District of Moberly, Mo.
thermafax, Civil Rights Commission Report, pp. 265-70

TEACHERS' SALARIES—THE PATTERN AS THE SCHOOL YEAR ENDS

THE NATIONAL PICTURE

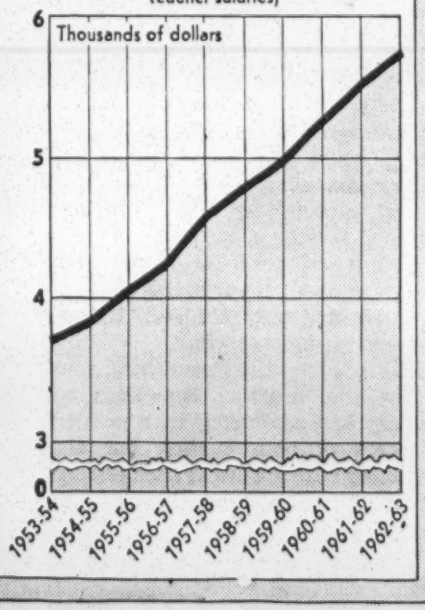
Average annual salaries: Below $5,000 | $5,000 to $6,000 | Over $6,000

(Figures in boxes indicate average annual salaries of classroom teachers)



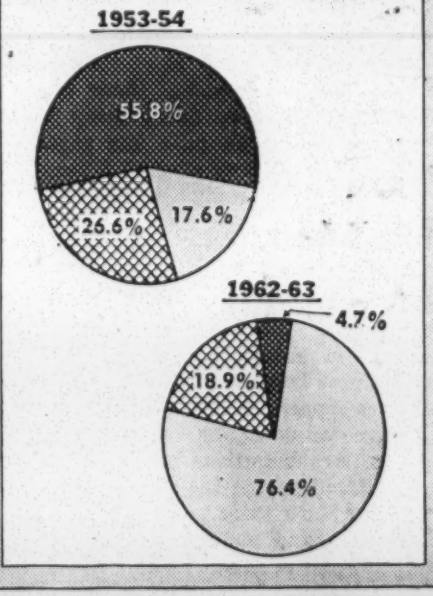
TREND

(Estimated average annual classroom teacher salaries)



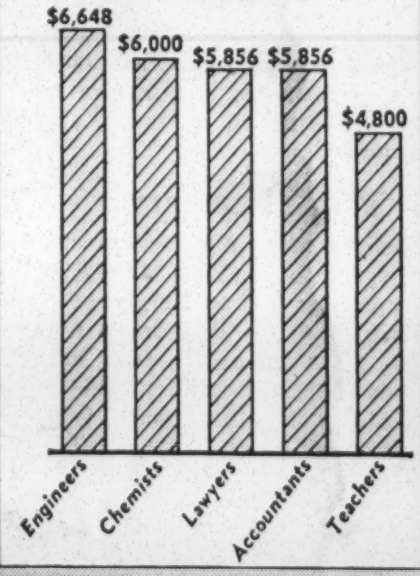
DISTRIBUTION

Below $3,500 | $3,500 to $4,499 | $4,500 and over



COMPARISONS

(Average annual starting salaries for holders of bachelor's degrees)



Strike threats in New York City and salary negotiations for new contracts in many communities across the country have put the spotlight on teachers' pay. The map highlights the regional differences which recently were used by President Kennedy as a strong argument for the need to provide equalization through Federal aid. Charts at left and center indicate progress has been made. Problem (chart at right) remains to make teaching competitive with other fields.

NY Times 7-7-63 Ed.

LOSS OF TEACHERS OVER PAY DECRIED

Salaries Found Too Low to Meet Industry Competition

Special to The New York Times

DETROIT, July 6—"How're you going to keep them in front of a class, after they've seen industry?" might be an appropriate theme for one of the major issues facing the schools today.

Teachers from all over the nation, interviewed at the 101st annual meeting of the National Education Association, were generally in agreement that salaries are inadequate to attract outstanding young people to the profession when higher paying jobs beckon. One Indiana teacher noted wryly that, after 32 years of teaching, he is making less money than his son who is just starting out as an electrontics engineer.

Many teachers found that salaries were improving but still lagging behind their needs. This is especially true for men teachers. Still others said that some of the differences were offset by the rewards of teaching that could not be measured in terms of dollars and cents.

Most of the teachers thought that merit pay was not the answer to the problem because of the difficulty of measuring or defining merit and of administering such a program fairly and impartially.

"As soon as you get a good math teacher, I. B. M. picks him off," Craig Seasholes, a high school mathematics teacher from Cleveland, Ohio, said. "They're seed wheat, and if we grind all the wheat in industry and commerce, we're going to be in trouble," he warned.

Although money is important, Mr. Seasholes said, greater appreciation of the work of the teacher is also needed. And as for merit pay, "actually you can't tell the good work of a teacher until 20 years after," he said.

John Friday, who teaches an eighth-grade class in Phoenix, Ariz., disagreed about results.

"In spite of what people may feel about waiting 20 years for results, I see them every day in the response of the youngsters," he said. He expressed concern, however, that low salaries were driving young people into other professions or pushing them out of the classrooms.

"The best teachers are forced into administration for greater income when their hearts are in the classroom," he said. "That's selling teaching short."

This problem was also noted by Emmett Burkeen, a teacher at the University of Kentucky College of Education.

"Very few men can afford to stay in the classroom," he said. "We're losing them where we really need them."

Finds Teacher Moving

Salaries in Kentucky have improved in the last year, he said, but many men are going into industry or leaving for states like Michigan, California and Florida, where salaries are higher.

Clifton Kellogg, a Bay City, Mich., teacher who will be a pirncipal in the fall, was one of the few who favored merit pay.

"At first I was opposed, but I came to the conclusion that it's the only way for the master teacher to acquire the salary he deserves," Mr. Kellogg said. "Like other professions, ours has its mediocre teachers and its good teachers. The average salary is sufficient for the mediocre teacher."

He added, however, that finding a system for determining who is a master teacher is a major obstacle to a merit-pay program.

Some consideration should be given to teachers who work in crowded classrooms in economically deprived areas, Mrs. Romeo D. Woods, of St. Louis, Mo., said. She opposed merit pay, however.

Mrs. Dorothy Hecox, who teaches first and second grades in Perrysburg, Ohio, said that it was "all up to the public to determine whether the schools are worth while."

"The public is going to get what it is willing to pay for and what it wants," she declared.

Meredith's Message

7-22-63 Raleigh Observer

What the Young Negro Must Do to Get Ahead

James H. Meredith, 29, who last fall became the first Negro to enter the University of Mississippi, drew resentful criticism from leaders of the NAACP early this month with a speech at the organization's convention in Chicago. Here are excerpts from that speech:

. . . I am most sadly struck by the low quality and ineffectiveness of our Negro youth leaders. It must be acknowledged, however, that this is due largely to the interference in and intrusion on youth activities by so-called adult youth leaders. . . .

The two great shortcomings of our youth are discipline and knowledge. There is that thing about knowledge that makes for discipline, and that thing about discipline that makes for effectiveness. I can't help but mention the Tokyo demonstrations. Three years ago the President of the United States planned a trip to Japan. The student government associations of Japan wanted to prevent the President from coming and thereby weaken the ruling Japanese government, causing it to be replaced. They called out a million student demonstrators. I was in downtown Tokyo on that day and saw with my own eyes the largest demonstration the world had ever seen. . . . As far as the eye could see, I saw complete order and discipline. Every student had a leader. Every leader know who his followers were and every follower knew who his leader was. There was something magic about this order and discipline.

Mr. Meredith

All societies grant to its student population some special privileges and immunities. Students somehow have a right to engage in unusual and experimental activities not condoned for any other segment of the population, and consequently when other non-student groups or elements join the student groups the students themselves lose their special privilege.

Now let us turn to one of the biggest fallacies hindering the progress of the Negro. That is the idea that age necessarily brings with it knowledge and wisdom. Many instances I can think of where the parents work their skin to the bone trying to send Billy and Sue through school to learn the latest methods of efficient living, and Billy and Sue finish school and let Mama and Papa continue to live the rest of their lives without the benefit of the new methods of hygiene or the techniques of economizing, simply because they are older than "we" and we can't tell them anything.

Further, there is not much to this business about maturing judgment either. We are familiar with the story of George Washington leading the colonial forces against the French and Indians during the French and Indian War at a very early age. At 25 Alexander the Great had conquered the world; at the same age Booker T. Washington had founded Tuskegee Institute. . . .

If You Only Believe

You know, the Negro youth has that "yeah maybe, but not me" attitude. . . . Any one of you burr heads out there could be the owner or manager of a large department store, president of a corporation, or even mayor of the city of Chicago. Only believe, all things are possible, if you only believe.

Let us not kid ourselves; we not only have to believe, we've got to know something too. For the first time since I've been at the University of Mississippi, I am going to voluntarily speak on the subject of money. . . .

I learned my management techniques from the best teacher of them all, my father. He was the first of my family to ever own a piece of land. He is a man who never earned enough money in a year's time to require the filing of an income tax. . . .

Back in 1958, long before many of you ever heard of the University of Mississippi, my rating officer in the United States Air Force wrote in his evaluation report on me that "Sergeant Meredith is the most financially responsible individual I have ever known." That same year, at the age of 25, I completed my seventh year of military service. My pay was then $180 per month, the highest that I had ever received, yet, up to that time I had bought and paid for two cars and one truck, two farms, and the house in which I was living. . . .

You think I am bragging. Well, I ain't. I am teaching, and in 10 years I want every Negro in America to be bragging because he has a home, clothes, a car, and money in the bank. . . .

Let us start with the little money first. Hair oil: A small bottle costs 50 cents, large bottle with 10 times the amount $2.50; savings, $2.50. Cigarets: I don't smoke so I save the whole amount, but let's get to you. One pack, 35 cents; one carton, $2.75; savings, 75 cents. Count this up for a year's time and you have a pretty good piece of money. Clothing: The last suit I bought was a nice summer suit: $23.50 from one of them cheap stores that my broke high-class Negro friends would not be caught in. Damn fools. This same suit, including the color, was purchased by one of my friends from the exclusive men's shop, with the credit charge plate, on sale for $49.95. The two suits were cut from the same cloth, sewed on the same machine, distributed by the same wholesale agency. . . .

The area in which the real big savings opportunities exist and in which the greatest inefficiency is found among the Negro is in buying automobiles and furniture. I can say without any doubts in my mind that for each $1,000 spent by the average Negro buyer, I could save a minimum of $300. How do you do it? First you have to establish a good credit rating. This is a must at least by age 21. The first time you get a job, open a bank account. If you can not save more than one dollar a week, put that dollar in every week. What you are really trying to do is impress the banker. . . .

Next, to build a good credit rating, buy something on credit, even if you have the cash to pay immediately. For example, your parents give you $50 to buy a suit. Buy the suit on a 90-day option plan. You buy on credit with an agreement that if you pay the balance in 90 days there will be no interest charge. You pay $20 down, put the remaining $30 in the bank, draw it out $10 each month and make your timely payment to your creditor. At the end of a 90-day period you will have a credit rating of "A," plus the reputation and prestige of doing business with a bank. . . .

Secondly, in buying bigtime items, bargaining and making the best deal is very important. Always make the sellers bid for your business. Example: You want to buy a new refrigerator. Go and talk to all of the dealers, let them process the papers and make checks on your credit rating. Let them know clearly that you are going to buy from the seller with the best deal. After they check your record and find it good I guarantee you that the prices will begin to fall. My ground rule is that I never buy when I'm shopping. If it costs $100 or more, I bargain for at least two weeks: if it's $500 or more, I bargain for at least four weeks; if its $1,000 or more, I stop bargaining and start negotiating, which must last for at least six weeks or longer.

Now we move to the big question of the day. How to best accomplish our objective—full citizenship. . . . What about the great controversial issue of a march on Washington, D.C.? My basic position on this question is the same as it has always been. . . . My position is that I support any action on the part of an oppressed group to indicate its dissatisfaction or to secure redress of its grievances.

Concerning the proposed march on Washington, I will say that it is my conclusion, based on long years of study of the legislative process, that . . . the march would not be in the best interest of our cause. . . .

Above all things, I do believe that this world can be made into a better place in which to live. I do believe that the Negro has a destiny to be the leading spark in saving this world and advancing the cause of human civilization. Further, I am confident that we will develop the racial pride, community pride, and family pride necessary to accomplish our mission. . . .

. . . . Recently I attended an affair in New York City at which one of the speakers was Mayor Wagner. He said in his speech that the only person that he could compare me with was the latest American astronaut, and that his card showed a mark for me that was surpassed by none. After my graduation on Aug. 18, 1963, I will anxiously await my invitation from the mayor of New York City announcing my ticker tape parade date. Or will it be the same old story? "But you are a Negro."

NY Times 8-27-61

Negroes to Teach Whites

COOKEVILLE, Tenn., Aug. 26 (UPI) — Putnam County this week will apparently become the first county school system in the South to voluntarily place Negro teachers in desegregated classrooms.

Five Negroes who taught at the county's Negro Darwin School, which burned last January, have been assigned to desegregated schools in the county system. Classes start Wednesday.

County School Superintendent Eddie H. Watson said the teachers would be assigned to different schools here.

sent additional information

Negro Teachers

October 1, 1963

Mr. John W. Davis
Teacher Information and Secubity
N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund
10 Columbus Circle
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Davis:

My apologies for being so tardy in replying to your information request of September 6. We were simply bogged down with projects that had to be finished on a deadline, new publications coming out, a frantic effort to keep up with current events, and the seasonal vacations and staff illnesses slowed us down too. Consequently, the research department is behind in everything, including clipping and filing.

The information I am sending (attached) is as complete as we can come up with at this time. If you will still be interested in a week or two, I will do my best to send any supplementary information I can get together at that time.

Again, I am sorry it has taken so long to reply. The information on parochial schools and private schools is especially difficult to get and would require a survey to even get a good estimate.

Sincerely yours,

Montes G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosure

NEGRO TEACHERS ASSIGNED TO DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES
September, 1963

(THERE IS NO KNOWN INTEGRATION OF FACULTIES IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE SCHOOLS IN ARKANSAS, GEORGIA, LOUISIANA, MISSISSIPPI, AND SOUTH CAROLINA.)

ALABAMA: The Maxwell Air Force Base elementary school has one Negro on its 21-member teaching staff--a librarian from Tuskegee.

FLORIDA:

Dade County--At least four desegregated schools have some faculty desegregation; school board announced teacher assignments are being made without regard to race.

Sarasota--Five white teachers assigned to Negro schools (Amarylis Park Primary and Booker Elementary) as beginning of biracial staffs. Some teachers volunteered; others agreed to assignment.

Colleges--Miami-Dade Junior College has six Negro teachers
University of Miami has one Negro teacher

KENTUCKY: An estimated 20 districts of 206 in state employed some 137 Negro teachers on biracial faculties at 50 schools in 1962. (Some of these schools may be predominantly Negro.)

Bowling Green--U.S. district court ordered district to desegregate all grades as well as teachers and other personnel. Number of Negro teachers assigned to integrated schools unknown.

Jassamine--U. S. district court ordered assignment and employment of teachers and personnel without regard to race. Number unknown.

Warren County--Seven Negro teachers assigned to integrated schools.

Colleges--University of Louisville has one Negro (head of department).
Bellarmine has one Negro teacher.

NORTH CAROLINA:

Both Greensboro and High Point have suits asking integration of faculty.* Were to have been heard on Sept. 16.

Salem College, the Governor's summer school for gifted children, had 400 students, including 30 Negroes. One faculty member was Negro.

North Carolina State College at Raleigh has one Negro faculty member.

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* You are probably more familiar with these court cases than we are!

Md. - 65 Negro teachers & administrators assigned to desegr. schools as of Sept. 1963
Mo. - Harris Teachers' College has faculty 1/3 Negro; student body 4%
Kansas City - 2nd 1963 desegr. teaching staff increased from 12 to 31 Negro.

OKLAHOMA: About 28 Negro teachers on desegregated faculties in four districts: Foy, Ponce City, Arcadia, and Tulsa.

Oklahoma City--Ordered by federal district court in July to begin biracial faculty assignments, schools now have five Negro teachers in desegrated schools as follows: one Negro teacher assigned to Central High School; two Negro teachers at Lincoln Elementary School; One Negro teacher at Edison Elementary School; one Negro teacher serving half-time at Lincoln and half-time at Edison.

El Reno--Three of five Negro teachers assigned to integrated school when Negro high school closed.

Colleges--University of Oklahoma has one Negro faculty member.

TENNESSEE:

Oak Ridge--First in state to assign Negro teachers to predominantly white schools. One Negro teacher in 1962; 1963 number not known. 4 white teachers in Negro school

Putnam County--Second in state to assign Negro teachers to biracial schools: one each assigned at five different schools, two of which have no Negro students.

TEXAS:

Houston--Ollie B. Harris appointed administrative assistant for curriculum to Supt. John W. McFarland. (Negro group complained position created especially for a Negro.) Mr. Harris' duties include helping to 1) form district curriculum for all grades; 2) edit instructional material; 3) organize in-service training for teachers; and 4) assist superintendent in textbook selection.

(enrollment 55% Latin Am. - less than 5% Negro)

El Paso and Odessa (West Texas)--Using Negro teachers to teach non-Negro students. (Note: working may mean in Mexican schools.)

VIRGINIA:

Faculty (about 85) of new school system in Prince Edward County is biracial, including "a number" of Negro teachers. Some white children have attended, and more are expected to enroll.

Arlington-- School board announced summer teaching positions will be open to Negro teachers, "opening way for first Negro to teach a white or mixed class." Negro teachers accepted as members of Teachers' Ass'n in 1961.

Fairfax County - Edu. Ass'n began accepting Negro teachers as members Sept 1963; Negro teachers' ass'n dissolved.

Delaware: In July 1963 - Dover became 4th school district to desegr. faculty in desegr. schools (others: Wilmington, Newark, New Castle

West Va., - Charleston: Fed. Judge John A. Digiield ruled 9/3 that Summers Co Bd. of Edu. did not disc. in failing to hire negro teacher for 1957-58 yr. A Complaint filed with State Human Rights Commission charging Summers Co. Bd. of Edu. with racial disc in failing to hire C. G. Crawford (Negro).

W. Va. NAACP adopted resolution 9/21 at annual convention calling for full desegregation in schools, colleges, & no discrimination in hiring teachers.

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York 19, N. Y.

JUdson 6-8397

September 6, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please assist me in securing at once the number of teachers of the Negro race who are currently teaching in the desegregated public schools of the eleven southern states of the Confederacy. Very particularly, I want information on the number of Negro teachers who are teaching in integrated public schools of the southern states mentioned. If possible, kindly tabulate this information by states.

I am also respectfully asking your assistance in getting a rather reliable estimate on the number of Negro teachers who are teaching in desegregated private and/or parochial schools in the south. This information is most important for a total picture of the present educational scene in the south.

I will appreciate your early attention and response to this request. Let me hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Davis
Special Director
Teacher Information and Security

JWD/mgf

Contributions are deductible for U. S. income tax purposes

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The "Committee of 100," a voluntary cooperative group of individuals headed by Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers has sponsored the appeal of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. since 1943 to enable the Fund to put into operation a program designed to make desegregation a reality throughout the United States.

Letters to The Times

Fighters for Civil Rights

N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund's Court Record Praised

The writers of the following letter are three distinguished members of the bar.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Every morning's newspaper proclaims the increased tempo of the struggle to obtain some semblance of equality for the citizens of the United States who are Negroes. In recent months, direct nonviolent action has emerged as a significant tactic in this struggle.

We recognize the important effect which this kind of action has had on the consciousness and conscience of all Americans of good-will. It captures headlines, and serves to awaken public recognition of the problem. But in order to obtain any lasting benefits from the courageous acts of those men and women—white and black—on the streets of Jackson or in the lunchrooms of Birmingham, it will always be necessary ultimately to resort to the courts of law.

We feel that the public should more clearly recognize that permanent progress in civil rights has been the realization of justice under law and by the processes of the law. Too little known is the fact that this recent progress under law has been very largely the work of a private, voluntary organization—the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

Involvement in Cases

The fund has been involved in virtually every major civil rights case of the past generation. In the past 100 days alone its record in the courts has been nothing short of fantastic. This legal aid organization, formerly directed by Judge Thurgood Marshall and now under the direction of Jack Greenberg, its chief counsel, and Mrs. Constance Motley, its associate counsel, has during this brief period of a little over three months achieved the following:

A decision in the United States Supreme Court invalidating the arrest of "sit-ins" for trespass in stores which are required to segregate by city ordinance or public pronouncement of high municipal officials.

A decision in the United States Supreme Court declaring that the right of equal access to public recreational facilities is an immediate one; and that the "deliberate speed" doctrine applicable to schools does not apply to public parks.

A decision in the Circuit Court of Appeals securing reinstatement of 1,100 students expelled from Birmingham elementary and high schools during the recent demonstrations there.

A decision in the United States District Court for the Northern District of Alabama requiring admission of Negroes to the University of Alabama.

A decision in the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit requiring the admission of Negroes to the public schools of Savannah, Ga.

A decision in the United States District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi directing the admission of Cleve McDowell, a second Negro student, to the University of Mississippi Law School.

Two decisions in the United States Supreme Court, June 3, 1963, further tightening the standards of Brown v. Board of Education.

The filing of a suit to reduce the number of Congressmen from states which discriminate against Negroes at the polls.

Birmingham Arrests

In addition, the fund has pending more than 120 cases, including protest demonstration cases involving well over 6,000 defendants, among them every one of 2,500 Negro citizens arrested in Birmingham.

This unprecedented recent record calls to mind the major milestones of successes in court which it has obtained in the last 20 years:

1944—Supreme Court decision holding that Negroes cannot be excluded from voting in primaries;

1948—Supreme Court decision outlawing racial restrictive covenants in deeds of real estate;

1954—Supreme Court decision directing desegregation of public schools in the United States;

1962—Decision of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit directing the University of Mississippi to admit James Meredith, a Negro;

1946, 1956—Supreme Court decisions securing the right to travel without discrimination in interstate and intrastate travel respectively.

It is difficult to picture what race relations in the United States would be today if this modest organization of nine lawyers working with eighty cooperating attorneys in the South had not been so successfully using the processes of the courts, relying on the Constitution of the United States to bring about equality for all Americans.

BRUCE BROMLEY,
BETHUEL M. WEBSTER,
SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN.

New York, June 14, 1963.

THE NEGRO BABY

(From President Kennedy's Message to the United States Congress on February 28, 1963)

OPPORTUNITY

"The Negro baby born in America today -- regardless of the section or State in which he is born -- has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day -- one-third as much chance of completing college -- one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man -- twice as much chance of becoming unemployed -- about one-seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 per year -- a life expectancy which is seven years less -- and the prospects of earning only half as much."

From
John W. Davis
Suite 1790
10 Columbus Circle
New York 19, N. Y.

July 15, 1963.

11-17-63

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SU

A NEGRO COLLEGE IS MAKING GAINS

Miles in Alabama Strives for First-Class Status

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Nov. 14 —For 56 years Miles College struggled like many other private schools for Negroes, turning out school teachers and staying out of controversy. Many Birmingham residents never heard of the little college tucked away in Jones Valley on the edge of the city.

Today, Miles is so well known that it has to pay the equivalent of a professor's salary to keep full-time guards on campus. Segregationists blame Miles for Negro civil rights riots here and, as a result, the school has received bomb threats.

The white community may have ascribed to Miles more responsibility than is due in the racial controversy, but there is no doubt that the school has changed and more changes are in the making.

The faculty now includes four Cuban refugees, a psychology professor who formerly taught in China and Pakistan, a white Mississippian who previously headed an exclusive boys school here, a 25-year-old Birmingham Negro who holds a doctor of philosophy degree in biology from the University of Wisconsin and a Woodrow Wilson scholar from Washington.

Dr. Lucious H. Pitts, the president and the man most responsible for the transition, assembled these teachers in an effort to gain accreditation for the school.

One of the ironies of the situation is that Miles, which cannot even compete with the Birmingham public schools in teachers' salaries, has made academic ties with the University of Alabama in Auburn. And next summer, Harvard Dean John U. Monro is scheduled to bring a professor and six students here to teach without pay.

The sponsoring institution, the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, a small Negro denomination, supplies only a small fraction of the $585,000 annual budget. Support from the Birmingham white community has fallen off because of student activity in the civil rights drive. The $400,000 endowment brings in only about $18,000 a year.

"I keep my tambourine out for the rest," Dr. Pitts says.

The school, the only four-year college for Negroes in the Birmingham area, was about to close its doors two and a half years ago when Dr. Pitts came here from Atlanta, where he was executive secretary of the Georgia Negro teachers association. Miles lost its accreditation in 1958 because it was short on Ph.D's and in library and science facilities.

Dr. Pitts's first priority has been to upgrade instruction.

In this, he received some unexpected help from Eugene (Bull) Connor, the former Birmingham Police Commissioner.

Dr. Pitts planned to send students into the city with tin cans soliciting dimes for new books. Mr. Connor refused to let them solicit.

Dr. Pitts went to the newspapers with his story and book donations began to roll in from all over the country. The library now has 18,000 volumes and is still growing.

Faculty members say lack of facilities is not the only problem. The Birmingham public schools are said to be far from adequate in preparing students for college work. And many of the 800 students have to hold outside jobs to pay the $630 tuition. This detracts from their studies.

Negro teachers

2-28-64 Journal

Negroes Hired First In Pittsburgh Schools

PITTSBURGH, Feb. 27 (AP)—If a Negro and a white of equal ability apply for any job in the Pittsburgh public schools, the Negro will be hired.

This policy, called "conscious preferment," was disclosed Friday at a news conference by the Pittsburgh Board of Education. In addition the school system has started to transfer Negro teachers from predominantly Negro schools to predominantly white schools.

The purpose of the program is to "redress imbalances" in the racial mixture of school employes, all the way from janitors to teachers and high-level administrators, said Dr. Robert I. Sperber, assistant superintendent for personnel.

In one case, Sperber said, a Negro teacher was transerred into a school that had only one Negro pupil in a student body of 900.

Pittsburgh's public schools, said Sperber, are deliberately placing Negro teachers in mostly all-white schools so white children can get a firsthand look at professional Negroes.

He said the Board of Education feels there is a distinct educational value in giving pupils an opportunity to assess people according to their abilities rather than their race.

"We felt that any teacher hired by us is good enough to teach in any of our schools," Sperber said. "We think it's important for white students to have some contact with Negro professionals—to see that Negroes are qualified to hold any job in our society."

The program started taking form in 1961, Sperber said, and Negro teachers were interviewed in 1962. In the fall of 1963, 15 Negro teachers were transferred to nine predominantly white schools.

Brief News Items of Inter

Negro Teachers 1964

Alabama

Secretary of the Air Force Eugene M. Zuckert spoke to Air Force ROTC officers at a formal dining-in at Maxwell Air Force Base in Montgomery . . . Agriculture Commissioner A. W. Todd suspended from commerce another 60,000 tons of beef in Birmingham for bacterial examination. The beef was shipped from Australia, Honduras, Nicaragua and Guatemala . . . A panel of three federal judges ordered six Negro students returned to classes at partially burned-down Macon County High School at Notasulga. The fire was presumed to be arson . . . The Alabama League of Municipalities, meeting in Montgomery, elected Mayor J. F. Crawford of Abbeville, president; J. L. Hardwick, mayor of Talladega, vice president. Crawford succeeded Mayor George Van Tassel of Tuscaloosa . . . Noel R. Beddow, 76, former labor compliance director under the old Civil Works Administration, lawyer and blast furnace engineer, died in Montgomery . . . Archbishop Thomas J. Toolen, of Mobile, ordered Catholic schools in the state desegregated in September.

Florida

Wendell Jarrard has resigned as chairman-director of the state's top promotion agency, the Florida Development Commission, effective June 1. . . . GOP Florida Congressman William C. Cramer says complaints by integration groups are making it more difficult to get national interest in St. Augustine's Quadricentennial Celebration in 1965, marking the 400th anniversary of the founding of the city. . . . The Florida Educational Association, the teachers' professional organization, has opened its membership to Negroes. It is believed to be the first such move by a white teachers' group in the South. . . . Racial unrest and vandalism have resumed at Jacksonville, following a three-week truce. . . . The federal government has spent $19.2 million dollars in Florida in the last three years in a drive to create more jobs in the state. Local governments and development groups have invested another $18.2 million in matching funds as a result of the federal programs.

Mississippi

William E. Reid, president of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute, will keynote the May 7 annual meeting of the Delta Council at Cleveland. . . . Guy B. Braden, historian at Colonial National Historical Park in Virginia for the past five years, has been appointed park historian for the Natchez Trace Parkway with headquarters in Tupelo, Miss. . . Mr. Braden succeeds Herbert Olsen who transferred to Alabama as superintendent of Russell Cave National Monument. . . . Bruce B. Myers of the Harper's Ferry, W. Va., national park service design office and a graduate of the University of Georgia, was named park landscape architect on the Tupelo staff. . . . Dr. A. D. Beittel, president of integrated private Tougaloo Southern Christian College near Jackson, announced he will retire Sept. 1. . . . He has headed the college, which formerly was an all-Negro institution, since 1960. . . . Participation of Tougaloo faculty members and students in anti-segregation demonstrations in Jackson has caused state officials, headed by Lt. Gov. Carroll

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Gov. Carroll

Cartin, to demand state cancellation of a charter granted it before the Civil War. . . . A bill for that purpose is pending in the current biennial session of the legislature.

North Carolina

Mrs. Helen Ross, 45, well-known newspaperwoman, died when a fire destroyed her home near Newton. . . . Meeting in Montreat, the Southern Presbyterian Church's General Assembly took a major step in race relations by voting to help its church units eliminate segregation. . . . Gov. Terry Sanford appointed State Revenue Commissioner William A. Johnson as a Superior Court judge to succeed the late Clawson L. Williams, and tapped State Rep. Sneed High of Fayetteville to succeed Johnson in the revenue post. . . . Dr. Samuel P. Massie was inaugurated as president of North Carolina College in Durham. . . . Victor Aldridge, former State Highway Patrol lieutenant, was reappointed to a new six-year term as chairman of the state Alcoholic Beverage Control board by Gov. Sanford. . . . Dr. Gerald B. James, state director of vocational education, was elected president of the Rockingham County Community College.

South Carolina

Most vegetable crops on the South Carolina coast killed during the recent freeze were quickly replanted and Clemson officials feel "the usual marketing period will be hit despite the necessity to plant over." . . . Supporting the proposal that driver license fees be increased, the State Highway Department released figures showing that during the four-year period ending 1963 (licenses are good for four years) the cost totaled $2,201,220 but the revenue was only $762,287. The present fee is 50 cents. There are 1,127,850 licensed drivers . . . Miss Belle Baruch, daughter of Bernard Baruch, who spent most of her time at Hobcaw, one of the Baruch homes near Georgetown, S.C., is dead at 65. . . . The newly appointed commander in Viet Nam, Lt. Gen. W. C. Westmoreland, is a South Carolinian . . . Former Gov. Richard M. Jefferies of Walterboro, for years manager of the Santee-Cooper power project, is dead at 75.

Tennessee

The U.S. Public Health service has uncovered the source of the poison supposedly responsible for killing millions of fish in the lower Mississippi river. The Velsicol Chemical Corp. plant at Memphis has disposed of waste from its endrin plant in a stream emptying into the Mississippi, the U.S. department charges.

Henry F. Bell of New York, vice-president of the International Longshoremen, had the "book thrown at him" on his conviction for attempted jury tampering on behalf of Teamsters' James Hoffa during his trial in Nashville. Bell was sentenced to 5 years in prison and a $5,000 fine. Four others are still due for trial on various jury tampering charges in Nashville.

Edgar W. Ray, 52, former executive of the Houston Press, has been named managing editor of the Memphis Press-Scimitar. J. Z. Howard, managing editor, was promoted to associate editor.

Memo from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

The Nation, 2-1-65 "Klansmen, U.S.A." by Paul Good

Sat. Even Post, 1-30-65
"We Got Nothing to Hide" by Harold H. Martin and Kenneth Zirkel

Newsweek, 12-21-64
"Ku Klux Klan's White Knight" (the bomber squad)

My Domain Mag, 7-5-64
"The Imperial Wizard Explains the Klan" by M. Lang

Life, 6-24-64
"The Klan Scourge Old St. Augustine" by George McMillan

March 4, 1965

The Rev. Merrill Emery
Congregational Christian Church
1411 County Street
Somerset, Mass.

Dear Mr. Emery:

We have not published anything on the Klan in some years. However, several of our fairly recent publications do touch on klan activities, and I am sending them to you under separate cover.

There have been a number of rather good and fairly comprehensive magazine articles on the klan recently. I am listing them below in case you may wish to look them up in your library. If you cannot find any of them, let us know and we can make copies for you.

The Nation, 2-1-65, "Klantown, U.S.A.," by Paul Good
Saturday Evening Post, 1-30-65, "We Got Nothing to Hide," by Harold H. Martin and Kenneth Fairly
Newsweek, 12-21-64, "Ku Klux Klan's White Knights," (the bomb squad)
New York Times Magazine, 7-5-64, "The Imperial Wizard Explains the Klan," by Margaret Long
Life, 6-24-64, "The Klan Scourges Old St. Augustine," by George McMillan

You will find information on the history of the Klan in The Segregationists, by James Graham Cook, Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1964. He has chapters on both the klan and the citizens councils.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosed: copy columns by Ralph McGill

Mailed separately:
St. Augustine
Law Enforcement in Mississippi

Congregational Christian Church
1411 COUNTY STREET
SOMERSET, MASSACHUSETTS

H. MERRILL EMERY, PASTOR

PHONE OS 2-6623

February 26, 1965

Southen Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

On a tour through the South last year with Dr. Ray Gibbons we visited your headquarters and learned of your work. My notes have it that you would be glad to supply material for sermons.

Do you have anything on the Ku Klux Klan? I find that the local resources on this subject are extremely limited and would appreciate any phamplets or booklets you might have regarding the history and activities of the Klan.

I would need this material in April of 1965. Thank you in advance for any assistance you can offer.

Sincerely yours,

Merrill Emery

Merrill Emery
Pastor

Edu - Gen

40 Prof & Fraternals

EDUCATION GROUP TO HELP NEGROES

N.E.A. Plans to Aid Those Dismissed in the South

NYT 5-27-65

By GENE ROBERTS

The National Education Association offered yesterday to provide legal aid and job relocation assistance to Negro teachers who lost their jobs because of racial discrimination in the South.

The association, the nation's largest teacher organization, made iits offer after the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., said that it feared that the transfer of Negro students to all-white schools in the South might be touching off a "wholesale dismissal" of Negro teachers.

Dr. William G. Carr, executive secretary of the education association, said that his organization would compile a list of displaced Negro teachers and make it available to school boards throughout the United States.

"And it stands as a foregone conclusion," an aide to Dr. Carr said, "that the N.E.A. will enter into litigation if there is unfounded dismissal of teachers."

Officials of Negro teacher groups affiliated with the N.E.A. in the South contended that there was some displacement of Negro teachers in several Southern states. At least 500 of North Carolina's 12,500 Negro teachers will lose their jobs this year as the pace of pupil integration accelerates, they said.

North Carolina education officials denied that 500 jobs would be lost but conceded that some Negroes might be displaced.

All the dismissals, Negro teacher officials said, are being ordered by county and municipal school boards rather than by state education officials. Besides North Carolina, they reported scattered dismissals in Florida, Virginia, Texas and Arkansas.

The Negro teacher officials asserted that these distinct patterns of discrimination were emerging:

¶Failure to renew the contracts of Negro teachers after their pupils had been assigned to predominately white schools.

¶The use of standard teacher examinations with the passing score set higher than the average score made by Negro teachers.

¶The use of Negro teachers as "helpers" for white teachers in integrated classrooms.

Widespread Use Seen

The Negro teacher officials believe these devices will come into more widespread use as integration spreads through the South.

"There is far more resistance in Florida to teacher integration than to student integration," said Dr. Gilbert L. Porter, executive secretary of Florida State Teachers Association, a predominately Negro group. "At present there are two cases of discrimination in Florida, involving 43 teachers, but there is a possibility that this may become a trend."

Many Negro teachers hope that a test case now before the Federal District Court in Roanoke, Va., will provide a solution to the job problem. In the suit, filed a year ago, the Virginia Teachers Association and the N.E.A. charge that eight Negro teaching jobs were erased when the two Negro schools in Giles County were closed and their students were sent to previously all-white schools.

"Most of our problems are occurring in counties with small Negro populations and only one or two Negro schools," said J. Rupert Picott, executive secretary of the Virginia Teachers Association.

"The county school boards close down the Negro schools and accept the Negro students into white schools," Mr. Picott said. "But they don't want to accept the Negro teachers. They either fail to offer them contracts or they offer them jobs as helpers to white teachers."

CAR SAFETY DEVICES

South's Negro Teachers Being Fired or Demoted

Educ - South

By Robert E. Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer

5-25-65

Hundreds of Negro teachers in the South are being fired or demoted as their school districts begin desegregating under pressure of the Civil Rights Act.

Civil rights leaders are attacking the U.S. Office of Education's policies as the cause. Federal officials concede that they are concerned, but they say they are virtually helpless under the law to stop it.

"It is a bad section of the law," said a spokesman for the U.S. Office of Education. "Ultimately something will have to be done. But there's now."

Policy Established

The Office of Education recently established a policy calling for a four-grade start on desegregation of schools by 1967. The policy was designed to implement Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits Federal aid to racially segregated programs.

The Office's policy also called for steps toward desegregation of facultios. But Section 604 of Title VI states that employment is excluded from the section, except where the primary objective of Federal aid is to provide employment.

Office of Education attorneys contend that teachers cannot be protected in Title VI because they receive no Federal aid. Last week, Assistant Secretary James M. Quigley of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare acknowledged that some Negro teachers would be fired.

Yesterday, Jack Greenberg, director of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, said that 500 Negro teachers in North Carolina alone had been dismissed or have not yet received their renewal contracts. Complaints also have been received from Negro teachers in Texas, Virginia and Georgia.

Aid Cutoff Urged

Greenberg sent a telegram to U.S. Education Commissioner Francis Keppel, asking the Office of Education to withhold or withdraw approval of Federal aid to two dozen North Carolina counties affected by Title VI.

The blame for the development was placed by Greenberg on the Office of Education's approval of "freedom of choice" desegregation plans. In some areas, he said, large numbers of Negroes have transferred to white schools, leaving a surplus of Negro teachers who are being dis-

He said the Office of Education's policies should require desegregation of staff as well as schools under an objective standard so that Negro teachers will not lose their jobs because their school has been depopulated.

The present policy, he said, will force Negro teachers to oppose desegregation as a matter of self-preservation.

Greenberg said the NAACP Legal Defense Fund will file suits in North Carolina and any other school districts where Negro teachers areifred because of desegregation.

NAACP Says Negroes Lose School Jobs

Educ - South

Journal 5-25-65

NEW YORK, May 25 (AP)—Jack Greenberg, director-counsel of the NAACP legal defense fund, says a trend of "wholesale dismissal" of Negro teachers is emerging throughout the South.

He says school officials in North Carolina, Texas and Virginia are letting more than 500 Negro teachers go this year and are hiring whites to fill some of the vacancies.

Greenberg, addressing a luncheon meeting of the Empire State chapter of the Federal Bar Association, said Monday that most of the dismissals were the result of "freedom of choice" plans which allow Negro pupils to transfer into previously all-white schools. The plans have led to surpluses of teachers in some areas, he said.

HE SENT a telegram to U.S. Education Commissioner Francis Keppel asking the Office of Education to withhold or withdraw approval of federal school aid to the two dozen counties affected under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Law. This part of the law provides for withholding of federal financial aid from activities operated in a discriminatory manner.

In Washington, an Office of Education spokesman cited a section of Title VI as barring action by the office in regard to employment practices except where a primary objective of the federal aid is to provide employment.

Lawyers of the office, the spokesman said, have construed this section as denying the commission authority to step in where teacher contracts, usually made on an annual basis, are not being renewed, on grounds that the primary objective of the federal aid to schools is not to provide employment.

FACULTY DESEGREGATION: May, 1965

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte--4 white teachers hired 1/65 for Negro schools; 1st move in state.
Wesley Heights (elem.) School: Miss Ann White, Mrs. Sylvia Stewart
West Charlotte High: Mrs. Ina Wiles
Second Ward High: Lawrence Henderson

Winston-Salem-Forsythe Co. 9/64 Hanes Jr. High School white adm. staf
6 Negroes, teachers 8 white, 60% Negro students
Easton School - 1 Negro teacher

Greensboro: 1 school has all white faculty, predom. Negro students

N. C. Advancement School, a special program fro students not achieving up to their potential, has biracial students and permanent faculty.

ARKANSAS

Little Rock, fall of 1964 named a Negro as supervisor of elementary education.

FLORIDA

Sarasota County - 1 school has desegregated staff
Dade County 24 schools " "
Pinellas County - Supt. announced 1965 six would open with totally integrated faculty and students
Duval, Hillsborough and Volusia Counties under court order to desegregate staff, but not yet.
Polk County--under court order 1-15-65 to desegregate

TENNESSEE

Johnson City - 1/65 court ordered faculty deseg. by 1965
Franklin County - 1 Negro teacher at predominantly white school
Johnson County 1 Negro teacher (7th grade) " " "
Manchester 1 " " " " "
Oak Ridge - Negro teachers at predominantly white schools for several years
Putnam County - 4 Negro teachers at " "" " (all in Co.)
Wilson County - 1 " " " " " high school
(under court order; submitted personnel plan to court 12-31-65)

June 21, 1965

Miss Lynnanne Perrin
847 North Snelling
St. Paul, Minn. 55104

Dear Miss Perrin:

You have made a good start, with SSN, the CCRC Reports and studies at the University of North Caroline. We can add a few other resources, but none as good as those you have already acquired. We have not, ourselves, done a study on Negro teachers. There is, under discussion, a joint project for such a study this fall, to be published later. We do not know, at this point, if the project will definitely be undertaken.

Did you see the Southern School News, Vol. III, No. 5, November 1956 with a feature article, "462 Negro Teachers Out, Many Land in New Jobs." If you find it inconvenient to get this, we can make a copy for you.

The Louisville Defender in 1958 had a series, "A Study on Teacher Integration" which was published later in pamphlet form and was available from the newspaper at 714 W. Chestnut Street, Louisville 2, Ky.

In addition to the 1960 CCR report, there was one in 1959 and pp. 265-270 were on "The Minority Group Teacher" and gave data on Negro teacher displacement.

Regarding research, we know of two things:

Gunter, Pearl K. "Problems & Patterns of Staff Desegregation With Implications for Tennessee," University of Tennessee. (Southern schools which had initiated plans for staff desegregation were surveyed.)

May, Clifford B. "The Forced Attachment of Two Culturally

School Districts: A Problamatic Analysis," Wayne State University. (Oak Park, Detroit, annexation of white and Negro schools--it should have some information on the effect on the faculties.)

You may wish to get a copy of Toward Equal Employment Opportunity for Teachers in California's Public Schools, third annual report, California State Board of Education, 1964. (Has table on p. 3 re employment of Negro, white, and other teachers in 1940, 1950, 1960.)

Enclosed are copies of information on Negro teachers we have compiled at various times for others and which you may find of some use. Also enclosed are copies of several recent news clips which you may or may not have seen.

When you have completed your thesis, we would like very much to see a copy, if you have an extra one you could lend us to read--and perhaps copy for our files if you have no objection.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosed:
compilation of Negro teachers in desegregated schools, Sept. 1963 state-by-state, from news clips and SSN.
excerpts from Conference before the U.S. CCR, March 1963, Gatlinburg, Tenn.
Teachers' Associations and PTAs with open memberships, May 1965
Faculty desegregation, May 1965, SSN Statistical Summary

News Clips: 1965
Edu - gen - Greenberg's statement; clip re w/holding funds
Edu - South -
Edu - Va - integrated school

847 North Snelling
Saint Paul, Minn., 55104
July 16, 1965

Dear Sirs,

I'm writing a M.A. paper at the University of Minnesota about the hiring and firing of Negro teachers in the United States since the 54 Supreme Court decision.

Have you done any research about the statistics of working Negro teachers, attitudes of communities toward recruitment of Negro teachers, or social values to learned by public school students from Negro teachers they may have?

To survey the national situation I've read Southern School News, United States Commission on Civil Rights, and studies done at the University of North Carolina, among other available literature.

I'm also looking at the situations in Minneapolis and Saint Paul. I've interviewed officials of the school boards and the Federal Employment Practices Commission.

Please let me know if the Southern Regional Council has any available information.

Sincerely,
Lonnanne Perrin

NEGRO TEACHERS ASSIGNED TO DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES
September, 1963 (with some 1964 additions)

1963:
(There is no known integration of faculties in predominantly white schools in Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina)

ALABAMA: The Maxwell Air Force Base elementary school has one Negro on its 21-member teaching staff--a librarian from Tuskegee.

FLORIDA:

Dade County--At least four desegregated schools have some faculty desegregation; school board announced teacher assignments are being made without regard to race.

Sarasota--Five white teachers assigned to Negro schools (Amarylis Park, Primary and Booker Elementary) as beginning of biracial staffs. Some teachers volunteered; others agreed to assignment.

Colleges--Miami-Dade Jr. College has six Negro teachers
University of Miami has one Negro teacher

KENTUCKY: An estimated 20 districts of 206 in state employed some 137 Negro teachers on biracial faculties at 50 schools in 1962. (Some of these schools may be predominantly Negro.)

Bowling Green--U.S. district court ordered district to desegregate all grades as well as teachers and other personnel. Number of Negro teachers assigned to integrated schools unknown.

Jassamine--U.S. district court ordered assignemnt and employment of teachers and personnel without regard to race. Number unknown.

Warren County--seven Negro teachers assigned to integrated schools.

Colleges--University of Louisville has one Negro (head of dept.)
Bellarmine has one Negro teacher

NORTH CAROLINA:

Both Greensboroand High Point have suits asking integration of faculty.

Salem College, the Governon's summer school for gifted children, had 400 students, including 30 Negroes. One faculty member was Negro.

North Carolina State College at Raleigh has one Negro faculty member.

OKLAHOMA: About 28 Negro teachers on desegregated faculties in four districts: Foy, Ponce City, Arcadia, and Tulsa.

Oklahoma City--Ordered by federal district court in July to begin biracial faculty assignments, schools now have five Negro teachers in desegregated schools as follows: One to Central High School; two at Lincoln Elementary School; one at Edison Elementary School; one serving half-time at Lincoln and half-time at Edison.

El Reno--Three of five Negro teachers assigned to integrated school when Negro high school closed.

Colleges--University of Oklahoma has one Negro faculty member.

TENNESSEE:

Oak Ridge--First in state to assign Negro teachers to predominantly white schools. One Negro teacher in 1962; 1963 number not known, but at least four white teachers in Negro schools.

Putnam County--Second in state to assign Negro teachers to biracial schools; one each assigned at five different schools, two of which have no Negro students.

TEXAS:

Houston--Ollie B. Harris appointed administrative assistant for curriculum to Supt. John W. McFarland. (Negro group complained position created especially for a Negro.) Mr. Harris' duties include helping to form district curriculum for all grades; edit instructional material; organize in-service training for teachers; and assist superintendent in textbook selection.

El Paso and Odessa (West Texas)--(enrollment 55% Latin-American; less than 5% Negro) Using Negro teachers to teach non-Negro students. (Note: wording probably means in Mexican schools)

VIRGINIA:

Faculty (about 85) of new school system in Prince Edward County is biracial, including "a number" of Negro teachers. Some white children have attended, and more are expected to enroll.

Arlington--school board announced summer teaching positions will be open to Negro teachers, "opening way for first Negro to teach white or mixed class." Negro teachers were accepted as members of Teachers' Association in 1961.

Fairfax County--Education Ass'n began accepting Negro teachers as members in September, 1963; Negro teachers association dissolved.

BORDER STATES:

MARYLAND: 65 Negro teachers & administrators assigned to desegregated schools as of Sept. 1963.

MISSOURI: Harris Teachers' College has faculty 1/3 Negro; student body 45% Negro. Kansas City--Fall 1963, desegregated teaching staff increased from 12 to 31 Negroes.

DELAWARE: Fall of 1963, Dover became 4th school district to desegregate faculty of desegregated schools. Others, Wilmington, Newark, New Castle.

~~WEST VIRGINIA~~

SINCE 1964 NEA EDICT TO DESEGREGATE BY JULY, 1966
TEACHERS' ASSOCIATIONS WITH OPEN MENBERSHIP, as of May, 1965
(incomplete; newsclips and SSN reports)

FLORIDA

FEA (w) and FSTA (N) 3-21-65 both voted for merger; removed racial restrictions on membership in 1964.

TENNESSEE

Memphis Educ. Assn. (w) 3-18-65 voted 2-1 to desegregate its membership; about 2,200 white teachers in system and about 2,000 Negro.

State Assn. voted 1-9-65 to open its membership to all teachers who are members of affiliate organizations--estimated at about 2,400 of state's Negro teachers. (CIC teachers locals already desegregated)

VIRGINIA

Norfolk Teachers ASSn. (N-800 member) 4-7-65 voted resolution urging members to join Norfolk Education Assn. (w) which made open membership decision 3/15.

Virginia Education Assn. (w) desegregated 1964.

TEXAS State Assn (w) voted to desegregate in 1964.

SOUTH CAROLINA

3-19-65 - S.C. Educ. Assn. (w-11,600 members) voted to delete word "white" from membership requirement. Amendment does not apply to locals which will make their own decisions. Complaint has been made that this is just to comply in word, not deed, with NEA standards.

Palmetto Educ. Assn. (N) 8,600 members.

As of 3-19-65 Gasper County white teachers had already voted to remove SCEA color bar; Negro teachers in majority in county.

As of 3-27-65 70 local school districts had deleted "white" from SCEA policies.

NORTH CAROLINA

3/65 SRC board member from N.C. says white PTAs have opened membership to Negroes in North Carolina.

Mecklenburg--Negro PTA of Ada Jenkins School invited PTAs from Alexander Jr. High, Coronelias, Davidson (all white) to Torrence-Lytle (N) to joint meeting.

GEORGIA

3-30-65 Georgia teachers last week passed a resolution at the state GEA Convention backing a plan to remove racial barriers in the GEA constitution by the spring of 1966. The local units will vote this fall.

2-2-65 The GEA department of classroom teachers has also voted to remove "racial restrictions" from the GEA constitution. The group also voted to urge GEA officials "to take immediate steps to establish a special committee to discuss problems of mutual concern with the GTEA" (N) with about 10,000 membership of Negro teachers. Both groups (w and N) belong to the NEA.

GEORGIA

3-30-65: More Georgia schoolteachers dropped their memberships in the NEA last year than in any other of the 49 states. Some 2,689 Georgia educators quit the NEA, apparently in protest against a strong civil rights resolution passed at last summer's NEA convention. About 14% of the approximately 25,000 Georgia teachers who joined the NEA in 1963-64 failed t to renew their memberships for 1964-65.

Among other Southern states, only Alabama and Louisiana lost NEA member Alabama lost 609. Both Louisiana and Mississippi remained about the same level of NEA memberships, though both states have less than 20% of thei eligible school teachers in NEA.

Georgia, even this year, has almost 56% of its eligible teachers in the NEA.

4-8-65--The GTEA asked the GEA "some months ago" to form joint committee to discuss merger plans, according to Dr. H. E. Tate, executive secretary of the GTEA (N)--about 11,000 Negro teachers and administrators.

ARKANSAS

1-31-65--Two years ago the Arkansas Educ. Assn and the all-Negro Arkansas Teachers Assn began a cooperative study to determine the feasibility of merging. The verdict is: No merger--at least in the foreseeable future. The AEA has 14,732 members; the ATA only 3,500. Much of the strongest opposition to merger comes from the Negro group.

In ~~1964~~ 1948 the AEA dropped restrictions as to membership and many Negroes joined the AEA to the detriment of the ATA. In the end, the Negro membership was asked to return to the ATA and most of them did. The AEA still has a few Negro members. The ATA has no white members.

GEORGIA

4-8-65--Dr. H. E. Tate also said that the State Department of Education has refused--despite repeated requests--to employ qualified Negroes in "higher echelon" positions.

4-10-65--State school Supt. Claude Purcell said that qualified Negroes can make application under the State Merit System for jobs in the State Department of Education.

SRC
Negro writers
we have published

October 8, 1963

Miss Katherine deS. Ellis
Convent of the Sacred Heart
Newton-on-the-Sound
Connecticut

Dear Miss Ellis:

We do, of course, have some publications by Negro writers; they are mainly articles and research projects, and we are pleased to send you a copy of each. We do not publish books.

If you have not already done so, you might write to the N.A.A.C.P., 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y., in care of the Public Relations Department. Perhaps they could let you have additional materials for your display.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
New South (articles by Negro writers marked)
June 1960; July-Aug., Dec. 1961; Jan., April, 1962;
Jan., May, June, July-Aug. 1963

Social Dynamics in Demographic Trends and the Housing of Minority Groups, by Robert Thompson
Segregation Decisions, Benjamin E. Mays
A Hundred Years Later, " "
Employment Opportunities: Chattanooga, Dr. Major L. Jones
Economic Status of Negroes..., Vivian W. Henderson

KdeSE

Convent of the Sacred Heart
Noroton-on-the-Sound,
Connecticut.
September 26, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3,
Georgia.

Dear Sir:

To sharpen our awareness of the American Negro's addition to his national culture, our school is planning a display of Negro writers and their works. We would be extremely grateful for any display material you may have, any literature by or about Negro writers, and any other information or sources of information available. We sincerely hope that you will be able to help us and that your organization will meet with every possible success in it's most worthy aims. Thank you.

Sincerely,
Katherine deS. Ellis.

November 9, 1964

Mrs. Sarah W. Wallace
Periodicals Librarian
Johnston Memorial Library
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Va.

Dear Mrs. Wallace:

We can supply you with some, but not all, of the back issues of New South that you listed. We will do the very best we can, but some issues have been exhausted. Many libraries all over the country have, in the past few years, wished to order all copies and we had on file only a few of each issue.

The cost will be @ 20¢ per issue of all that we have available.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs)
Research Associate

Virginia State College

Petersburg, Virginia

November 6, 1964

JOHNSTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY

Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please advise if you can furnish the following magazines:

NEW SOUTH

✓ Vol. 1 - All issues for 1946
✓ " 2 - " " except #3 (March 1947)
✓ " 3 - " " for 1948
✓ " 4 - " " except #11 & #12 (Nov.-Dec. 1949)
✓ " 5 - #3 (March), #4 (April-May), #9 (September-October 1950)
✓ " 6 - #3 (March), #4 (~~April 1951~~) NA
✓ " 7 - #2 (February), ~~#6 (June-July)~~, #9 (September 1952)
✓ " 8 - #6 (June), #8 (August), ~~#9 (September)~~ NA, #10 (October-Nov. 1953)
" 11 - #11 (November 1956)
✓ " 18 - #4 (April), #7-8 (July-August), #10-11 (October-November 1963)
✓ " 17 - #4 (April), ~~#6 (June)~~ NA

If the above issues are available, We should like to know the cost before we place order. This is not an order.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Sarah W. Wallace
Periodicals Librarian

SWW/c

Virginia State College

Petersburg, Virginia

November 20, 1964

JOHNSTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you for your letter of November 9, 1964.

Will you please quote us the number of issues of NEW SOUTH available from the list we sent you so that we can place the order.

Very truly yours,

Sarah W. Wallace

(Mrs.) Sarah W. Wallace
Periodicals Librarian

SWW/c

February 24, 1965

Mr. Richard Miles
Voter Education Project
2022 Taylor St.
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Mr. Miles:

Under separate cover we are mailing you the requested past issues of New South, as follows:

All issues, 1964--11 issues @20¢	$2.20
All issues, 1963--	2.00
All issues, 1962(except May & June)--	2.00
All issues, 1961-4	2.00
All available issues 1956-1960 @ 1.60 per yr.	6.40 8.00
	$14.60

In addition, we are including, without charge, an old publication of reprints from especially interesting New South articles: Changing Patterns. You will find some material on suffrage in it. The only old thing not included that you may wish to have us copy is: Race and Suffrage in the South Since 1940, published July 1948, by Luther P. Jackson, Professor of History, Virginia State College. It does have some information on South Carolina, and we could copy just that if you wish.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

SOUTH CAROLINA

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

President
DR. CHARLES H. THOMAS, JR.
BOX 1778, S. C. STATE COLLEGE
ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA

Secretary
REV. I. DEQUINCEY NEWMAN
2022 TAYLOR STREET
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

Treasurer
R. J. PALMER
304 SOUTH MAIN STREET
~~COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA~~
SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA

Field Director
RICHARD MILES
2022 TAYLOR STREET
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

Legal Advisor
MATTHEW J. PERRY
1107½ WASHINGTON STREET
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

2022 TAYLOR STREET
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA
TELEPHONE 254-5953

November 25, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you for your letter of November 13, and for the packet of materials I received a few days later.

I should like to order the following back copies of New South:

1960 - Spec. issue school desegr. 1st 6 mo.

All issues for the years 1961-1963 @ $6.00
All issues for the years 1956-1960 @ $1.60/year
All issues from Feb.,1964-present @ $ .20/copy

11/20
12/20

Changing Patterns

If there are any available issues between 1944 and 1956 which have pertinent material concerning voting and voter registration in the South, but particularly in South Carolina, please send those, too. If there are issues with the above information no longer available for distribution, please advise, and we will probably pay to have the information zeroxed.

Please bill us for the above in triplicate. And thank you again for your help.

Sincerely,

Richard Miles

Richard Miles

RM:sm

February 24, 1965

Mrs. Sarah W. Wallace
Periodicals Librarian
Johston Memorial Library
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Va.

Dear Mrs. Wallace:

I'm sure you must think by now that we are never going to tell you what is available in old volumns of New South in the years and months that you especially wanted. It is just that we have been very busy, and this is the kind of thing that takes a day to go through old files and check and gather together and I have put it off as something that was not urgent. Here, at last, is the information. I shall hold these volumns available until we hear from you.

Vol. 1, 1946: all issues requested
Available: all ~~except June~~ -- 12 copies @ 20¢ $2.40 240

Vol. 2, 1947: all issues requested except March
Available: all except April, June, December, 8 @ 1.60

By the People

Vol. 3, 1948: All issues requested 120
Available: 6 issues @ 20¢ 1.20

Vol. 4, 1949: all issues except Nov.-Dec. 4
Available: 7 issues @ 20¢ 1.40

Vol. 5, 1950: #3, 4, 9
Available: all 3 @ .20 .60

Vol. 6, 1951: requested #3, #4 - Spring Community Looks at Italy
Available: #3 .20

Vol. 7, 1952: requested #2, #6, #9
Available: #2, #9, 2 issues @ 20¢ .40

Rec'd Law Eng.

Vol. 8, 1953: #6, #8, #9, #10 requested Available: #6, #8, #10-11, 3 issues @ 20¢	.60
Vol. 11, 1956: #11 --Available	.20
Vol. 17, #4, #6 requested Available: #4	.20
Vol. 18, #4, #7-8, #10-11 requested Available: all three @ 20¢	.60
Total: 47 issues @ 20¢ each plus postage	$ 9.40

In addition, we are sending you (free) a copy of Changing Patterns, issued in 1955 and containing reprints of many of the best articles contained in earlier New South's. You will find some of the missing copies of New South represented in this--we hope the articles you especially wanted for your files.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

April 1, 1965

Statement

Serials Division
Princeton University Library
Princeton, New Jersey

New South, all available issues from 1946 to date: @ 20¢ each

1946: Vol. I - 10 issues @ 20¢ (missing: March, #3)	$ 2.00
1947: Vol. II - 8 issues @ 20¢ (missing: June, Aug., Nov., Dec.)	1.60
1948: Vol. III - 7 issues @ 20¢ (missing: January, May, Sept., Dec.)	1.40
1949: Vol. IV - 7 issues @ 20¢ (missing: January, February)	1.40
1950: Vol. V - 9 issues @ 20¢ (missing: none)	1.80
1951: Vol. VI - 7 issues @ 20¢ (missing: April, July)	1.40
1952: Vol. VII-6 issues @ 20¢ (missing: Jan., June-July, ~~Oct., Nov., Dec.~~)	1.20
1953: Vol. VIII- 8 issues @ 20¢ (missing: Aug., Sept.~~, Oct.~~)	1.60
1954: Vol. IX - 7 @ 20¢ (missing: April-May, June-July)	1.40
1955: Vol. X - 8 issues @ 20¢ (missing: Feb., Nov.) (Jan. incl. 1954)	1.60
1956: Vol. XI - 10 issues @ 20¢ (missing: Dec.)	2.00
1957: Vol. XII - 9 issues @ 20¢ (missing: January)	1.80
Subtotal	$ 19.20

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

April 1, 1965

Subtotal, continued:	$ 19.20
1958: Vol. 13 - complete - 10 issues	2.00
1959: Vol. 14 - complete - 11 issues	2.20
1960: Vol. 15 - complete - 10 issues	2.00
1961: Vol. 16 - complete - 11 issues	2.20
1962: Vol. 17 - 9 issues @ 20 (missing: June)	1.80
1963: Vol. 18 - complete - 10 issues @ 20¢	2.00
1964: Vol. 19 - complete - 11 issues @ 20¢	2.20
	$23.60
Postage:	
Total:	$

The Library's subscription will begin with the January, 1965 issue, which will be mailed out this week.

Black
Clearcopy Color Skip

Memo from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

Special issues New South

Vol. 1 - No. 1

1946

March - Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation, Rupert B. Vance (yellow)

June #6 - Wanted: A Healthy South Dorothy Dickens
green

Sept. #9 Machines in the Cotton Fields

1947 Vol. 2 -

#3 Wanted: an Educated South

#6 By the People

#10 Negro Police in Southern Cities
Survey

Memo from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

1948

April #4 Housing in the South

June-July #5&6 - Race & Suffrage in the South Since 1940
Luther P. Jackson

1949 —

Sept. #9 Negro Police in Sou. Cities
Survey

1950

March #3 - Greenville's Big Idea

July #7 - Prof. Osborne Drop Color Bar
Survey

1951

Feb - #2 Safety, Security & the South
a.z Miller & Myrell Hill

April #4 Your Community Looks at
May-June 5&6 Negro Municipal Workers - Survey Manual

Housing - Other Areas

Ref #10

Memo from MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT

1952

Feb #2 Race & Law Enforcement
a guide to Modern Police Practice

Aug #8 Negro Firemen in the South
survey

1953

~~Jan~~ Aug #8 Questions & Answers
The Schools & the Courts

#9 a Checklist for your Local
Schools

10 + 11 Negro Family Income in the Southern
States

Memo from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

1954

Jan #1 Color Line in Southern Schools
Anna Holden (survey)

Apr. May - #5 State Parks for Negroes
New Tests for Equality

June #6 Answers for Action
Schools in the South

#12 Changing Patterns
J #1 1955

1955

#2 Changing Patterns

1956

July 1957 - Next Steps in the South
Answers to Current Questions

1957

Sept - #9 The Negro Voter in the South

Memo from MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT

1958

1959

Sept #9 Survey of Writing Room Facilities

Oct #10 Chronology of Court Cases

1960

4-April – School Desegr: 1st 6 yrs.

#10-11 Oct – Racial Violence & Law Enf.

1961

July-Aug 7-8 Freedom Rides

Nov 1961 Presidents Address

1962 May 5 Racial Work & Negro Youth in Sou. Employment: Miami Study

1962

July 1-8

A Hundred Years Later

Oct #10

Mississippi

1963

1964

New South

Vol. 1, 1946 #3 -
Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation
#6 - Wanted: a Healthy South
#9 - Machines in the Cotton Fields

Vol 3 - 1948
#4 - Housing in the South
#5 & 6 - Race & Suffrage in the South Since 1940

Vol 5 - 1940
#4 & 5 - Greenville's Big Idea

Vol 7 - 1952
#2 Race & Law Enforcement

Changing Patterns?

Long distance 3-30-65

Mikie H. Lawler -

air mail, spec. del.

942-2088

#4 Sparrow Optomar.

Rt 3, Chapel Hill, NC

N.C.

Nat'l Student Assn.

$70.00 express cy.
7.05 railway Bus. Co

Railways - 10-20 lbs. $2.35

leave - 5:30 p.m.
arrive - 3:30 a.m. - any time
tomorrow

33#
35
68 $70

2.35
3
6.75
2.00
$8.75

$7.10

2 hrs.

Memo from MONTEZ ALBRIGHT

Mikie H. Lawler - 942-2088

NEW SOUTH: Available Issues (Special Issues listed)

1946: Volume I - 9 issues available
June: Wanted: A Healthy South (in quantity on shelves)

missing: * March: Wanted: South's Future for the Nation, Rupert B. Vance
* Sept.: Machines in the Cotton Fields
Dec.: SRC Annual Meeting

1947: Volume II - 8 issues available

missing: * June: By the People
Aug.: Civil Rights in the South
Nov.: SRC Reports for 1947 (annual meeting)
Dec-Jan.: 4th Annual Meeting Plans for 1948

1948: Volume III - 7 issues available
April: Housing in the South (in quantity on shelves)

missing: March
May: Hospital Construction & Health in Southern States
June-July: Race & Suffrage in the South Since 1940 Jackson
Sept.: An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy'
Dec-Jan.: How a Virginia County Made Up Its Mind

Jew copies MA files

1949: Volume IV - 8 issues available # 9 - Negro Police in Southern Cities

Missing: February: The Right to Vote

1950: Volume V - complete
April-May: Greenville's Big Idea (in quantity on shelves)
July Progressive Associations Drop Color Bar (Summer)

1951: Volume VI - 7 issues available * Safety, Security & the South

Missing: * April--Your Community Looks at Itself
July--To Three Southern Governors

1952: Volume VII - 7 issues available (only a few of Race & Law Enforcemen

Missing: January: Wings of Eagles
June-July: Blighted Housing & Bomb Violence
Oct-Nov.: How Prejudice Lost at the Polls
Dec.: Supreme Court Considers Segregation

1953: Volume VIII - 8 issues available

Missing: Jan.--Race & Suffrage Today
May--Impending Crisis In the South
June--(2 left) New Era in Human Relations
Aug.--The Schools & the Courts
Sept - A Checklist for Your Local Schools
Dec. - (1 left) First Round Up 7 Debate

1954: Volume IX - 7 issues available

Missing: * ~~Jan.~~ 2d. --Color Line in Southern Libraries
April-May-- State Parks for Negroes
June-July ~~Aug.~~ --Schools in the South - Answers for Action
Aug.--Churches Speak
Sept.--Segregation in the Schools
Nov.-- Integration in the Armed Services (some have 1 lef

1955: Volume X - 8 issues left (Dec-Jan--Changing Patterns)

Missing: ~~Jan--Colors Line in Southern Life~~
~~April-May--8x~~
Feb.--New Ways on the Campus
March--Implementing the School Decision
July--Courts Strike at Segregation
Sept.--Mississippi Till Case
Oct.--Two High Courts Rule on Segregation
Nov.--Glimpses of the South of the Future
Dec.--Ironies of 1955, Southern Style

1956: Volume XI - 10 issues left

Missing: Oct.--The Church and a Climate of Goodwill
Dec.--A Southern Negro's View of the South

1957: Volume XII -

Missing: January--Pro-Segregation Groups, History & Trends
Sept.--The Negro Voter in the South

1958: complete Volume XIII

1959: complete Volume XIV

1960: Volume XIV -

Missing: Feb.--
May--School Desegregation: 1st 6 yrs.
Nov.--Racial Violence & Law Enforcement (some available)

1961: Volume XVI - complete

1962: Volume XVII - all but June: Will Campbell & Herbert Jenkins
July-Aug.- A Hundred Years Later

~~196~~
1963: Volume XVIII - all but March: The Other Mississippi

1964: Volume XIV - complete

October 24, 1962

Mary Godwin

Barbara Patterson

New South circulation

Since it is my understanding from Paul Anthony that you are now going to handle all phases of NS circulation except for the ordering and filing of the stencil plates (which Bernice Cook) will do) I thought I might put in formal notes the order and procedure I envisaged when I started setting up the circulation files in their present form.

The original motive was to count the number of, and sort the types (paid or complimentary) and localities of, the subscribers. This has been done. Putting into working and current order the system which evolved from playing around with the cards still requires a little, not much, detail since for two months I have not been able to give it any time and no one else has much.

In the green card files subscribers are listed on cards broken down separately by the states where state councils on human relations supply most of the subscribers (Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., N.C., S.C., Tenn., Va., respectively). There is also a "mixed states" file where cards are broken down by states, alphabetically.

(Back in the mail room subscribers are on stencil plates filed geographically, only.)

In every case, every subscriber should appear on two separate cards: 1) a card bearing the actual name, address, as it appears on the stencil tape, and the billing information - "pd. $2.00 8/1/62 expires 8/1/63" or the notation "complimentary," this ideally with the initials of whoever authorized the free subscription; 2) a typed card with name, address and billing info as above. Cards should indicate either "Va. Council" (for example) or "Pd. Direct." (1)-type cards are filed strictly alphabetically by name (it's easiest to lump libraries together at the beginning of "L" and lesser publications by the name of the publication, not the person). (2)-type cards are filed under progressive month-and-year headings signifying the expiration date; alphabetically whithin each date. TAKE CARE TO HAVE ADDRESS ON BOTH CARDS THE SAME.

In the mixed states files, (1)-type cards are filed by states. (2)-type cards of all states are mixed under the appropriate expieration date heading, alphabetically by name.

other state reports received later

Stencils for subscribers on whom we had no information have been listed and queried first to the State Councils, and the list returned from the Ga.CHR yet remains to be be processed with the Georgia file - i.e., those with expiration dates prior to Jan. 1962 pulled and put aside with the card attached in back, and those having current billing info having this added to a card (and both cards then filed as above), and those having no CHR record sent the individual form letter with return envelope. If no reply in reasonable time, destroy stencil and card altogether.

A large group of mixed states stencils on whom we have no record remains. Paul Anthony should first go over these (esp. in N.Y.) indicating which are complementary and cards should be made and file as above. Individual inquiry letters should be sent as above to the remainder.

As checks with subscription orders, lists from state councils, and purchase orders (invoice should be mailed) arrive make a card bearing subscribers name, address, and put in a"pending" file behind the proper state. See that Bernice Cook gets the info to add the subscriber to her lists mailed in periodically (having 50 or more names) to have new stencils made. When a batch of new stencils returns, it should be run off on gummed tape and individual ones cut and pasted and put on cards to go in the appropriate state file with the billing info typed thereon (transcribed from "pending"). The pending card then goes in the billing file. Same with complementaries, which can be kept in a separate file behind billing in each state.

Bernice has included with this material some cards she has typed corresponding, I gather, to names sent in on the last stencil list, which you now have. Ask her any questions about these.

You will also need to ascertain from Paul Anthony who-how to handle expiration notices. In the case of renewals, type the date of the new expiration date and payment on both cards, and advance the billing file card XXXXXXX, making new date headings as needed.

In the NS folder are some checks and lists which need processing soonest.

Many Some of the state council stencil cards - (1)-type - still do not have the billing info posted on them. This can be gotten from the batches of cards for each state marked "master file" which has been kept only as a control, as the info is added, these XXXXX "master" cards can be destroyed.

I think it is best to type the info, it is neater, space-saving.

I also think getting two returns only on the July-Aug mailing shows this works, but feel free to modify it if you have simpler ideas. And ask me any questions.

1-31-63

Bernice Cook

Montez Albright

New South

Please have packed for

Dept. of Resources & Acquisitions
Harvard College Library
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

1 copy each of New South beginning with November-December, 1962 and going on back as far as we have copies. For any missing issues, if we have more than two or three in the permanent file, let them have one. They want as complete a file as we can send them.

(skip October issue; I've sent them that)

Let me know when it is ready to mail; we are to bill them for this. I told them there would be some issues missing; we are to bill them at $1 per year, plus postage.

Also, I am holding about ten requests for our publications list; as soon as you can get to it, will you run off some more copies of this.

500

January 15, 1963

~~Mr. B. Quincy Rushing~~
~~C-24~~
Harvard College Library
Department of Resources and Acquisitions
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Rushing:

We have your requisition (B60122) requesting that we enter your subscription for our monthly publication New South. We have done this today, and a statement is enclosed.

We also note your wish for back file copies. We can supply you with a fairly complete file (with perhaps one or two issues missing) through 1959, counting backward from the current issue, at $1.00 per year. From 1959 on back, there will be more than one issue per year missing, but we will be glad to supply you, at the same price, as many as we can. Please let us know if you want all the back issues we can supply, and if the charges are satisfactory.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Enclosed:
New South, October, 1962
(November-December issue will be mailed you soon)

SERIAL DIVISION
HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
DEPARTMENT OF RESOURCES AND ACQUISITIONS
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS
B- 60122
Publ.

New South.
Atlanta, Georgia, State Capital, Southern Regional Council.
Please enter our subscription beginning with the current vol. and following, and quote price on back file.

ORDERED: 12-17-62 | SOURCE: Notify: Rushing, B. | FOR: SERIAL DIVISION.
RECEIVED: | Quincy C-24 | FUND:
EEW

RETURN INSIDE FRONT COVER OF BOOK OR REPORT ON REVERSE

New South 4.22.63 March 1963
The Free of Mississippi

~~Meth. Church of Texas~~

delegate to Miss Annual Conf. -

500 - today
Spec. hand

Mr. Woodrow Seals
1510 Lehman
Houston 18, Texas -

dist to delegate Texas
Conf of Meth Church -

send to SRC board

Minutes
new bd | last

ask PA re minutes who else send to?

State Directors - membership list

Bd list
few other people

N C Z
BM
Parrish + minutes "
Brewbaker "

Bd list:
Eddy, Zacconi
Hahn, Field
Hebrew, Rock
Eagle new world
Freeman RBJ

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MA

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date September 7, 1962

To: Leslie W. Dunbar From: Barbara Patterson
cc. Margaret Long
Subject: New South Circulation - as of the mailing of the July-August Civil War Centennial Issue

The number of current paid New South subscribers is 2,937.

The number of current, authorized, complimentary subscribers is, (without complete figures on ~~XXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXX~~ "other states") ~~XXXX~~. 270.

The breakdown by state of these is as follows:

N.C.	pd. thru NCCHR	278	pd. direct	45	compli-mentary	57
S.C.	pd. thru SCCHR	367	"	none	"	18
Ga.	pd. thru GCHR	84	"	35	"	21
Fla.	pd. thru FCHR	374	"	6	"	12
Tenn.	pd. thru TCHR	470	"	not yet known **	"	20
Ark.	pd. thru ACHR	238	"	"	"	5
Ala.	pd. thru ACHR	296	"	"	"	10
Va.	pd. thru VCHR	426	"	"	"	39
other states***	paid	324			"	

** this can be determined when responses to current inquiries are in.
*** 30 states, foreign countries, D.C. are represented. the figures, by state, are available.

In addition, there are stencils withdrawn from the active file numbering 428. These represent subscriptions lapsed before January, 1962, many of them veryobsolete, dating from 1952 on.

In addition, still in the activemailing file are 891 plates for subscribers, all pending responses to inquiries sent first to state councils, then to individuals directly, asking about the status of their subscriptions.

January 9, 1963

74 Robinwood Drive
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Sir:

We received the enclosed change of address card from you today. Since we file our cards alphabetically, by name, it would be a considerable convenience if you would fill in your name and return the card to us. We have over 5,000 subscribers.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

put on mailing list
1-31-63

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Harvard College Library
Cambridge 38
Massachusetts

****

Purchase Order #B-60122

Date Shipped 1-15-63

subscription to New South $2.00
(11 issues per year)

sent Oct. 1962

send later Nov-Dec.

begin subs. Jan, 1963

Cards OK
Sent note to BC 1/30/63 mg

MG ✓
please note & correct records

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARY
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS

Serial Records Department
January 18, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We have a subscription with you for through F. W. Faxon Company
New South
on our order number A 41912, your last invoice
of _____.

Our records show that we have not received
vol. 17 (1962) no. 4, 10 and all later issues } sent #4 & #10 1-23-63 MA

Please use this letter for your reply and report to us as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Lillian Hedstrand
(Miss) Lillian Hedstrand
Head, Serial Records Department

Second claim for vol. 17 no. 4

☐ Material sent on (date) _____.

☐ Material will be sent on (approximate date) _____.

☐ Not yet published. Approximate date of publication _____.

☐ Discontinued with vol./no. _____.

☐ Superseded by (title) _____.

C-1

new subscriber NEW SOUTH

paid, 1-21-63, 1 year

~~Mr~~
Mr. Robert Forsberg
The Wider City Parish
48 Howe St.
New Haven 11, Conn.

Mary, please make card.

Bernice, please add to your stencil list.

MA

January 23, 1963

Miss Lillian Hedstrand
Serial Records Department
University of Chicago Library
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Miss Hedstrand:

We have your claim order A-41912 for Vol. 17, #4 (second notice) and #10 plus all later issues of New South.

We are in process of putting in a new system of records for the New South subscriptions, and there is, consequently, some disorganization which we hope to have corrected within a few weeks. We are also running late in publishing, but will be caught up with the February issue. Sorry.

Under separate cover we are mailing you Vol. 17, #4 and #10; the November, December, and January issues will be mailed to you in one package within the next two weeks. We have not received them from the printer yet.

Again, we are sorry about the delay.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

THE LIBRARY WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY MORGANTOWN

January 24, 1963

The Library has failed to receive New South, Vol. 17, No. 8 & 9 for 1962.

BC - Please check stencil cards OK - MG

(An old [illegible] is in file - sent 2 copies - 2/13 - BC)

Return to M.A.

Sincerely,
Periodical Dept.

sent 1-28-63 MA

January 25, 1963

Miss Grace F. Holt
Serials Librarian
William Allan Neilson Library
Smith College
Northampton, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Holt:

We are behind schedule in publishing and mailing out New South, due to circumstances beyond our control. We expect to be back on schedule in February. The October issue was mailed this week; the November and December issues will go out next week. We are sorry for the delay.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

619 N. Broadway ** KENT RUTH ** Geary, Oklahoma

25 January 1963

Dear Sirs:

Contratulations on your excellent October 1962 issue of NEW SOUTH. Would you please send a copy to a highly intelligent Mississippi friend of mine, also a writer? She is Mrs. Lowell Gregory - 1300 West 2nd Street - Arlington, Texas. If there is a charge, please let me know. And [illegible] you.

Kent Ruth

1-29-63 MA

Mr. W. R. Denton
Order Librarian
Southern California School of Theology
Claremont, California

1 year subscription to NEW SOUTH
beginning February 1963 and
expiring January 1964 ---------- $2.00
total ---------- $2.00

Thank you.

January 28, 1963

Mr. W. R. Denton
Order Librarian
Southern California School of Theology
Claremont, California

Dear Mr. Denton:

We are very sorry that you have not received New South since the June issue; the remaining issues for 1962 are being mailed to you today under separate cover. The January issue will be a little late, but we hope to be back on schedule by February.

It occasionally happens that a mailing stencil is lost or misplaced, and this must have happened in the case of your library. We will see that you are put on the mailing list again.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Southern California School of Theology
CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA
LYCOMING 6-3521

January 22, 1963

NEW SOUTH
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201-5 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We notice that we have been receiving your periodical NEW SOUTH for some time but that we did not receive the July, August, October, November or December 1962 issues. Can you supply us and see that our name is on the mailing list for the 1963 issues also. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

W R Denton

W.R. Denton
Order Librarian

WRD:dn

January 29, 1963

Periodical Department
The Library
West Virginia University
Morgantown, West Virginia

Dear Sirs:

We have your notice requesting Vol. 17, Numbers 8 and 9 for your files. We are enclosing the September issue, which is Number 9. The July-August issue was numbered as 7, but it is really 7 and 8. We are sorry to be running late with New South; the October issue was mailed out last week, and the November-December issue will be mailed out this week. We hope to be back on schedule by February.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

ROBERT B. HEINEMANN
BRIDGEWATER HILL
BRIDGEWATER CORNERS, VERMONT

Ret MA

CR
#2 RHA
1/30/63

Bridgewater Corners
Vermont
January 28, 1963

New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir,

Will you please send me a year's subscription to the New South.

A friend showed me her copy with an article by Dr. Robert Coles about Two Boys of Conscience and Courage. This was such an unusually well-written and sensistive description that I would like to ask you to send me a copy of it. It is the September, 1962 issue, Volume 17, number 9.

I am enclosing my check for $2.20 to cover the subscription and the single copy of the issue with Dr. Coles article.

Yours truly,

Robert B. Heinemann

Robert B. Heinemann

cards OK
2-1-63
MG

January 28, 1963

Miss Barbara Heinen
Aquinas Subscription Agency
1750 Selby Avenue
St. Paul 4, Minnesota

Dear Miss Heinen:

We are behind schedule in mailing out our monthly magazine, New South. St. Mary's University Library is on our mailing list; they should have received the October issue last week and we are mailing out the November-December issue this week. We expect to be back on schedule by February.

We are very sorry for the inconvenience.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

DANIEL HARTNETT

AQUINAS SUBSCRIPTION AGENCY

1750 Selby Ave.
ST. PAUL 4 MINNESOTA

January 24, 1963

New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

With our clearance of October 14, 1961 we sent you a one year subscription to be addressed as follows:

St. Mary's University Library
San Antonio 1, Texas.

A renewal of this subscription was sent to you with our clearance of November 30, 1962. We recently received a letter from the librarian stating that they have not received and issues since September 1962. Will you please check your records on this and let us know what adjustment you have made?

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Cordially,

AQUINAS SUBSCRIPTION AGENCY

Barbara Heinen

Barbara Heinen

BH/s
#607

INDIANA STATE LIBRARY INDIANAPOLIS 4, INDIANA, U.S.A.

According to our records we have failed to receive

New South

volume 17, nos 11 and 12
volume 18, no. 1

original 2-1-63

Dat

w/ 2 weeks

Indiana State Library
Serials Section
140 North Senate Ave.,
Indianapolis 4, Indiana

XXXX

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
SERIAL RECORD SECTION
Pullman, Washington
REQUEST FOR ITEM NOT RECEIVED

January 30, 1963
date

Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

v. 6-63
m A

We have not received the material described below, for which we have a subscription placed through FAXON
Please send it as soon as possible.

If unable to send immediately, or if it is not available, please report details on the back of this form. We will appreciate your prompt reply.

New South, v. 17, no. 8, 1962.

ss/pb

15 (3-60)

January 31, 1963

Mr. Robert B. Heinemann
Bridgewater Hill
Bridgewater Corners, Vermont

Dear Mr. Heinemann:

Thank your for your check ($2.20) and your order for a subscription to our monthly magazine, New South. We appreciate, too, your kind words about the September issue, and the article by Dr. Robert Coles.

The September issue, which you requested in addition to the year's subscription, is being sent you under separate cover. If it is all right with you, we will begin the subscription with the October issue (it is on Mississippi, and I think you will want this). So, the October and the November-December issues are enclosed with the special order.

We are running a bit late on New South, but expect to catch up in February. You will be receiving the January issue within the next ten days.

Sincerely yours,

Montez Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Date January 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Subscriber:

Our records show that your subscription for NEW SOUTH has expired. Please fill out this renewal notice and return within two weeks if possible so that you won't miss a single issue.

We hope you will want to continue to receive NEW SOUTH and will mail your renewal immediately. If you have been a member of a state affiliate, we hope you will want to continue participating in its work and will send dues to the state office.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

NEW SOUTH

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Please enter my subscription to NEW SOUTH for one year Enclosed is my check or money order for $2.00 (make payable to Southern Regional Council, Inc.).

NAME _____ DATE _____

STREET _____ CITY _____

Please return the entire renewal slip with your remittance. Thank you. STATE _____

Comments . . . from the CHRISTIAN ACTION COUNCIL

"Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth . . ." — MATTHEW 6:10

VOL. VII, NO. 1 JANUARY, 1963

INAUGURAL DAY PRAYER BREAKFAST

Dr. Archie Ellis (left) greeting Lt. Gov. and Mrs. Robert McNair at the Prayer Breakfast. Nearly 250 other Christian laymen and ministers gathered at the Jefferson Hotel in Columbia on the morning of the Inauguration for prayer in behalf of the governor and other elected state officials.

A very meaningful series of prayers were led by Dr. Ellis, with the following participants: for the state, and out-going governor and lieutenant-governor — Rabbi David S. Gruber; for the citizens of South Carolina — The Rev. James Stirling; for the Constitutional officers, members of the General Assembly, and other elected officials of South Carolina — Monsignor Martin C. Murphy; for the Lieutenant Governor — Dr. Carl Honeycutt; for the Governor — Dr. R. Archie Ellis; for the Church — Dr. Francis Cunningham.

President Neil Truesdell of the Christian Action Council presided. "This was one of the most significant occasions ever sponsored by the Council," was a frequent comment.

(The prayers, at the request of many, have been mimeographed and are available on request.)

ALCOHOL EDUCATION WEEK

Bobby Richardson Says . . .

"My suggestion to young people is to seek out truths through study of available materials about alcoholic beverages — truths from scientists who have studied this subject carefully through experimentation and research and tell how alcohol affects the central control system of man, how it weakens self-control, causes people to say and do things which they would not do if they did not have alcohol in their blood.

As an athlete I'm here to say that alcoholic beverages are harmful to your body and to urge you to abstain from their use.

I say that, even though a friend and teammate owns and runs a liquor store in the off season. But he doesn't visit the alcoholic homes such as Peace Haven and Fairview here in South Carolina. Oh, he does have a sign in his store that says,

"If the kids need shoes,
Don't buy booze"

but the people buy it and the world suffers.

The story is told of two soldiers recently celebrating Christmas. It was Christmas Eve in Nashville, Tennessee — but it could have been Columbia or Sumter. There was no place to go, so they had just bought a bottle of whiskey. They passed in front of a store window to see the nativity scene there,

"The longer we looked,
the more beautiful it became,"

one of them said. Without a word they walked to the nearest alley and smashed the bottle of whiskey.

Thus — when spiritual values are exalted in any person's life, liquor will be "busted." The best "intoxication" comes from dedication to Christian ideals. When people are led to Christ and into Christian service, there will be no place for alcoholic drinks".

Bobby Richardson, star 2nd baseman of the New York Yankees, provided this statement especially for the Christian Action Council to make available to the churches. To use this in the churches on Sunday, Feb. 10, would be a good emphasis at the conclusion of this special week in the public schools.

Christian Action Seminar

Camp Gravatt — the Episcopal campsite near Batesburg — is the place where the 10th CHRISTIAN ACTION SEMINAR will be held on February 22-24.

Dr. Everett Tilson, an outstanding Biblical scholar, and Lloyd Wright, Peace Corps information director and Baptist layman, will be the main speakers for this statewide intercollegiate conference.

Dr. Neely McCarter, professor of Christian Education at Columbia Theological Seminary (Decatur, Ga.), will lead the CAMPUS CHRISTIAN WORKERS SEMINAR at the same time and place. "The New Image of our Campus Ministry" will be the theme for this first Seminar for faculty, chaplains, and other adults interested in Christian higher education.

Legislative Committee Appointed

The appointment of a special "Legislative Committee" to guide the Christian Action Council's activities related to the General Assembly has been announced by Dr. R. Wright Spears, Citizenship Chairman.

Members include Porter Anderson, Jr., Henry Wingard, Tom McMahan and Neal Wyndham.

This committee will assist in planning the regular legislative reports in **YOUR STATE HOUSE (sent free on request)** and study measures before the state for action.

Social Welfare Forum

"The Mission of the Church, in cooperation with its allies, to Persons of Special Need" is to be the theme for the Church and Social Welfare Section of the state's Social Welfare Forum to be held in Columbia on March 13-14.

Executive Director Howard G. McClain of the Christian Action Council, chairman of the section, has said that special attention would be given to "The Family and the Unwed Mother" and "The Church and the Ex-prisoner."

Christian laymen, as well as ministers, have been especially invited to attend the Forum and participate in it.

In Baptist Building

A REMINDER — the Christian Action Council offices are now located in the new Baptist Building — **907 Richland Street,** Columbia.

Please remember this new address when you write — and especially, COME TO SEE US in our attractive new location!

DOCUMENTS OF CHRISTIAN CONCERN on Desegregation

Editor's note: Monday, January 28, 1963, was a memorable day when South Carolina took "a step into the future" with the orderly, non-violent admission of a Negro student into Clemson College. Ministers, church groups, and many individual Christians aided in creating the climate of opinion which made this possible. Below are given excerpts from several representative expressions. The more complete text of these and other statements are available on request.

Dr. Neil Truesdell, president of Christian Action Council — Oct. 6, 1962:

"Great issues call for great principles. A strong principle of Judeo-Christianity is the obedience to the supreme power of government . . . Otherwise, there is always the danger of lawlessness, confusion and anarchy . . .

Under God, we are a state and nation of law. The Federal decrees are the ultimate governing and legal power. As citizens we have no choice but to obey . . . Once law is taken lightly the liberty and freedom of every citizen is threatened . . .

The Christian Action Council calls upon every Christian, every citizen within the State, to proclaim to the world that we are a State of law, that we are motivated by the highest of all laws — the royal law of love."

Columbia White Ministers (121 of 13 denominations) — Jan. 20, 1963:

". . . We affirm that the Christian view of man includes recognition of each person as a child of God having dignity and worth imparted to him by God himself . . . This belief demands that we aid our fellow-man especially whenever his God-given rights are limited or denied.

We confess that we ourselves stand under the judgment of God for our failure to apply more fully the Christian principle of brotherhood in our personal lives and in the churches we serve.

We declare our conviction that racial problems and their solutions are basically moral and spiritual. Christians of our beloved state are presently being confronted with opportunities to witness to their affirmation that all citizens be given equality of opportunity for full development of their capacities as children of God . . . for example . . . in education and in employment opportunities.

As Christians, we must be found in the ranks of those who lead our city and state in orderly obedience, in justice and brotherhood."

S. C. Baptist Convention's **Christian Life and Public Affairs Committee,** Jan. 21, 1963:

"We heartily commend the public officials of our state for their wise and consistent efforts to preserve order and to encourage respect for the law during the difficult period of racial re-adjustment . . .

We earnestly and respectfully urge that the public schools be kept open and that every effort be made to prevent the interruption of normal educational processes . . .

It is imperative that we face these differences in a spirit of mutual respect and positive good will; that we seek to find constructive means of resolving our differences in accord with the teachings and the Spirit of Christ. Whatever legal measures are taken in dealing with the problems . . . the burden of working out a . . . relationship of good will between the races . . . rests most heavily upon the churches . . ."

Ten executive and spiritual leaders of denominations, Jan. 22, 1963:

". . . It is our duty by this law of love of God and neighbor to avoid every form of violence and hatred in our relations among ourselves and to use peaceable means to reach conclusions founded on justice and order and the universal law of Christian love . . ."

Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns (Section on Human Relations and Economic Affairs), Jan. 23, 1963:

". . . We strongly affirm that such adjustment to new conditions is consistent with our state's honorable traditions and illustrious past, her citizens' allegiance to the nation, and her peoples' faith in the providences of a just and holy God . . ."

Fountain Inn-Simpsonville Ministers' Fellowship statement on "A Christian Stand on Violence," Jan., 1963:

". . . A Christian citizen does not encourage, or approve of, or take part in, the use of violent action as a substitute for, or in defiance of established laws.

He will refrain from any action which violates the safety, dignity or property of another person . . . he will refrain from so-called 'non-violent' demonstrations which intrude upon the affairs of a community other than his own . . .

A Christian citizen makes use of every opportunity to pray that the justice and love of God will prevail over injustice and hatred . . ."

COMMENTS is the information bulletin on Christian Citizenship and public affairs published by the Christian Action Council, 907 Richland St., Columbia, S. C. It is issued each month, except July. Second class postage at Columbia, S. C. Neil Truesdell, President; Howard G. McClain, Editor; Eben Taylor, Associate Editor.

Christian Action Council
907 Richland St. — Columbia, S. C.

AVAILABLE ON REQUEST

—YOUR STATE HOUSE (regular legislative reports)

—Prayers and program, Christian Action Council's

INAUGURAL DAY PRAYER BREAKFAST

—"Church and Social Welfare" program of the S. C. SOCIAL WELFARE FORUM, March 13-14

—Free Packet, Alcohol Education Information

February 1, 1963

Periodical Librarian
Fleming Library
Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary
P. O. Box 22,000
Fort Worth 15, Texas

Dear Sir:

We received today a claim notice from the Bay State Periodical Service, Inc., for New South, V. 17, numbers 7, 8, 10, 11, 12. Under separate cover we are mailing numbers 7-8 to you today. Please note that the July-August issue is combined, and not in the usual format but titled: A Hundred Years Later. About twice a year we have a special issue of New South on some subject of topical interest.

The October issue was mailed out very late; in fact about ten days ago, and I believe you will find that you now have it on hand. The November-December issue (combined) was mailed out today, and you should receive your copy within a few days after this letter.

We are very sorry for the delay, and expect to be back on regular schedule by February.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

CC: Bay State Periodical Service

THIS IS A CLAIM Jan 29, 1963

Please send the following issue (or issues) of New South: V. 17 #7 july, #8 Aug., #10 Oct., #11 Nov, #12 Dec 1962 (Can you explain why this library does not recive numbers regularly ?)

due on subscription, but not received -

DIRECT TO:

Fleming Library
Southwestern Baptist Theol. Seminary
P.O. Box 22,000
Fort Worth 15, Texas.

If replacement can not be made for any reason, Please notify us. Thank you for your prompt attontion to this request.

CL:V BAY STATE PERIODICAL SERVICE, INC.

February 1, 1963

Mr. Charles E. Butler
Librarian
Longwood College
Farmville, Virginia

Dear Mr. Butler:

On January 25 you wrote us, asking if New South is still being published. We have been behind schedule, and I wrote you saying that the delayed issues would be along within a few weeks. Now that our reorganization of our mailing system has been completed, I find in checking our files that your library is not listed as a subscriber, and we have no record of your having subscribed in the recent past. Do you wish to subscribe now? Our rates are $2.00 per year for eleven issues, and we will be glad to send you one or two sample copies.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

January 28, 1963

Mr. Charles E. Butler
Librarian
Longwood College
Farmville, Virginia

Dear Mr. Butler:

Yes, New South is still being published, although it is unfortunately behind schedule. You should have received the October issue last week; the November-December issues will be mailed out this week. We hope to be back on schedule by February.

Thank you for your inquiry, and we do regret the delay.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

LONGWOOD COLLEGE
ESTABLISHED 1884
FARMVILLE, VIRGINIA

January 25, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We would like to know if the publication New South is still being published. Please let us hear from you regarding this. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Charles E. Butler, Jr.

Charles E. Butler, Librarian

CEB/fh

THE *MIRABEAU B. LAMAR*
LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
Alexander Moffit : *University Librarian*
AUSTIN, TEXAS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

On behalf of the Board of Regents of the University of Texas, permit me to thank you for your gift to the Library.

University Librarian

February 4, 1963

ZINN, Howard
Albany - a study in national responsibility. Atlanta, Southern Regional Council, 1962.

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

Febauary 5, 1963

RECEIVED
FEB 7 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Attention: Dr. Leslie Dunbar

Gentlemen:

On our NEW SOUTH list for November, 1962, we sent you the name of the Rev. and Mrs. Spencer Levan, PO Box 772, Charleston, S.C. Mr. Levan tells us that he has never received a copy of NEW SOUTH. Will you please investigate and see that he gets, if possible, back copies starting with November or otherwise, a year's subscription from January, 1963? no record

Also, our July, 1962 list gave the Rev. Howard McClain, at 1420 Lady Street, Columbia, S.C. He reports he has not been receiving his copy of NEW SOUTH either. He has recently moved, but had not been receiving the magazine at the old address. Please change his address to:

The Rev. Howard McClain
907 Richland St., Colembia, S.C.

had stencil at old address
no information on card about payment
address being changed

We have had three or four such incidents of subscribers not receiving their magazines, altho in each one we have found the name was sent to you. Will you kindly look into this?

Sincerely,

Charlotte A. Hickman
(Mrs. H. H. Hickman)
Director Membership-Finance

put both on stencil list
2/15/63
MG

February 6, 1963

Mr. Robert S. Nugent
Acquisitions Librarian
Jersey City State College
New Jersey 5, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Nugent:

We are mailing you today the missing copies of New South (July-August, October, November-December). Our files indicate that the Library of the New Jersey State Teachers College, 2039 Hudson Blvd., Jersey City, N. J. is a subscriber to New South, paid through June, 1963. We do not have a listing for the Jersey City State College, as your letterhead indicates the listing. Will you please let us know which is correct, so that we may, if necessary, correct our own listing.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

State of New Jersey
JERSEY CITY STATE COLLEGE
JERSEY CITY 5, N. J.

MICHAEL B. GILLIGAN, PRESIDENT

January 30,1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

We have not received New South, July and August 1962, volume 17, numbers 7 and 8, nor have we received any issues since September 1962, volume 17, number 9. Our subscription, which is paid through F.W. Faxon Company, runs through June 1963.

May we hear from you at your earliest convenience?

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Robert S. Nugent

Robert S. Nugent,
Acquisitions Librarian

RSN:rl

Library
N. J. State Teachers College
2039 Hudson Blvd.
Jersey City, N. J.
et seq. June, 1963

Card & check ok
2-6-63
m A

Sent missing copies

New South

February 6, 1963

Mr. Burton B. Meyer, Jr.
2423 Menokin Drive, Apt. 202
Alexandria, Virginia

Dear Mr. Meyer:

Thank you for saying that you were not complaining! Others have not been so considerate. It is not the fault of the postoffice. The printer has been slow, but not that slow. We just have to admit that the fault is ours, due to a combination of circumstances beyond our control. We do expect to be back on schedule by February; so please be patient a little longer.

You should have received the November-December issue by now, and the January issue will be going out soon.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

3 Feb 63

Received Nov-Dec. by now

Gentlemen:

I received my copy of the October 1962 issue of NEW SOUTH only last week and have not received any copies of issues later than October.

I'm not complaining, but thought I would let you know in the event that the Post Office or the printer is at fault.

Sincerely,

Burton B. Moyer, Jr.

Burton B. Moyer, Jr.

Burton B. Moyer, Jr.
2423 Menokin Drive, Apt. 202
Alexandria, Virginia

sent Nov-Dec New South

to:

Periodical Section
Huntington Memorial Library
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Va.

February 6, 1963

Mr. Ivanhoe Donaldson
P. O. Box 42
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Mr. Donaldson:

We have your letter of February 1st. regarding the cost of a subscription to New South, our monthly magazine. The subscription cost is $2.00 per year for eleven issues. We do not have a newsletter; we do publish pamphlets from time to time, and you will see these listed in New South, with a description of the contents and the price. We are temporarily out of our publications list; as soon as it has been updated and reissued, we will send you a copy. The map you requested is enclosed. The price is 10¢.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

P.S. Under separate cover we are sending you a sample copy of New South and the publication which had the map attached when it was first published.

Ivanhoe Donaldson
P.O. Box 42
East Lansing, Mich
Feb. 1st, 1963.

Dear Sir,

I am interested in receiving what ever news letters your office put out, subscribing to the New South and any maps that you have of racial (non-white) distribution in the South. If you will inform of the cost which is involved in the above, I will send you a check.

Respectfully
Ivanhoe Donaldson.

February 7, 1963

Librarian
Mississippi Industrial and Technological
Research Commission Library
947 Deposit Guaranty jBank Bldg.
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Sir:

We have your request for a complimentary subscription to our monthly publication, New South. We are pleased to notify you that the request is granted, and you will begin receiving the magazine soon.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

February 8, 1963

Miss Jimmie Watkins Kyle
1907 Link Road
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Miss Kyle:

Our apologies for billing you when you had already paid your subscription through the Virginia Council on Human Relations. The information came to us in January and was entered on your card after the notices had gone out. Our records are now correct, and in accord with yours. Thank you for writing.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Your records are in error. I paid 10.00 dues to the Virginia Council on Human Relations on May 5, 1962. Jennie W. Kyle 1907 Kirk Rd Fredericksburg

Date January 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Subscriber:

Subscription was received & noted on card ~~in January~~ after notice had gone out

Our records show that your subscription for NEW SOUTH has expired. Please fill out this renewal notice and return within two weeks if possible so that you won't miss a single issue.

We hope you will want to continue receiving NEW SOUTH and will mail your renewal immediately. If you have been a member of a state affiliate, we hope you will want to continue participating in its work and will send dues to the state office.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

NEW SOUTH

Enter my subscription to NEW SOUTH for one year. Enclosed is my check or money order for $2.00 (make payable to Southern Regional Council, Inc.).

NAME _____ DATE _____

STREET _____ CITY _____

Please return the entire renewal slip with your remittance. Thank you. STATE _____

February 11, 1963

Mr. Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York 24, New York

Dear Mr. Walker:

We are pleased to send you New South for one year's complimentary subscription, at the suggestion of Leslie W. Dunbar.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

February 12, 1963

Mr. V. C. Johnson
Route 1, Box 115
Dinsmore, Florida

Dear Mr. Johnson:

You most certainly are correct in assuming that you are a current subscriber to NEW SOUTH, and we are very embarrassed over having sent a bill to such a good member of the Florida Council on Human Relations.

Since the state councils send us lists of subscription renewals once a month, we sometimes send bills to people after they have paid through their state councils, but before we receive notice of their renewal. This is most likely what happened in your case.

We are in the process of trying to devise a more efficient method of handling our NEW SOUTH subscription list, so maybe next year we won't send you a bill after you've paid!

Thank you for your inquiry.

Sincerely,

Mary Godwin
Secretary to the Editor of NEW SOUTH

MG/s

MG
ret. MA

Dinsmore Dairy Company

GOLDEN GUERNSEY MILK A SPECIALTY

V. C. JOHNSON — BRADY S. JOHNSTON
EARL A. JOHNSON — CHARLES F. JOHNSON

PRODUCERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF . . . . . .
QUALITY DAIRY PRODUCTS
BREEDERS OF REGISTERED GUERNSEY CATTLE

[redacted] . Dinsmore, Florida

TOWN HOME (OFFICE AND PLANT) 660 KING STREET. ALL SECTIONS OF THE CITY AND THE BEACHES ARE SERVED BY ROUTES STARTING HERE.

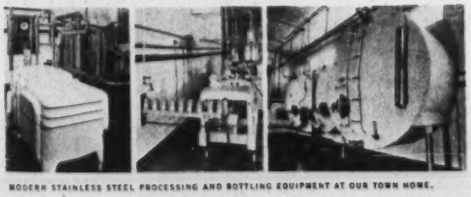
GOLDEN GUERNSEY BUILDING, DINSMORE. HOME OF ONE OF THE WORLD'S LARGEST HERDS OF PURE BRED GUERNSEY CATTLE.

MILKING TIME AT DINSMORE. SHOWING 84 BEAUTIFUL GUERNSEYS. THE ENTIRE HERD NUMBERS OVER 1400.

DINSMORE'S "MAY ROYALTY" 376230AR LEADER OF THE HERD AND RATED AS THE SIRE OF MORE DAUGHTERS CLASSIFIED "EXCELLENT" AND "VERY GOOD" THAN ANY OTHER LIVING GUERNSEY BULL.

SAPELOE ROSEBUD AR49526. FLORIDA CHAMPION. 17,354.5 LBS. MILK. 930.6 LBS. FAT. CL. A 5.36%. HER SISTER SAPELOE ROYAL MARY AR40339 HAS A RECORD OF 13,349.0 LBS. MILK. 760.9 LBS. FAT. AND HELD 2ND PLACE AMONG THE 10 LEADING COWS OF THE BREED IN CL. AAA WHEN SHE MADE HER RECORD.

OVER 6,000 TONS OF FEED ARE HOME GROWN YEARLY ON THE DINSMORE DAIRY FARM.



MODERN STAINLESS STEEL PROCESSING AND BOTTLING EQUIPMENT AT OUR TOWN HOME.

February 8, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Concerning the enclosed blank which I received with the November issue of New South, I would like to give you the following information. At the Annual Meeting of the Florida Council on Human Relations I made a contribution of $200.00 and in addition included $7.50 which I understood took care of the membership of the Council on Human Relations and my subscription to New South for another year.

Will you please let me know whether I am correct in assuming that this took care of my subscription as it has done in the past?

Very truly yours,

V. C. Johnson

V. C. Johnson

VCJ/v
encl.

VISITORS AT OUR FARM AND PLANT ARE ALWAYS APPRECIATED

February 12, 1963

Mrs. Mina P. Shaughnessy
1 Gracie Terrace
New York 28, New York

Dear Mrs. Shaughnessy:

We are pleased to send you New South for a one year complimentary subscription, at the suggestion of Leslie W. Dunbar.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Christian Action Council

NEIL TRUESDELL, PRESIDENT - MRS. D. C. BOMAR, 1ST VICE PRESIDENT - BRYAN CRENSHAW, 2ND VICE PRESIDENT - NEAL WYNDHAM, RECORDING SECRETARY.
DIRECTORS: R. WRIGHT SPEARS, CITIZENSHIP - J. SHERRARD RICE, COMMUNITY SERVICES - A. M. TAYLOR, EDUCATION - R. ARCHIE ELLIS, FINANCE - WALLACE FRIDY, PUBLIC RELATIONS.
HOWARD G. McCLAIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR - TREASURER, MRS. MARGUERITE WOOLLEN, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

ROOM 301 — 907 RICHLAND STREET — COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA — PHONE ALPINE 4-1679

February 14, 1963

Dr. Lester Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Yesterday I received two issues of "New South," together with the enclosure attached to this letter.

You will note that this is a notice that my subscription has expired.

The facts are as follows:

(1) Last August I made a contribution to the South Carolina Council on Human Relations;
(2) two or three times during the fall, 1962, I mentioned the fact that I had not received the "New South," would like to receive copies as from August, and was told they would contact your office about this matter;
(3) the issues received yesterday (the last 2 for '62) were the first copies I had received.

It would be my impression that my subscription should at least extend through July, 1963.

I hate to bother you with such a "piddling" matter but I have regretted not receiving these materials earlier and this kind of procedure is certainly not dedicated to "keeping friends" who are not deeply committed to the purpose of the Southern Regional Council.

put on stencil list 2/15/63 MG

Very sincerely yours,

Howard G. McClain
Executive Director

HGM:br

Encl.

February 15, 1963

The Rev. Howard G. McClain
Executive Director
Christian Action Council
907 Richland Street, Room 301
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Mr. McClain:

Your letter of February 14 to Mr. Dunbar has been referred to me for reply for two reasons: Mr. Dunbar is out of the office, and I have recently been designated to see that the New South mailing list is put in good order.

Last Spring the Council began putting in a new system and for several months one person was in charge of this. An opening on the secretarial staff came up, for which she was more urgently needed and particularly well qualified, and for several months the revision of the system stopped dead, causing considerable confusion in the mailing. We now have begun again to get it in good order, with extra clerical help, but it will probably be several more weeks before this is completed.

We had a card for you, at your old address, but it had been pulled because New South was returned. The card was marked "complimentary" with no new address and no other information. These cards were gone over carefully by several staff members, and cards of those people we did not know were taken out to be sent notices of expiration. Your card has now been up-dated, stencil ordered with your new address, and it has been appropriately marked as "contributor to South Carolina Council." I trust we will have no more mix-ups on your subscription.

I am mailing you today some back issues of New South, beginning with the July-August issue, which was a special edition titled A Hundred Years Later. I hope you will find them of interest, even thoughtreceived so late.

Please accept our apology for our negligence in getting this matter attended to. We have been working under great pressure all Summer and Fall, with many staff absences (because of illness). We cestainly do wish to keep all our friends, whether or not they are deeply committed to the purpose of the Council, and we do not consider it a "piddling" matter at all. We very much appreciate your writing as you did and giving us this opportunity to corsect our error.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

February 15, 1963

Mrs. H. H. Hickman
Director Membership-Finance
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Hickman:

Thank you for your letter of February 5, to Mr. Dunbar. It has been referred to me for reply for two reasons: Mr. Dunbar has been out of the office for the past ten days, and I have recently been designated to see that the New South mailing list is put in good order.

Last Spring theCouncil began putting in a new system and for several months one person was in charge of this (part time). An opening on the secretarial staff came up, for which she was more urgently needed and particularly well qualified, and for several months the revision of the system stopped dead, causing considerable confusion in the mailing. We now have begun again to get it in good order, with extra clerical help, but it will probably be several more weeks before this is completed. In the meantime, we will appreciate your letting us know of any more complaints of South Carolina subscribers.

I have today written to the Rev. McClain and the Rev. and Mrs. Spencer Levan, with our apolagies, and have sent copies of back issues to both. In the case of Mr. McClain, we had only his old address, and his card had been pulled because the magazine had been returned to us. In the case of the Levans, we had no record at all, and I do not have an explanation for this, but we are checking. In any case, they are both now on the mailing list and should recive all subsequent issues.

We have been working under great pressure this Summer and Fall (and still are) due to staff vacancies and illnesses.

Thank you again for writing. We do very much want to clear up our whole mailing system for New South and we are well on the way to doing this.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

P.S. Your letter will be called to Mr. Dunbar's attention when he returns to the office.

February 15, 1963

The Rev. and Mrs. Spencer Levan
P. O. Box 772
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Levan:

This letter is an apology for our failure to send you New South, after you had subscribed in November, 1962. We received the list in December, and because of staff illness and leave-taking during the holidays, did not process it until late January. You are now on our mailing list and should receive all subsequent issues on schedule. We will be mailing out January and February issues together within the next ten days.

In the meantime, we are sending you under separate cover the issues you have missed since beginning your subscription in November.

Again, we are sorry for this oversight and hope you will have no more difficulties with us and with New South.

Sincerely yours,

Monee G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

February 15, 1963

LWD MA

status report on New South

Mary and I have been going over the current progress on New South subscription reorganization. Progress has been steady, but there is still a lot to be done.

1. We are still getting renewals from people for whom there is no card, but for whom there is a stencil.

2. We are getting renewals for people for whom there is a card, but no stencil (6 at one time, from the New York batch. Also, some of the complimentary subscriptions that we were to correct addresses on had cards, but no stencils.

3. Mrs. Knox continues to find duplicates when she is stuffing for both New South and L-reports. Since she stuffs a small percentage of both, her eagle-eyed observation helps only a little.

Mary and I have come to the reluctant conclusion that the only way to really get this thing straight is to have Bernice run off stencils on the whole New South mailing list, and make up a card file BY ALPHABETIZING ALL NAMES, regardless of state or status or date. In this way, we could; 1) eliminate duplications, of which I think there must be a great many, some due to changing addresses with NS still going to the old address, some due to there simply being two stencils for the name and address. The file would be useful in other ways, too. More often than you would think, people send us new addresses without giving the old one, and we cannot find any old one, so we must conclude it is from another state--but which one? This necessitates writing a letter, or sending a mimeographed form after much searching.

Both the card files and the stencil files are kept by states now,

and I think we must leave them this way, not only for now but for the future. There will always be the need for checking one against the other if we are to keep the mailing list in good order, as it should be. And the stencils somehow seem to get mixed up in the process of addressing.

This will mean that we will continue to need extra help until the alphabetical file of New South is completed and checked for duplications and then checked against the card file by states to separate the people for whom we have stencils but no cards, cards but no stencils, and those that match and are in good order. Then there will be the problem of getting the stencils and cards to match up. All this will be tedious and time-consuming, but I cannot think of any other way.

I had thought we could check Mary's cards against Bernice's stencils, but this is not working out so well, and it does nothing about the duplications.

Les, I'm sorry this continues to be such a headache and a problem; the more we get into it, the more we find that it is even worse then my first pessimistic report.

Bernice is not going to be happy about running off the stencils; I think it would be more acceptable to her if you were to tell her this is necessary. However, if you had rather keep out of it, I will do it. And she does have extra help now.

I think there is going to have to be some kind of directive about mailing out the requests EACH DAY, regardless of other work, except in cases of extreme emergency. They continue to stack up. And even on days when we are rushed with other things, any mailing requests marked "urgent" should go out. As it is, those of us reponsible for the urgent ones see that they go out, but this should not be necessary. I believe Roland could and would take responsiblity for this. However, this very probably would upset Bernice, since she is in charge.

LOS ANGELES PUBLIC LIBRARY
630 West Fifth Street
Los Angeles 17, California
February 15, 1963

South Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please RENEW the subscription listed below:

1 - New South
May, 1963 to May, 1964

$1.50

2.00

Publications should be mailed as follows:

billed
2-21-63
MA

1 - LOS ANGELES PUBLIC LIBRARY
SERIALS DIVISION
630 WEST FIFTH STREET
LOS ANGELES 17 CALIFORNIA

A bill in triplicate should be sent to the Serials Division.

Very truly yours,

Helen M. Mason
SERIALS DIVISION

Form 37 3-58

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Serials Division
Los Angeles Public Library
630 West Fifth St.
Los Angeles 17, Calif.

****

Purchase Order # **2-21-63**

Date Shipped **2-21-63**

1 Renewal New South

May, 1963 to May, 1964 **$2.00**

February 26, 1963

Bernice Cook Montez Albright

mailing

From now on, State Directors of State Councils are to receive only ONE copy of materials mailed out to their category. The exception is NEW SOUTH, of which they are to continue receiving 25 copies.

Regarding the 50 copy mailing to Mr. Oscar Cohen, this will continue FOR MATERIALS PRODUCED BY US; those things we buy or receive in limited quantities will not apply for the 50-copy mailing. Mr. Cohen mails out his copies to Anti-Defamation offices around the country, and this saves us mailing fees.

4/3/63

HOLLIS BURKE FRISSELL LIBRARY

Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

4-8-63
mA

This library has failed to receive :

New South
Vol. 17, March, July and Aug. 1962

Will you kindly forward the missing numbers? Thank you very much.

Carolyn L. Redden, Ass't. Serials Librarian

April 2, 1963

Mr. J. Martin England
106 Perrin Street
Greenville, S. C.

Dear Mr. England:

A few days after you were by the Council office, I came down with the flu and was out for two weeks. I'm just now catching up.

We found your letter regarding the New South bulk subscription, and are mailing you ten copies each month. If you should not receive them any month, please let us know. (Please keep in mind that we are not yet back on schedule and they may be late in arriving.)

Since this is a bulk subscription, with all ten copies going to the same address, and since you are kind enough to take this promotion and distribution of our magazine on yourself, we are beginning the subscription with the January issue through September 1964, or 18 months for the $20.00.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

106 Perrin Street
Greenville, S.C.
March 9, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta

Dear friends,

Some time ago I sent you my check for $20, in payment for copies each month of your magazine, NEW SOUTH.

May I ask now that you adjust my request, and send me each month **ten** copies of the magazine. Please bill me if I owe you more, or give me credit on future charges if any is due me.

Thank you.

J. Martin England

2.00
10
$20.00

Pres.
Sec.
gen
Lib
MA 3-19-63

3-13-63
E.D.G.P. → Sent note to Bernice concerning 10 copies of N.S. each month
Sept. 1964

April 4, 1963

Mrs. Spencer Bayles
5018 Indigo
Houston 35, Texas

Dear Mrs. Bayles:

We are very sorry that you were upset upon receiving our letter making inquiry as to the status of your subscription to New South. We are particularly sorry that the tone of the questionnaire seemed to you to be hostile; we certainly did not intend it to be.

We have been in process for some months of putting in a new system of keeping records of subscribers. We found that we had some subscribers without the proper notations on their cards, and we did not know, therefore, whether they had subscribed direct or through a state council and when the subscription should have expired. This was the reason for the letter you received; we simply wanted to get our records straight and in accord with subscriber's records or memory. (Most state councils include a New South subscription in the annual dues, and we receive renewals from them as well as from the individual subscribers.)

Thank you for sending us the information on your own subscription, and for the three gift subscriptions. Your check for $8.00 has been properly credited and notated. We hope that you and the Reverends Ettling, Bosman and Stevens continue to enjoy New South.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

ck $8.00
3/25/63
WK

MRS. SPENCER BAYLES • 5018 INDIGO • HOUSTON 35, TEXAS

March 20, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NG write nice letter after checking, or ret to me for reply
MA

Dear Sir:

I don't understand the letter I got about my subsctiption.

Two years ago now I sent five subscriptions, because someone urged me to. One year ago I renewed four of them (the fifth had been for Bishop Hines, who, you told me was on your board.)

I am perfectly willing to renew these again. All you have to do is send a notice. The four subsctipns I paid for are these, and I include a check for $8.

The Rev. A.J. Ettling
5642 Willowbend Blvd
Houston 35, Texas

The Rev. John Bosman
1613 W. 43rd Street
Houston 20, Texas

The Rev. John Stevens
7135 Ashburn (new address)
Houston 17, Texas

and mine.

4-4-63
G.O.6.P.

I do not know whether we have a Texas Council on Human Relations or not. We do have a Houston one, and all four of us belong.

Are you aware of the hostile tone of your questionnaire?

Sincerely, Virginia Bayles

April 4, 1963

Eleanor Perry Montez Albright

Procedure for billing NEW SOUTH

1. A first notice (blue paper) is to be sent to each subscriber one month before his subscription expires; this will be inserted in envelope with NEW SOUTH mailing (i.e., the March issue will have not only those whose subscriptions expire in March, but the blue notice for those whose subscriptions expire in April.

2. A second notice (the regular one on white paper) will be sent to all those whose subscriptions expire the month of the mailing.

3. A follow-up letter (on SRC mimeograph letterhead) is to go out to all those whose subscriptions expired the following month. This will be easy, because we will have the stencils that have been removed for those who did not pay after receiving the second notice.

   We want to keep count of the renewals we get from the follow-up letter for the first two or three months to see if we get enough renewals to make this extra mailing practical. The renewal letter is to go in an addressed envelope, first class. From this we can also tell if the subscriber has moved.

4. All stencils of NEW SOUTH subscribers who have now renewed and sent check are to be removed from the file before the next issue of New South is mailed out. These should be kept in a specil, marked box so that they can be used for addressing the envelopes. After one month, they will be discarded, along with the cards. If they haven't renewed after three chances, there isn't much hope.

NOTE: All complimentary subscriptions for one year should have duplicate cards in the monthly expiration file, so they can be reviewed one year later, and the subscriber either billed, the subscription renewed, or taken out of file. If this has not been done to date, please go back when you have time and do it.

LOS ANGELES PUBLIC LIBRARY
630 West Fifth Street
LOS ANGELES 17, CALIFORNIA

4-9-63
mA

April 5, 1963

Gentlemen;

On May 21, 1962 we ordered a copy of New South Vol. 15, #5 (May 1960) - Vol. 15, #6 (June 1960) Since we have not yet received the publications, we shall appreciate knowing when we may expect our order to be filled.

If these publications are out of print, please let us know.

Yours truly,
Serials Division

PCI

April 9, 1963

Serials Division
Los Angeles Public Library
630 West Fifth Street
Los Angeles 17, Calif.

Dear Sir:

I do not understand why you did not receive the New South Vol. 15, numbers 5 and 6 , which you ordered on May 21, 1962. However, I am very sorry for this apparent break-down in our order filling operations. We are mailing you today the requested copies of New South.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

second claim

BAYLOR UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
Box 6307
WACO, TEXAS

4-8-63 mA

April 2, 1963

We failed to receive a copy of

New South

for Jy., Aug 1962, being No. 7,8 of Vol. 17

We shall be glad to have the number supplied as soon as possible.

Very respectfully,
MRS. ESTHER J. SHEETS
SERIALS LIBRARIAN
BAYLOR UNIVERSITY

April 8, 1963

Mrs. Esther J. Sheets
Serials Librarian
Baylor University Library
Box 6307
Waco, Texas

Dear Mrs. Sheets:

Enclosed is our New South, Vol. 17, 7 and 8, entitled: A Hundred Years Later. Please advise whoever is in charge of binding New South that this is, indeed, numbers 7 and 8.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

April 8, 1963

Miss Carolyn Redden
Asst. Serials Librarian
Hollis Burke Frissell Library
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

Dear Miss Redden:

Enclosed are New South, Vol. 17, Numbers for March and July-August. Please note that the July-August issue has a different format, but is, indeed, New South. We occasionally issue these special formats for New South, usually about twice a year.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Atlanta 3-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date April 22, 1963

To: Staff From: MA

Subject: NEW SOUTH SUBSCRIPTIONS

In order to keep the stencils and the card files of NEW SOUTH in agreement, and to have in the card file accurate information on EVERY stencil, please do not send names to be added as either paid or complimentary subscribers without first giving the information to either Mary Godwin or Eleanor Perry. They will make out a card for the files and send the names back to Bernice Cook for the stencil list.

When giving a complimentary subscription, please specify whether for one year or indefinitely. If for one year, the subscription will be reviewed yearly before being renewed or billed. All complimentary subscriptions will be reviewed periodically, as staff persons change or move, and situations change.

mhj
BOB
JH
NAM
LKG
RHA
BC
RB
MG
MM
PH
E.P

Purchasing Dept.
Tuskegee Institute
P. O. Box 1239
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

54744

June 62-63
Monthly

1 year subscription to New South $2.00

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 23, 1963

Mr. J. A. Fernandes
Purchasing Agent
P. O. Box 1239
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

RECEIVED
MAY 24 1963
PURCHASING DEPT.

Dear Mr. Fernandes:

We have your postcard, marked "urgent", regarding your order 54744 of June 5, 1962. We have no record of this order, and consequently no record of payment.

Mrs. Barbara Patterson, who formerly handled these orders and requests for information and materials, informs me that she recently filled out, for your auditor, a form that was in effect a release from any liability for payment in 1962. Frankly, we don't know what else we can do.

It is possible that the order went to a professional staff person, who had materials sent to you without charge, as sometimes happens for special meetings in which we have an interest or concern.

I hope that this will be satisfactory, and that we can both forget about order 54744.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

See attached

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March 19, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Forsyth:

At Mr. Cohen's suggestion we have sent a memo to all our regional offices suggesting they subscribe to the NEW SOUTH publication. If we can be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely yours,

Harold Gross

Harold Gross, Director
National Organizations

HG:blh
cc:Oscar Cohen

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

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On blue paper

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL Date
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Subscriber:

Our records show that your subscription for NEW SOUTH will expire next month. If you wish to continue receiving NEW SOUTH without interruption, please fill in the renewal notice and return to us at once.

If you have been a member of a state council, and have subscribed through it, we hope you will want to continue participating in its work and will send dues to the state office.

We hope you will want to continue to receive NEW SOUTH and will mail your renewal immediately.

Sincerely yours,

NEW SOUTH

By _____
editor

- -

Please enter my subscription to NEW SOUTH for one year. Enclosed is my check or money order for $2.00 (make payable to Southern Regional Council, Inc.).

Name _____ Date _____

Street _____ City _____

State _____

PLEASE RETURN ENTIRE RENEWAL SLIP WITH YOUR REMITTANCE

Courtesy—TUCKER-CASTLEBERRY PRINTING, INC. • JAckson 5-8654

MA

I think this is worded so effectively.

Could we sort of redo it and use it for the New South subscribers who do not renew after the first notice? We are sending out hundreds of notices with the November & December issue. Say, about February, ~~we might~~ or March we might send out this type of mimeographed letter to all those who do not renew. Many people do not renew at the first notice and we might get enough renewals to pay for the mailing.

MA

OK

THE VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW

A National Journal of Literature & Discussion

ONE WEST RANGE · CHARLOTTESVILLE · VIRGINIA

Dear Subscriber.

Did you miss the current number of the Virginia Quarterly? You did not receive it because your subscription had expired with the preceding issue. We feel sure that your failure to renew earlier was due to an oversight and that you want to continue to receive the magazine. A renewal card is enclosed for your convenience and the current issue will be sent you as soon as your order reaches us. ~~You may remit with your renewal or defer payment until you receive a statement.~~

We value your subscription and your interest in the magazine highly. May we have your renewal soon?

Very sincerely yours,

Bernice C. Maddox

Secretary

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

- an accurate record

- a satisfactory method for keeping accurate

- a routine, working method of sending out bills & dropping non-paid subscribers

EVALUATION OF NEW SOUTH SUBSCRIPTIONS HANDLING

Maybe I've done this too quickly, but it seemed urgent in view of letter from people who have not received New South since July and are pretty bitter about it, even to wanting their money refunded.

It is still in pretty much of a mess; notices of expiration have not been sent out for January 1962 expirations, and Mary can't begin sending them until she finishes checking all the lists from the state councils, because some of these people have renewed through the councils. She has a good understanding of the system, as Barbara set it up, but she is a month or two of steady work behind, even with the ehlp that Mrs. Knox can give her in typing information on cards.

As I understand it, Barbara worked out a system, and sent corrections on mailing addresses back to Bernice for correcting stencils, and this part was up to date. However, this information was NOT typed or noted on the cards (there is a duplicate system: one set of cards (by states) has name, how subscribed, when, and expiration date; the second set is filed under expiration dates for sending out notices of expiration monthly, only this hasn't been done during the past year so most people will now owe two years when the notices go out).

Since the cards have never been in any way sychronized, whenever Mary gets a change of address or a subscription payment, she has to look three different places to try to find the person's card; sometimes it isn't there, so she checks the stencils and as often as not there is a stencil but no card record. There are also bound to be cards with no stencils, since this has not been cross-checked in about six months to a year, and should be done periodically.

Mary also has a large batch of cards that she doesn't know what to do about. She doesn't know if they got the letter that went out asking if they knew when their subscription expired. Something will have to be decided about this batch of cards. Since it has been almost a year, or perhaps longer, since they've paid anything, their subscriptions are bound to have already expired. My suggestion would be to send them a regular notice, and if they pay, put them in the file and if they don't, discard them.

If Mary had some help to catch up and get this thing in good shape, I think she can handle it all right on a regular basis. Each year when the long lists from the councils come in, it will be rugged and she could certainly use a little temporary help getting that all entered and checked. Both she and Maggie are resigned to the fact that it is going to have to be their responsibility; Mary is beginning to get a little fascinated with the job of straightening the mess out--sort of like a challenge or a peculiarly complicated puzzle.

I do think she need some help, unless you want this to drag on for several more months. I would be willing to help her a couple of hours a day for a while. Perhaps with that and Mrs. Knox we could soon catch up.

MA

Text of Kennedy's Message on Civil Rights

WASHINGTON, June 19 (AP)—The text of President Kennedy's civil rights message to Congress follows:

Last week I addressed to the American people an appeal to conscience—a request for their cooperation in meeting the growing moral crisis in American race relations. I warned of "a rising tide of discontent that threatens the public safety" in many parts of the country. I emphasized that "the events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or state or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them." "It is a time to act," I said, "in the Congress, in state and local legislative bodies and, above all, in all of our daily lives."

In the days that have followed, the predictions of increased violence have been tragically borne out. The "fires of frustration and discord" have burned hotter than ever.

AT THE SAME time, the response of the American people to this appeal to their principles and obligations has been reassuring. Private progress—by merchants and unions and local organizations—has been marked, if not uniform, in many areas.

Many doors long closed to Negroes, North and South, have been opened. Local biracial committees, under private and public sponsorship, have mushroomed. The mayors of our major cities, whom I earlier addressed, have pledged renewed action.

BUT PERSISTING inequalities and tensions make it clear that federal action must lead the way, providing both the nation's standard and a nationwide solution. In short, the time has come for the Congress of the United States to join with the Executive and Judicial branches in making it clear to all that race has no place in American life or law.

On Feb. 28, I sent to the Congress a message urging the enactment this year of three important pieces of civil rights legislation:

1. VOTING. Legislation to assure the availability to all of a basic and powerful right — the right to vote in a free American election—by providing for the appointment of temporary federal voting referees while voting suits are proceeding in areas of demonstrated need; by giving such suits preferential and expedited treatment in the federal courts; by prohibiting in federal elections the application of different tests and standards to different voter applicants, and by providing that, in voting suits pertaining to such elections, the completion of the sixth grade by any applicant creates a presumption that he is literate. Armed with the full and equal right to vote, our Negro citizens can help win other rights through political channels not now open to them in many areas.

South) will be fearful of being the first to move, in the face of official, customer, employe or competitive pressures.

Negroes, consequently, can be expected to continue increasingly to seek the vindication of these rights through organized direct action, with all its potentially explosive consequences, which as we have seen in Birmingham, in Philadelphia, in Jackson, in Boston, in Cambridge, Md., and in many other parts of the country.

IN SHORT, the result of continued federal legislative inaction will be continued, if not increased, racial strife—causing the leadership on both sides to pass from the hands of reasonable and responsible men to the purveyors of hate and violence, endangering domestic tranquility, retarding our nation's economic and social progress and weakening the respect with which the rest of the world regards us. No American, I feel sure, would prefer this course of tension, disorder and division—and the great majority of our citizens simply cannot accept it.

FOR THESE REASONS, I am proposing that the Congress stay in session this year until it has enacted — preferably as a single omnibus bill—the most responsible, reasonable and urgently needed solutions to this problem, solutions which should be acceptable to all fair-minded men. This bill would be known as the "Civil Rights Act of 1963," and would include—in addition to the aforementioned provisions on voting rights and civil rights commission—additional titles on public accommodations, employment, federally assisted programs, a community relations service, and education, with the latter including my previous recommendation on this subject. In addition, I am requesting certain legislative and budget amendments designed to improve the training, skills and economic opportunities of the economically distressed and discontented, white and Negro alike. Certain executive actions are also reviewed here; but legislative action is imperative.

1. Equal accommodations in public facilities.

Events of recent weeks have again underlined how deeply our Negro citizens resent the injustice of being arbitrarily denied equal access to those facilities and accommodations which are otherwise open to the general public. That is a daily insult which has no place in a country proud of its heritage—the heritage of the melting-pot, of equal rights, of one nation and one people. No one has been barred on account of his race from fighting or dying for America—there are no "white" or "colored" signs on the foxholes or graveyards of battle. Surely, in 1963, 100 years after emancipation, it should not be necessary for any American citizen to demonstrate in the streets

serving at a profit the American public at large can claim any inherent right to exclude a part of that public on grounds of race or color. Just as the law requires common carriers to serve equally all who wish their services, so it can require public accommodations to accommodate equally all segments of the general public. Both human rights and property rights are foundations of our society—and both will flourish as the result of this measure.

IN A SOCIETY which is increasingly mobile and in an economy which is increasingly interdependent, business establishments which serve the public—such as hotels, restaurants, theaters, stores and others—serve not only the members of their immediate communities but travelers from other states and visitors from abroad. Their goods come from all over the nation. This participation in the flow of interstate commerce has given these business establishments both increased prosperity and an increased responsibility to provide equal access and service to all citizens.

Some 30 states, the District of Columbia and numerous cities—covering some ⅔ of this country and well over ⅔ of its people—have already enacted laws of varying effectiveness against discrimination in places of public accommodation, many of them in response to the recommendation of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights in 1947. But while their efforts indicate that legislation in this area is not extraordinary, the failure of more states to take effective action makes it clear that federal legislation is necessary. The state and local approach has been tried. The voluntary approach has been tried. But these approaches are insufficient to prevent the free flow of commerce from being arbitrarily and inefficiently restrained and distorted by discrimination in such establishments.

(The states and cities to which the message referred were listed as: Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming. Cities with public accommodations ordinances which are outside the above states include Washington, D.C., Wilmington, Del., Louisville, Ky., El Paso, Texas, Kansas City, Mo. and St. Louis, Mo.)

CLEARLY THE federal government has both the power and the obligation to eliminate these discriminatory practices: First, because they adversly affect the national economy and the flow of interstate commerce; and secondly, because congress has been

in a free and united nation, and thus help move this potentially dangerous problem from the streets to the courts.

II. Desegregation of schools.

In my message of Feb. 28, while commending the progress already made in achieving desegregation of education at all levels as required by the constitution, I was compelled to point out the slowness of progress toward primary and secondary school desegregation. The Supreme Court has recently voiced the same opinion. Many Negro children entering segregated grade schools at the time of the Supreme Court decision in 1954 will enter segregated high schools this year, having suffered a loss which can never be regained. Indeed, discrimination in education is one basic cause of the other inequities and hardships inflicted upon our Negro citizens. The lack of equal educational opportunity deprives the individual of equal economic opportunity, restricts his contribution as a citizen and community leader, encourages him to drop out of school and imposes a heavy burden on the effort to eliminate discriminatory practices and prejudices from our national life.

THE FEDERAL COURTS, pursuant to the 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court and earlier decisions on institutions of higher learning, have shown both competence and courage in directing the desegregation of schools on the local level. It is appropriate to keep this responsibility largely within the judicial arena. But it is unfair and unrealistic to expect that the burden of initiating such cases can be wholly borne by private litigants. Too often those entitled to bring suit on behalf of their children lack the economic means for instituting and maintaining such cases or the ability to withstand the personal, physical and economic harassment which sometimes descends upon those who do institute them. The same is true of students wishing to attend the college of their choice but unable to assume the burden of litigation.

THE DIFFICULTIES are among the principal reasons for the delay in carrying out the 1954 decision; and this delay cannot be justified to those who have been hurt as a result. Rights such as these, as the Supreme Court recently said, are "present rights. They are not merely hopes to some future enjoyment of some formalistic constitutional promise. The basic guarantees of our constitution are warrants for the here and now. . . .

IN ORDER to achieve a more orderly and consistent compliance with the Supreme Court's school and college desegregation decisions, therefore, I recommend that the congress assert its specific constitutional authority to implement the 14th Amendment by including in the Civil Rights Act of 1963 a new title providing the

cruelty on minority groups. The unemployment rate of Negro workers is more than twice as high as that of the working force as a whole. In many of our larger cities, both North and South, the number of jobless Negro youth—often 20 per cent or more—creates an atmosphere of frustration, resentment and unrest which does not bode well for the future. Delinquency, vandalism, gang warefare, disease, slums and the high cost of public welfare and crime are all directly related to unemployment among white and Negroes alike—and recent labor difficulties in Philadelphia may well be only the beginning if more jobs are not found in the larger Northern cities in particular.

EMPLOYMENT opportunities, moreover, play a major role in determing whether the rights described above are meaningful. There is little value in a Negro's obtaining the right to be admitted to hotels and restaurants if he has no cash in his pocket and no job.

Relief of Negro unemployment requires progress in three major areas:

(1) More jobs must be created through greater economic growth. The Negro—too often unskilled, too often the first to be fired and the last to be hired—is a primary victim of recessions, depressed areas and unused industrial capacity. Negro unemployment will not be noticeably diminished in this country until the total demand for labor is effectively increased and the whole economy is headed toward a level of full employment. When our economy operates below capacity, Negroes are more severely affected than other groups. Conversely, return to full employment yields particular benefits to the Negro. Recent studies have shown that for every one percentage point decline in the general unemployment rate there tends to be a two percentage point reduction in Negro unemployment.

PROMPT and substantial tax reduction is a key to achieving the full employment we need. The promise of the area redevelopment program—which harnesses local initiative toward the solution of deep-seated economic distress—must not be stifled for want of sufficient authorization or adequate financing. The accelerated public works program is now gaining momentum; states, cities and local communities should press ahead with the projects financed by this measure. In addition, I have instructed the Departments of Labor, Commerce, and Health, Education, and Welfare to examine how their programs for the relief of unemployment and economic hardship can be still more intensively focused on those areas of hard-core, long-term unemployment, among both white and nonwhite workers. Our concern with civil rights must not cause any diversion or dilution of our efforts for economic progress—for with-

in the new and more urgent context of this message, I wish to renew my request for these measures, to expand their prospective operation and to supplement them with additional provisions. The additional $400 million which will be required beyond that contained in the January budget is more than offset by the various budget reductions which I have already sent to the Congress in the last four months. Studies show, moreover, that the loss of one year's income due to unemployment is more than the total cost of 12 years of education through high school; and, when welfare and other social costs are added, it is clear that failure to take these steps will cost us far more than their enactment. There is no more profitable investment than education, and no greater waste than ill-trained youth.

SPECIFICALLY, I now propose:

(A) That additional funds be provided to broaden the manpower development and training program, and that the act be amended, not only to increase the authorization ceiling and to postpone the effective date of state matching requirements, but also (in keeping with the recommendations of the President's committee on youth employment) to lower the age for training allowances from 19 to 16, to allocate funds for literacy training, and to permit the payment of a higher proportion of the program's training allowances to out-of-school youths, with provisions to assure that no one drops out of school to take advantage of this program;

(B) That additional funds be provided to finance the pending youth employment bill, which is designed to channel the energies of out-of-school, out-of-work youth into the constructive outlet offered by home-town improvement projects and conservation work;

(C) That the pending vocational education amendments, which would greatly update and expand this program of teaching job skills to those in school, be strengthened by the appropriation of additional funds, with some of the added money earmarked for those areas with a high incidence of school dropouts and youth unemployment, and by the addition of a new program of demonstration youth training projects to be conducted in these areas;

(D) That the vocational education program be further amended to provide a work-study program for youth of high-school age, with federal funds helping their school or other local public agency employ them part time in order to enable and encourage them to complete their training;

(E) That the ceiling be raised on the adult basic education provisions in the pending education program, in order to help the states teach the fundamental tools of literacy and learning to culturally deprived adults. More

ments, agencies and federal contractors, covering a total of some 20 million employes and the nation's major employers. I have requested a company-by-company, plant-by-plant, union-by-union report to assure the administration of this policy.

(B) I will shortly issue an executive order extending the authority of the Committee on Equal Employment to include the construction of buildings and other facilities undertaken wholly or in part as a result of federal grant-in-aid programs.

(C) I have directed that all federal construction programs be reviewed to prevent any racial discrimination in hiring practices, either directly in the rejection of presently available qualified Negro workers or indirectly by the exclusion of Negro applicants for apprenticeship training.

(D) I have directed the secretary of labor, in the conduct of his duties under the Federal Apprenticeship Act and Executive Order No. 10925, to require that the admission of young workers to apprenticeship programs be on a completely nondiscriminatory basis.

(E) I have directed the secretary of labor to make certain that the job counseling and placement responsibilities of the Federal-State Employment Service are carried out on a nondiscriminatory basis, and to help assure that full and equal employment opportunity is provided all qualified Negro applicants. The selection and referral of applicants for employment and for training opportunities, and the administration of the employment offices' other services and facilities, must be carried on without regard to race or color. This will be of special importance to Negroes graduating from high school or college this month.

(F) The Department of Justice has intervened in a case now pending before the NLRB involving charges of racial discrimination on the part of certain locals.

(G) As part of its new policy on federal employes organizations, this government will recognize only those that do not discriminate on grounds of race or color.

(H) I have called upon the leaders of organized labor to end discrimination in their membership policies; and some 118 unions, representing 35 percent of the AFL-CIO membership, have signed nondiscrimination agreements with the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. More are expected.

(I) Finally, I renew my support of pending federal fair employment practices legislation, applicable to both employers and unions. Approximately two-thirds of the nation's labor force is already covered by federal, state and local equal employment opportunity measures — including those employed in the 22 states and numerous cities which have enacted such laws as well as those

tions of investigation or litigation.

It is my intention, therefore, to establish by executive order (until such time as it can be created by statute) an independent community relations service—to fulfill the functions described above, working through regional, state and local committees to the extent possible and offering its services in tension-torn communities either upon its own motion or upon the request of a local official or other party. Authority for such a service is included in the proposed omnibus bill. It will work without publicity and hold all information imparted to its officers in strict confidence. Its own resources can be preserved by its encouraging and assisting the creation of state and local committees, either on a continuing basis or in emergency situations.

WITHOUT POWERS of enforcement or subpoena, such a service is no substitute for other measures; and it cannot guarantee success. But dialogue and discussions are always better than violence—and this agency, by enabling all concerned to sit down and reason together, can play a major role in achieving peaceful progress in civil rights.

V. Federal programs.

Simple justice requires that public funds, to which all taxpayers of all races contribute, not be spent in any fashion which encourages, entrenches, subsidizes or results in racial discrimination. Direct discrimination by federal, state or local governments is prohibited by the constitution. But indirect discrimination, through the use of federal funds, is just as invidious; and it should not be necessary to resort to the courts to prevent each individual violation. Congress and the executive have their responsibilities to uphold the constitution also; and, in the 1960s, the executive branch has sought to fulfill its responsibilities by banning discrimination in federally financed housing, in federally affected employment, in the Army and Air Force reserve, in the training of civilian defense workers and in all federally owned and leased facilities.

Many statutes providing federal financial assistance, however, define with such precision both the administrator's role and the conditions upon which specified amounts shall be given to designated recipients that the amount of administrative discretion remaining—which might be used to withhold funds if discrimination were not ended—is at best questionable. No administration has the unlimited authority to invoke the constitution in opposition to the mandate of the Congress. Nor would it always be helpful to require unconditionally—as is often proposed—the withdrawal of all federal funds from programs urgently needed by Negroes as well as white; for this may only penalize those who least deserve it without ending discrimination.

Instead of permitting this issue

the application of different tests and standards to different voter applicants, and by providing that, in voting suits pertaining to such elections, the completion of the sixth grade by any applicant creates a presumption that he is literate. Armed with the full and equal right to vote, our Negro citizens can help win other rights through political channels not now open to them in many areas.

2. CIVIL RIGHTS commission. Legislation to renew and expand the authority of the Commission on Civil Rights, enabling it to serve as a national civil rights clearing house offering information, advice and technical assistance to any public or private agency that so requests.

3. SCHOOL DESEGREGATION. Legislation to provide federal technical and financing assistance to aid school districts in the process of desegregation in compliance with the constitution.

Other measures introduced in the Congress have also received the support of this administration, including those aimed at assuring equal employment opportunity.

Although these recommendations were transmitted to the Congress sometime ago, neither house has yet had an opportunity to vote on any of these essential measures. The Negroes' drive for justice, however, has not stood still—nor will it, it is now clear, until full equality is achieved.

The growing and understandable dissatisfaction of Negro citizens with the present pace of desegregation and their increased determination to secure for themselves the equality of opportunity and treatment to which they are rightfully entitled have underscored what should already have been clear: The necessity of the Congress enacting this year—not only the measure already proposed—but also additional legislation providing legal remedies for the denial of certain individual rights.

THE VENERABLE code of equity law commands "for every wrong, remedy." But in too many communities, in too many parts of the country, wrongs are inflicted on Negro citizens for which no effective remedy at law is clearly and readily available. State and local laws may even affirmatively seek to deny the rights to which these citizens are fairly entitled—and this can result only in a decreased respect for the law and increased violations of the law.

In the continued absence of congressional action, too many state and local officials as well as businessmen will remain unwilling to accord these rights to all citizens. Some local courts and local merchants may well claim to be uncertain of the law, while those merchants who do recognize the justice of the Negro's request (and I believe these constitute the great majority of merchants, North and

of its heritage—the heritage of the melting-pot, of equal rights, of one nation and one people. No one has been barred on account of his race from fighting or dying for America—there are no "white" or "colored" signs on the foxholes or graveyards of battle. Surely, in 1963, 100 years after emancipation, it should not be necessary for any American citizen to demonstrate in the streets for the opportunity to stop at a hotel, or to eat at a lunch counter in the very department store in which he is shopping, or to enter a motion picture house, on the same terms as any other customer. As I stated in my message to the Congress of February 28, "no action is more contrary to the spirit of our democracy and constitution—or more rightfully resented by a Negro citizen who seeks only equal treatment—than the barring of that citizen from restaurants, hotels, theaters, recreational areas and other public accommodations and facilities."

THE UNITED STATES government has taken action through the courts and by other means to protect those who are peacefully demonstrating to obtain access to these public facilities; and it has taken action to bring an end to discrimination in rail, bus and airline terminals, to open up restaurants and other public facilities in all buildings leased as well as owned by the federal government, and to assure fully equality of access to all federally owned parks, forests and other recreational areas. When uncontrolled mob action directly threatened the nondiscriminatory use of transportation facilities in May 1961, federal marshals were employed to restore order and prevent potentially widespread personal and property damage. Growing nationwide concern with this problem, however, makes it clear that further federal action is needed now to secure the right of all citizens to the full enjoyment of all facilities which are open to the general public.

SUCH LEGISLATION is clearly consistent with the constitution and with our concepts of both human rights and property rights. The argument that such measures constitute an unconstitutional interference with property rights has consistently been rejected by the courts in upholding laws on zoning, collective bargaining, minimum wages, smoke control and countless other measures designed to make certain that the use of private property is consistent with the public interest. While the legal situations are not parallel, it is interesting to note that Abraham Lincoln, in issuing the Emancipation Proclamation 100 years ago, was also accused of violating the property rights of slaveowners. Indeed, there is an age-old saying that "Property has its duties as well as its rights"; and no property owner who holds those premises for the purpose of

ington, Del., Louisville, Ky., El Paso, Texas, Kansas City, Mo. and St. Louis, Mo.)

CLEARLY THE federal government has both the power and the obligation to eliminate these discriminatory practices: First, because they adversly affect the national economy and the flow of interstate commerce; and secondly, because congress has been specifically empowered under the Fourteenth Amendment to enact legislation making certain that no state law permits or sanctions the unequal protection or treatment of any of its citizens.

There have been increasing public demonstrations of resentment directed against this kind of discrimination — demonstrations which too often breed tension and violence. Only the federal government, it is clear, can make these demonstrations unnecessary by providing peaceful remedies for the grievances which set them off.

FOR THESE REASONS, I am today proposing, as part of the Civil Rights Act of 1963, a provision to guarantee all citizens equal access to the services and facilities of hotels, restaurants, places of amusement and retail establishments.

This seems to me to be an elementary right. Its denial is an arbitrary indignity that no American in 1963 should have to endure. The proposal would give the persons aggrieved the right to obtain a court order against the offending establishment or persons. Upon receiving a complaint in a case sufficiently important to warrant his conclusion that a suit would materially further the purposes of the act, the attorney general—if he finds that the aggrieved party is unable to undertake or otherwise arrange for a suit of his own (for lack of financial means or effective representation, or for fear of economic or other injury)—will first refer the case for voluntary settlement to the community relations service described below, give the establishment involved time to correct its practices, permit state and local equal access laws (if any) to operate first, and then, and only then, initiate a suit for compliance. In short, to the extent that these unconscionable practices can be corrected by the individual owners, localities and states (and recent experience demonstrate how effectively and uneventfully this can be done), the federal government has no desire to intervene.

BUT AN EXPLOSIVE national problem cannot await city-by-city solutions; and those who loudly abhor federal action only invite it if they neglect or evade their own obligations.

This provision will open doors in every part of the court which never should have been closed. Its enactment will hasten the end to practices which have no place

now. . . .

IN ORDER to achieve a more orderly and consistent compliance with the Supreme Court's school and college desegregation decisions, therefore, I recommend that the congress assert its specific constitutional authority to implement the 14th Amendment by including in the Civil Rights Act of 1963 a new title providing the following:

(A) AUTHORITY would be given the attorney general to initiate in the federal district courts appropriate legal proceedings against local public school boards or public institutions of higher learning—or to intervene in existing cases—whenever:

(1) He has received a written complaint from students or from the parents of students who are being denied equal protection of the laws by a segregated public school or college; and

(2) He certifies that such persons are unable to undertake or otherwise arrange for the initiation and maintenance of such legal proceedings for lack of financial means or effective legal representation or for fear of economic or other injury; and

(3) He determines that his initiation of or intervention in such suit will materially further the orderly progress of desegregation in public education. For this purpose, the attorney general would establish criteria to determine the priority and relative need for federal action in those districts from which complaints have been filed.

(B) AS PREVIOUSLY recommended, technical and financial assistance would be given to those school districts in all parts of the country which, voluntarily or as the result of litigation, are engaged in the process of meeting the educational problems flowing from desegregation or racial imbalance but which are in need of guidance, experienced help or financial assistance in order to train their personnel for this changeover, cope with new difficulties and complete the job satisfactorily (including in such assistance loans to a district where state or local funds have been withdrawn or withheld because of desegregation).

Public institutions already operating without racial discrimination, of course, will not be affected by this statute. Local action can always make federal action unnecessary. Many school boards have peacefully and voluntarily desegregated in recent years. And while this act does not include private colleges and schools, I strongly urge them to live up to their responsibilities and to recognize no arbitrary bar of race or color—for such bars have no place in any institution, least of all one devoted to the truth and the improvement of all mankind.

III. Fair and full employment. Unemployment falls with special

of Labor, Commerce, and Health, Education, and Welfare to examine how their programs for the relief of unemployment and economic hardship can be still more intensively focused on those areas of hard-core, long-term unemployment, among both white and nonwhite workers. Our concern with civil rights must not cause any diversion or dilution of our efforts for economic progress—for without such progress the Negro's hopes will remain unfulfilled.

(2) More education and training to raise the level of skills.

A distressing number of unemployed Negroes are illiterate and unskilled, refugees from farm automation, unable to do simple computations or even to read a help-wanted advertisement. Too many are equipped to work only in those occupations where technology and other changes have reduced the need for manpower—as farm labor or manual labor, in mining or construction. Too many have attended segregated schools that were so lacking in adequate funds and faculty as to be unable to produce qualified job applicants. And too many who have attended nonsegregated schools dropped out for lack of incentive, guidance or progress. The unemployment rate for those adults with less than 5 years of schooling is around 10 per cent; it has consistently been double the prevailing rate for high school graduates; and studies of public welfare recipients show a shockingly high proportion of parents with less than a primary school education.

ALTHOUGH the proportion of Negroes without adequate education and training is far higher than the proportion of whites, none of these problems is restricted to Negroes alone. This nation is in critical need of a massive upgrading in its education and training effort for all citzens. In an age of rapidly changing technology, that effort today is failing millions of our youth. It is especially failing Negro youth in segregated schools and crowded slums. If we are ever to lift them from the morass of social and economic degradation, it will be through the strnegthening of our education and training services—by improving the quality of instruction; by enabling our schools to cope with rapidly expanding enrollments; and by increasing opportunities and incentives for all individuals to complete their education and to continue their self-development during adulthood.

I HAVE therefore requested of the Congress and request again today the enactment of legislation to assist education at every level from grade school through graduate school.

I have also requested the enactment of several measures which provide, by various means and for various age and educational groups, expanded job training and job experience. Today,

federal funds helping their school or other local public agency employ them part time in order to enable and encourage them to complete their training;

(E) That the ceiling be raised on the adult basic education provisions in the pending education program, in order to help the states teach the fundamental tools of literacy and learning to culturally deprived adults. More than 22 million Americans in all parts of the country have less than eight years of schooling; and

(F) That this public welfare work-relief and training program, which the Congress added last year, be amended to provide federal financing of the supervision and equipment costs, and more federal demonstration and training projects, thus encouraging state and local welfare agencies to put employable but unemployed welfare recipients to work on local projects which do not displace other workers.

TO MAKE the above recommendations effective, I call upon more states to adopt enabling legislation covering unemployed fathers under the aid-to-dependent children program, thereby gaining their services for "work-relief" jobs, and to move more vigorously in implementing the manpower development and training program. I am asking the secretaries of labor and HEW to make use of their authority to deal directly with communities and vocational schools whenever state cooperation or progress is insufficient, particularly in those areas where youth unemployment is too high. Above all, I urge the Congress to enact all of these measures with alacrity and foresight.

For even the complete elimination of racial discrimination in employment — a goal towards which this nation must strive (as discussed below) —will not put a single unemployed Negro to work unless he has the skills required and unless more jobs have been created — and thus the passage of legislation described above (under both sections (1) and (2)) is essential if the objectives of this message are to be met.

(3) Finally race discrimination in employment must be eliminated. Denial of the right to work is unfair, regardless of its victim. It is doubly unfair to throw its burden on an individual because of his race or color. Men who served side by side with each other on the field of battle should have no difficulty working side-by-side on an assembly line or construction project.

Therefore, to combat this evil in all parts of the country,

(A) The Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, under the chairmanship of the vice president, should be given a permanent statutory basis, assuring it of adequate financing and enforcement procedures. That committtee is now stepping up its efforts to remove racial barriers in the hiring practices of federal depart-

(1) Finally, I renew my support of pending federal fair employment practices legislation, applicable to both employers and unions. Approximately two-thirds of the nation's labor force is already covered by federal, state and local equal employment opportunity measures — including those employed in the 22 states and numerous cities which have enacted such laws as well as those paid directly or indirectly by federal funds. But, as the secretary of labor testified in January, 1962, federal legislation is desirable, for it would help set a standard for all the nation and close existing gaps.

This problem of unequal job opportunities must not be allowed to grow, as the result of either recession or discrimination. I enlist every employer, every labor union, and every agency of government—whether affected directly by these measures or not—in the task of seeing to it that no false lines are drawn in assuring equality of the right and opportunity to make a decent living.

IV. Community relations service.

I have repeatedly stressed the fact that progress in race relations, while it cannot be delayed, can be more solidly and more peacefully accomplished to the extent that legislation can be buttressed by voluntary action. I have urged each member of the United States Conference of Mayors to establish biracial humal relations committees in every city; and I hope all communities will establish such a group, preferably through official action. Such a board or committee can provide invaluable services by identifying community tensions before they reach the crisis stage, by improving cooperation and communication between the races, and by advising local officials, merchants and organizations on the steps which can be taken to insure prompt progress.

A SIMILAR AGENCY is needed on the federal level—to work with these local committees, providing them with advice and assistance—to work in those committees, which lack a local committee—and generally, to help ease tensions and suspicions, to help resolve inter-racial disputes and to work quietly to improve relations in any community threatened or torn with strife. Such an effort is in no way a substitute for effective legislative guarantees of human rights. But conciliation and cooperation can facilitate the achievement of those rights, enabling legislation to operate more smoothly and more effectively.

The Department of Justice and its Civil Rights Division have already performed yeoman service of this nature, in Birmingham, in Jackson, and throughout the country. But the problem has grown beyond the time and energies which a few otherwise burdened officials can make available—and, in some areas, the confidence of all will be greater in an intermediary whose duties are completely separated from departmental func-

the unlimited authority to invoke the constitution in opposition to the mandate of the Congress. Nor would it always be helpful to require unconditionally—as is often proposed—the withdrawal of all federal funds from programs urgently needed by Negroes as well as white; for this may only penalize those who least deserve it without ending discrimination.

Instead of permitting this issue to become a political device often exploited by those opposed to social or economic progress, it would be better at this time to pass a single comprehensive provision making it clear that the federal government is not required, under any statute, to furnish any kind of financial assistance—by way of grant, loan, contract, guaranty, insurance or otherwise—to any program or activity in which racial discrimination occurs. This would not permit means of punishing an area for the discrimination occurring therein—but it would clarify the authority of any administrator with respect to federal funds or financial assistance and discriminatory practices.

Conclusion

Many problems remain that cannot be ignored. The enactment of the legislation I have recommended will not solve all our problems of race relations. This bill must be supplemented by action in every branch of government at the federal, state and local level. It must be supplemented as well by enlightened private citizens, private businesses and private labor and civic organizations, by responsible educators and editors, and certainly by religious leaders who recognize the conflict between racial bigotry and the Holy Word.

This is not a sectional problem—it is nationwide. It is not a partisan problem. The proposals set forth above are based on a careful consideration of the views of leaders of both parties in both houses of Congress. In 1957 and 1960, members of both parties rallied behind the civil rights measures of my predecessor; and I am certain that this tradition can be continued, as it has in the case of world crises. A national domestic crisis also calls for bipartisan unity and solutions.

We will not solve these problems by blaming any group or section for the legacy which has been handed down by past generations. But neither will these problems be solved by clinging to the patterns of the past. Nor, finally, can they be solved in the streets, by lawless acts on either side, or by the physical actions or presence of any private group or public official, however appealing such melodramatic devices may seem to some.

During the weeks past, street demonstrations, mass picketing and parades have brought these matters to the nation's attention in dramatic fashion in many cities throughout the United States. This

Turn to Page 23, Column 2

PRESIDENT'S TEXT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Continued From Page 20

has happened because these racial injustices are real and no other remedy was in sight. But, as feelings have risen in recent days, these demonstrations have increasingly endangered lives and property, enflamed emotions and unnecessarily divided communities. They are not the way in which this country should rid itself of racial discrimination. Violence is never justified; and, while peaceful communication, deliberation and petitions of protest continue, I want to caution against demonstrations which can lead to violence.

This problem is now before the Congress. Unruly tactics or pressures will not help and may hinder the effective consideration of these measures. If they are enacted, there will be legal remedies available; and, therefore, while the Congress is completing its work, I urge all community leaders, Negro and white, to do their utmost to lessen tensions and to exercise self-restraint. The Congress should have an opportunity to freely work its will. Meanwhile, I strongly support action by local public officials and merchants to remedy these grievances on their own.

The legal remedies I have proposed are the embodiment of this nation's basic posture of common sense and common justice. They involve every American's right to vote, to go to school, to get a job and to be served in a public place without arbitrary discrimination — rights which most Americans take for granted.

In short, enactment of "The Civil Rights Act of 1963" at this session of the Congress—however long it may take and however troublesome it may be—is imperative. It will go far toward providing reasonable men with the reasonable means of meeting these problems; and it will thus help end the kind of racial strife which this nation can hardly afford. Rancor, violence, disunity and national shame can only hamper our national standing and security. To paraphrase the words of Lincoln; "in giving freedom to the Negro, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve."

I therefore ask every member of Congress to set aside sectional and political ties, and to look at this issue from the viewpoint of the nation. I ask you to look into your hearts—not in search of charity, for the Negro neither wants nor needs condescension—but for the one plain, proud and priceless quality that unites us all as Americans; a sense of justice. In this year of the Emancipation centennial, justice requires us to insure the blessings of liberty for all Americans and their posterity —not merely for reasons of economic efficiency, world diplomacy and domestic tranquility — but, above all, because it is right.

John F. Kennedy
The White House,
June 19, 1963.

Mississippi Governor here next Tuesday

Right Wing
North Side News
7-11-63

All Northsiders invited to hear Ross Barnett's battle plan for South

Mississippi's Governor Ross R. Barnett, crisis-tested guardian of Southern conservatism whose strength of mind forced the impulsive U.S. Attorney General Kennedy to retreat in shame and seek other opponents, will address Atlantans next Tuesday night (July 16) on how the South can restore Constitutional Government.

He will speak in the ballroom of the Dinkler Plaza Hotel, starting at 7:30 o'clock, before a first anniversary meeting of the fast-growing Atlanta Citizens Council to which admittance is free for all white patroitic Atlantans.

J.K. Callaway of Old Ivy Road, president of the Atlanta Citizens Council, says arrangements have been made to accomodate all who come.

* * *

JAMES H. GRAY, editor and publisher of The Albany Herald and until his resignation was accepted by newly-elected Governor Sanders was chairman of the Georgia State Democratic Party, will introduce Governor Barnett at the meeting next Tuesday night. Mr. Gray is an able speaker, fully informed on the problems the South faces and he has never wavered in his resistance to the indignities offered Southerners since the Kennedys moved into their Washington powerhouse. He is the man who bought the integration-threatened public park in the heart of Albany and made it a private, segregated park. His forewords in his introduction of Governor Barnett undoubtedly will be as enlightening to Northsiders as will be the main address by the notable Mississippian.

Governor Barnett's plea for Southern unity in the 1960 Presidential race resulted in 15 electoral votes being cast for Senator Harry F. Byrd, the Virginia Democrat, for President. Georgia Democrats missed the boat in 1960, preferring to barter with Kennedy through a $100-million bond issue which will never be forgotten, continuing as it will as a tax burden over the next 30 years for property owners of this state.

* * *

TODAY, Governor Barnett's plan for Southwide political solidarity in the 1964 Presidential election has Southwide interest. Recently, some 1,000 persons from virtually every Southern state attended a $25-a plate dinner meeting in Jackson Miss., to cheer Governor Barnett and Alabama's Governor George Wallace as they urged the Deep South to unite behind the plan to block any liberal candidate for President. . .and just which non-liberal candidate the South will endorse will be the result of unemotional, politically-expert decision to get this whole nation off the hook of communism.

Georgia's Jim Gray offered delegates to that Jackson dinner meeting a resolution calling on citizens in every Southern state to take all necessary actions for adoption of the Barnett plan and that resolution was unanimously adopted.

* * *

In urging all Northsiders to attend the Tuesday night meeting, Northsider Callaway said: "Governor Barnett, by his courageous actions, has become the symbol of Southern determination. He has been on the firing line, and he has not yielded. He has earned the admiration and respect of the people of Georgia, and of loyal Americans everywhere. Let's show Governor Barnett that we in Georgia share his determination to win this fight!"

REDFERN sliced luncheon meats are tasty, nourishing . . . quickly served. At your favorite food store—

Sandy Springs Optimists hear loan expert

Right losing

State-controlled life threatens all in U.S.

North Side News 7-11-63

Northsiders warned

Americans may be losing freedom by accepting "paternalistic" aid programs from Washington and allowing the government to take over individual responsibilities, a business official told the Sandy Springs Optimist Club Monday.

Ed W. Hiles, executive vice president of the Georgia Savings and Loan League, said there is a 'steady and positive drifting into a state of controlled lives' in this country. Too often, he said, the government's vast spending programs and its assumption of individual responsibilities are accepted as being security.

"History records", he declares, "that throughout all time, whenever a people have decided they wanted security more than they wanted freedom, they have ended up by losing both."

* * *

MR. HILES said the program known widely as federal aid is a "fraud" and that money distributed through it can be obtained in only two ways.

"The first way is for the government to take something from us in order to have it to give back to us," he declared. "That is ridiculous and to me it is like a person giving himself a blood transfusion by taking blood from the right arm and inserting it in the left arm -- meanwhile running it through a tube that leaks.

"The other way. . .is for the government to take it from someone else in order to give it to us."

He asked: "What sort of progress are we making in America when we urge our elected officials, by resolution and otherwise, to pass laws which will destroy human dignity by making half of the people victims of piracy and the other half victims of charity?"

* * *

MR. HILES listed renewed emphasis on Christian morality and a return to Constitutional limitations upon government as being necessary to the safeguarding of freedom of individual Americans.

"Freedom and character will rise and fall together," he said, "and freedom cannot long endure where there is no character to sustain it."

The first cornerstone of freedom must be a "basic fundamental belief in, and reliance upon, Almighty God," the savings and loan official declared. "God is the real difference between Americanism and Communism."

He said that signers of the Declaration of Independence recognized and expressed in the language of that document, that certain rights of Americans are derived from God, and not from the government.

The Constitution "was not intended to be made flexible by court interpretation in order to comply with some expressed policy of whatever political party happened to be in power," he told the Optimists.

* * *

HE SPOKE briefly of the business represented by the Georgia Savings and Loan League. The 100 savings and loan associations constituting the League are located throughout the state and have assets of approximately $1,500,000,000.

Savings and loan associations provide nearly half of all home financing in the state. The Georgia associations distributed approximately $55,000,000 in earnings to accountholders in 1962, and $30,000,000 for the first six months of 1963.

North Side News 7-11-63

Critics contradicted . . . report withheld

California's official John Birch probers defend membership

So many Northsiders meet regularly as members of the John Birch Society that The North Side News reprints photographically this story from the pages of The Christian Science Monitor, one of the world's most responsible newspapers. Local daily newspapers and airwave news channels have smeared this organization and its membership so unfairly for the last few years that The NEWS believes this report on the organization should be laid before all Northsiders and render secrecy no longer essential.

By John C. Waugh
Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

The very conservative John Birch Society, which has been the subject of controversy across the country, now has been smiled on in California by the State Senate Fact-Finding Subcommittee on un-American activities.

After a two-year study of the organization, the subcommittee has found no evidence that it is secret, fascist, anti-Semitic or unAmerican. The committee describes it rather as simply a "right, anti-Communist, fundamentalist organization."

The subcommittee says it has not found—as its critics here charged—that the great majority of Birch Society members in California, which is a center of John Birch activity, are "crackpots or hysterical about the threat of Communist subversion." The subcommittee pointed out in a 62-page report, " . . . There have been instances of imprudent activities and indefensible statements, but such isolated occurrences are not typical of the organization as a whole."

Critics Contradicted

The report of the subcommittee, headed by Sen. Hugh M. Burns, a Democrat, has served to counter and mitigate some of the criticism of the society here.

It directly contradicts a report on the society issued in 1961 by California Attorney General Stanley Mosk, who described its members as primarily "wealthy business men, retired military officers, and little old ladies in tennis shoes."

Members of the society now are pointing to the subcommittee's findings as an answer to the recent scathing attack from moderate Republican United States Sen. Thomas Kuchel of California. Senator Kuchel, an outspoken Birch foe, lumped the society in with groups he defines as "fright peddlers."

Such leaders of the John Birch Society as former California Rep. John H. Rousselot, have long argued that its most insistent critics simply don't understand its aims or its policies.

Concern Over Reds

The State Senate subcommittee reported that it "found the average member [of the society] to have been concerned about the advances of the world Communist movement and the advances of Communist subversion in this country. The John Birch Society has provided the only organization with a militant program of study and action through which the frustrations of these people can be released."

The subcommittee, while defending Birch members as a whole, was not so kindly disposed toward its founder and leader, Robert Welch. It found some of his accusations as "irresponsible," "indefensible," and "ridiculous." But it also found that they are shared by very few of his followers, indeed that most of the Birch membership disclaim them.

"It is evident to us," the subcommittee concluded in its report, "that since few members agree with Mr. Welch on a variety of matters, if he continues to make sensational and insupportable charges he will alienate rank and file loyalty. There is no doubt that such statements have rendered the society vulnerable to much legitimate criticism."

Welch Letter Assailed

The subcommittee referred at length to Mr. Welch's famous 268-page private letter, "The Politician," written in 1954 and expanded upon in 1958. In perhaps his most celebrated passage, Mr. Welch described former President Eisenhower as "a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy." It referred to his brother, Milton Eisenhower, as a Communist of 30 years' standing. It raked former Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, and Chief Justice Earl Warren, John Foster Dulles, and his brother, Allen Dulles, for "aiding," the Communist conspiracy, consciously or otherwise.

The state Senate subcommittee said that many of the society's national council leaders have vainly asked Mr. Welch to repudiate his views. It alluded to efforts within the society to have Mr. Welch replaced or at least to have part of his authority diminished.

Ouster Move Denied

Birch Society leaders here, however, deny any effort to replace him. One Birch spokesman, Paul H. (Tex.) Talbert has pointed out that it would be difficult to find someone to replace him and that his removal might do more toward wrecking the society than helping it.

The John Birch Society has grown rapidly since its founding in the late 1950's. Its national membership is estimated now at about 60,000. Of this number California, with 300 chapters, contributes between 5,000 and 6,000 members, it is estimated.

It has had widespread influence here and has become a force within the Republican Party. Moderate Republicans accuse the society of being a strong force for ideological and organizational disunity in the Republican Party.

Report Suppressed On Birch Society?

By the Associated Press

Glendale, Calif.

Former Rep. Edgar W. Hiestand says that California Gov. Edmund G. Brown suppressed a state Senate committee's report on the John Birch Society until after last November's election.

The Senate Subcommittee on Un-American Activities released the report earlier this month. It said the Birch Society was not subversive and was not anti-Semitic.

Mr. Hiestand was one of two GOP congressmen who admitted being members of the society, and his opponent criticized him for this in the fall political campaign.

Mr. Hiestand, now president of the John Birch Society in Burbank, told a Glendale Republican women's group Monday the report was deliberately suppressed and said it "completely cleared" the society.

Governor Brown wasn't available for comment.

THE OTHER SIDE Metro Herald 7-31-63

Stronger Resistance Indicated Against Racial Demonstrators As Moderate Citizens Alarmed

One of the most overused words in the English language is "They".

When one mentions what is being done, such as building roads, tearing down buildings, erecting new structures, changing the complexion of neighborhoods, etc., it is said, "They are building a new building at Peachtree Road and Blank Drive".

When one describes a movement of any kind it is usually said, "They are going to vote that man out of office next time he runs".

"They" is used to picture some unknown, mysterious force which moves things around, be it in the building or political field.

Now "they" are pretty well upset, even out here in the Eighth Ward, (the one white ward which has been noted as voting "with the do-gooders" in recent years) over the Mayor's stand on the Civil Rights Bill as he outlined it in Washington last week.

Some of the more intense segregationists and even some who are not are pretty incensed over the stand. And 'they' are saying, some of them, that a 'recall election' should be held.

Frankly, many folks think 'they' (again meaning that unknown factor in our everyday lives) are gradually stiffening their backbones and getting ready to get up off the floor and take a positive stand on protection of their civil rights.

Meanwhile, the problems of the Mayor's office keep piling up. Never before have we heard as many outspoken terms used in describing a politician's action as have been used the last few days regarding Mr. Allen's Washington speech.

Fortunately, the summer has not been too inducive to use of the public pools and that has probably alleviated the potentially dangerous situation that could have resulted when the races were mixed in our pools.

Basically, members of both the white and colored races are peace loving American folks and it is becoming more evident each day that much of the trouble which has been kicked up in recent months was undesired and unwanted by the more stable, substantial members of both races.

In fact, we see a lessening of the agitation appearing on the horizon and when the tension dies out, many a politician who took a positive stand for the liberal side of the question will become the target of the wrath of the voters, both white and colored.

Metro Herald 7-31-63

Wallace Given Top Applause At Conference

You did not read it in local daily newspapers, but we did in out of state publications in their stories from the National Governor's Conference. The longest and loudest applause for any governor at the dinner attended only by the governors, their staffs and Florida dignataries was not for Nelson Rockefeller or any of his kind but was for Alabama's George Wallace.

The stories stated that radio and television experts used applause meters when the several governors were introduced and Governor Wallace won easily.

Yet, we in Atlanta were led to believe that Governor Rockefeller was the hero and star of the show. Incidentally, these stories also said that the new Mrs. Rockefeller was not well-received by the wives of Republican governors.

 Metro Herald 7-31-63

Mayor Allen Must Not Have Read The Bill

The kindest thing that could be said for Mayor Ivan Allen regarding his now famous support of the President's civil rights bill before a congressional committee is that he had not read the bill, as his speech clearly indicated.

It was publicly announced that the mayor had been invited to testify on the bill itself, but instead he made a political-type address and in the course of his oratory actually endorsed federal legislation which would force privately owned businesses to operate as the Attorney-General of the United States sees fit. We are sure that businessman Ivan Allen would not want the thriving company of the same name operated at the whim of any U. S. Attorney-General, but that, in effect, is what he supported.

Meanwhile, here at home Negro demonstrators in seeking to take over a privately owned business also assumed the right to take over the public streets and sidewalks at a busy intersection in downtown Atlanta. Traffic was blocked and general confusion was the order as the demonstrators stretched out in the streets halting passing motorists. There was a near riot as motorists became impatient at being unable to continue along the downtown streets. Could this be part payment by the demonstrators for Mr. Allen's support of the civil rights bill? Only time will tell.

7-31-63

METROPOLITAN HERALD

Looking Ahead

Atlanta rung up another "first" last week when the Mayor appeared before the Congressional Committee which is holding hearings on the President's Civil Rights bill.

The solid rank of opposition of Southern sentiment against the bill was 'bent' not broken, when Mayor Allen went on record as favoring the bill.

His surprising action shocked the community into a rash of speculation as to just what his political career can possibly gain from his stand.

There are those who claim he is looking forward to a stab at the Congressional Seat when and if Fulton County becomes a separate district and Representatives are again elected to go to Washington.

There are others who staunchly declare that his well-known ambition to become Georgia's Governor was the motivating reason for his stand.

The first reason seems most logical. With the ever-growing Negro registration in Fulton County it is more reasonable to think that his ambition points towards the Congressional seat rather than the Governor's chair.

True there is a tremendous Negro registration in Fulton County, but if what we hear is indicative of local reaction, we might just have another 'bloc' white vote should this come about. Just what aroused white voters can do when they decide they have had enough was clearly demonstrated in Macon a few weeks ago when B. F. Merrit was swept into office over another prominent business man who had the endorsement of the Macon branch of the NAACP and the Macon daily paper.

Once before this combination resulted in the election of lame duck Mayor Ed Wilson, an unsuccessful candidate for Lt. Governor last year and when Mr. Wilson emerged a winner the news was broadcast to the four winds by not only local Macon sources but also by Atlanta newspapers.

The curious quiet on the local scene about the recent Macon election seems to prove that it was not only unexpected in the do-gooder ranks but most disappointing.

Therefore, while Mr. Allen's reason for taking his surprising stand on the Civil Rights bill might point to his ambition to run for Congress from an Atlanta district and MIGHT BE SMART, HE TOOK a BIG CALCULATED RISK IN VIEW OF THE APPARENT CHANGING WHITE FEELING ON THE SUBJECT.

We believe Mr. Allen is smart enough to realize just what he has stepped into in his political career.

Frankly, if his ambition points to a shot at the Governor's chair, that would point stronger to the risk being much greater. Really, we, just as most other folks in the Fifth District and Atlanta cannot figure just what was the motivating reason, unless it was simply a shot in the dark or his biggest mistake so far.

Meanwhile, rumors going around have it that Martin Luther King is in trouble with his co-horts in the racial demonstration field. It is being said that the older, more stable Negro organizations are dissatisfied with King's continued agitation and the violence it is producing, and are using his rumored Communistic connections to ease him out.

Meanwhile, although Atlanta heard first of King's connection with O'Dell several weeks ago through the columns of the Herald, Alabama papers as well as the New Orleans Times-Picayune and the St. Louis Globe-Democrat have been spreading this news for months, in fact since last December, so it took very little digging on the part of local reporters to come up with this 'stale' story.

Yes, it looks as if the worm is turning and that we'll probably have much more quiet on the racial front as white people begin to let it soak in how they have been taken to the cleaners by the minority groups and the do-gooders, in recent months.

RUSSELL'S STRATEGY

Key Southerner Lays Plans for Civil Rights Filibuster

By JERRY LANDAUER
From The Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON — Next to President Kennedy himself, the man to see about Negro rights is Sen. Richard B. Russell, Southerner. For more than any other man on Capitol Hill, Mr. Russell will decide how Congress treats the President's civil rights package expected today.

Sen. Russell's authority isn't based on control of the formal levers of power on Capitol Hill. No Southerner could hope to become Democratic leader today just as no man from deep Dixie could aspire to the Presidency with much hope of success. Dick Russell's authority derives instead from an immense prestige built since 1933 on the foundations of quiet hard work, intellectual brilliance, honorable dealings and reverence for the Senate as an institution.

He has parlayed these qualities into a position as the South's most respected lawmaker. There is no dissent when he refers benignly to his followers as "my people." He is a parliamentary wizard. He has a remarkable knack for sensing the Senate's mood. He is a charmer. He is as far inside the Senate club, the "establishment" (that bane of liberals), as it is possible to be without bumping into the upholstery.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, in the process of scouting Sen. Russell's views, has been told rather curtly that if the senior Senator from Georgia can prevent it, there won't be any significant new civil rights laws. The Attorney General worked on Sen. Russell twice in recent weeks; the President himself tried once.

Many Bills Introduced

Mr. Russell is in an unyielding mood because the events of May and June reinforced his conviction that if men such as New York's Sen. Javits, Pennsylvania's Clark and Illinois' Douglas had their way the North would impose a second Reconstruction era on the South. Since January, scores of civil rights bills, weighing in total five pounds three ounces, have been introduced by Senators. Mr. Russell and his allies have erected formidable obstacles to block them. The hurdles are so formidable that no civil rights bill has ever been enacted without Richard Russell's acquiescence.

Right now Sen. Russell is prepared to acquiesce very little indeed. He will reluctantly agree to extension of the Civil Rights Commission's expiring life; he might give a little on a carefully drafted voting rights bill; and he probably would accept Republican Leader Dirksen's tentative suggestion for a national conciliation agency. But proposals that would give the Executive more power to compel "race mixing" will be fought to the end.

When Birmingham exploded into national headlines some Southerners became fearful that at last the South's veto-wielding power in the Senate might finally collapse. Today, though the civil rights clamor is climbing, the region seems more confident that it can beat off the Administration's more sweeping proposals to legislate racial equality.

The confidence tone of Southern reaction is based in part on a conviction that Mr. Kennedy has overplayed his hand by warning Congress that violence will be the consequence of inaction and by seeming to encourage more Negro demonstrations unless the lawmakers follow the Administration's charted course. "Unless the Congress act, their (the Negroes') only remedy is the street," according to Mr. Kennedy. Certain Negro leaders have gone further, threatening massive protests and warning of bloodshed unless Congress acts promptly.

Russell's Assessment

If Mr. Russell's assessment is accurate, the Senate's uncommitted centrist bloc will not bow to threats. To him the Senate is the only bastion in the Federal Government against passion-inspired law. And it seems inconceivable to him that a two-thirds majority will silence the Southerners and ram through legislation which his generation of Southern leaders cannot accept.

The South's strategy is already clear: To concentrate its attack on that part of the President's civil rights package which is most objectionable to conservatives generally. Starting this week the region's Congressional orators will open fire on the President's public accommodations proposal—legislation to bar discrimination in hotels, restaurants, theaters, department stores and other privately-owned businesses that cater to the general public.

Looking ahead, Southerners see the continuing migration of Negroes to the North as bound to generate new "understanding" for the way the South handles the race issue. North Carolina's Sen. Ervin, for example, read with deep interest a recent declaration by the 74,000-member National Association of Real Estate Boards that a home or apartment building owner is vested with an inalienable right to sell or rent to whomever he pleases.

The declaration was aimed mostly at state "fair housing" laws, but to the South it indicated widespread sentiment across the country against use of Federal power to compel desegregation in privately run places. "I believe in equality for every man," Richard Russell says. "(But) the use of Federal power to force the owner of a dining hall or swimming pool to unwillingly accept those of a different race as guests creates a new and special right for Negroes in derogation of the property rights of all our people to own and control the fruits of their labor and ingenuity."

Richard Russell can summon a parliamentary precedent at the snap of a finger, yet there are some among his warm admirers who believe his 30 years in the Senate blind him to what's going on outside. Certain friends fervently hope that he will now bend somewhat to what they think is the nation's mood for action.

Offers No Alternative

But as the great struggle over minority rights looms, the senior Senator from Georgia seems to be thinking far harder about the use of legislative machinery to block the President than he does about the social revolution sweeping North and South. He has no alternatives to offer the impatient Negro. He denounces certain Northerners for riding the race issue for votes but says nothing publicly about Southern politicians who do the same.

Now Mr. Russell is organizing his battalions for another filibuster, unlimited debate designed to head off a vote on pending legislation. Senate rules give every advantage to the filibusters. No committee may meet during a session except by permission of the majority. And a motion to allow, say, a meeting of the Finance Committee to process the tax cut bill is subject to debate and hence to the filibuster. Debate drones on until two-thirds of those voting are ready to impose cloture and bring the issue to a vote. This has never happened on civil rights.

Thus, the filibuster is the South's last stand and the two-thirds vote needed to halt debate its best weapon. Sen. Russell has buttressed the cloture rule through the influence he wields with men outside the Southland. Tirelessly he indoctrinates Senators from the small states in the view that unlimited debate assures the equality of all states.

To Richard Russell the right of unlimited debate also guar-

for compromise. ("Lyndon's a great compromiser," recalls one disenchanted liberal. "We got the apple and Dick Russell got the orchard.") It was Mr. Johnson who put through the mild voting rights bills of 1957 and 1960, the first civil rights legislation in this century. Mr. Russell went along for a number of reasons, among them concern that otherwise the South would be completely isolated from the Northern Democrats and from the rest of the nation.

Another reason, according to a confidant of the Vice President, was honor. For when Sen. Johnson deleted from the 1957 bill authority for the Attorney General to initiate civil rights suits and other provisions to which the South objected violently, Richard Russell was left with no honorable choice except to accept what he thought his beloved South could swallow without choking. He faces the same decision this year.

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To Richard Russell the right of unlimited debate also guarantees that the Senate will remain a forum of the states, as the Constitution contemplates, rather than a reflection of majority will. He is determined to keep it that way. For example: In 1958, before agreeing to Alaska's admission to the Union, he assured himself that at least one of the new state's probable Senators would be reasonable about the cloture rule.

With varying degrees of constancy, Nevada's two Democratic Senators, Wyoming's Sen. McGee, New Hampshire's Cotton and now Hawaii's freshman Sen. Inouye are believers in or converts to Dick Russell's views of the Senate.

A Concession to Johnson

Successfully, the South's leader also has maneuvered to entrench the filibuster more firmly in the Senate rules. In 1959 he agreed to relax the cloture requirement from two-thirds of the Senate membership to two-thirds of those voting. For this mild concession, Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson agreed to a Russell-sponsored proviso that in the future the rules couldn't be changed except as provided in the existing rules. This meant, of course, that a proposal to trim the filibuster another notch would itself be subject to unlimited debate. It is a source of some amusement to Sen. Russell that liberals such as Minnesota's Sen. Humphrey, who in 1959 agreed to the Johnson-Russell arrangement, now contend that the action was unconstitutional because no Senate can bind its successors.

Lyndon Johnson had a knack of dealing with Mr. Russell, and it may be that when the heat is on during July and August the Vice President will be in the thick of backstage maneuvering

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May 25, 1959

Professor William Nicholls
Chairman, Department of Economics
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Professor Nicholls:

I enjoyed talking with you, and was most gratified by the interest you showed in our plans. If anything, we are even more pleased to learn of your own essay. Your thought that we might help promote its distribution after publication by the University of North Carolina Press is an attractive idea; it will not be lost sight of from this end.

I decided not to delay speaking with Donald Dewey, and telephoned him this morning. Happily, he is interested, and I am hopeful that we shall be able to define with him a topic and set him at work.

As I told you, our intention is to undertake a series of short studies of the implications of segregation for various sides of southern life. We have in mind perhaps seven to ten pamphlets, issued over a couple of years, and linked together by a common appeal to southern self-interest. In such a series, priority ought to be given to economic subjects, and we have visualized four possible pamphlet subjects.

1. On the thesis that the continued growth of the South's industrial economy requires an abundant supply of varied skills in a stable working force, a discussion of segregation and efficient manpower utilization.

2. On the thesis that sustained industrial growth in the South requires a rising level of purchasing power, a discussion of the relationship between a segregated society and demand.

3. An appraisal of the adverse effects on the southern business climate of (a) disorder arising from controversy and defiance; (b) added costs to business of providing segregated facilities; (c) advertising and public relations dilemmas; (d) added taxes for provision of public segregated facilities.

4. An examination of the national interest in segregation from the viewpoint of the high cost of under-utilization of manpower when confronted with Russian economic competition.

We would value your criticism of this approach. Would there be better topics? Are these subjects susceptible to pamphlet style treatment, having in mind the availability of data?

My own belief is that the first can be handled with relative ease and that an almost impregnable argument can be constructed. I am not altogether sure that the second topic can be convincingly documented. The third is a deliberate potpourri, and possibly would be most effective if done by a businessman, or business columnist, rather than an economist. I am not, furthermore, aware that anything more than commonsense conclusions can be addressed to the question of taxes. The most effective way of presenting the fourth might be to describe at length the Russian efforts for rational and full utilization of manpower, and would, therefore, if done in this way, need to be written by someone competent in Soviet affairs.

It is very good of you to permit me to write at this length. We are hopeful that these pamphlets will be a contribution not only to our objectives, but to social scientists in the universities. This is all the more reason why we are solicitous of the best possible advice in their planning and in the selection of authors.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

June 18, 1959

Professor William H. Nicholls, Chairman
Department of Economics & Business Administration
Vanderbilt University
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Professor Nicholls:

Your thoughtful letter of June 9 and your manuscript have both been read here, by myself and Harold Fleming, with real interest. I don't know that I am altogether persuaded that the U. S. - U.S.S.R. manpower utilization topic is not a good idea, but your reaction to this and the other proposed topics is taken very seriously here, as are your suggestions of personnel.

Just yesterday Donald Dewey converted his tentative acceptance of a role in our project to a definite one, and we are, of course, well pleased. He will not, however, be able to complete the writing until next April. We would have preferred an earlier publication: but, as you know as well as anyone, though everything in the South seems urgent, the urgency doesn't disappear.

We have recently begun a series of mimeographed releases, directed at the southern self-interest in preserving public schools. These are getting a wide, shot-gun sort of distribution; we have not tried this before, and frankly do not know whether it is wise. At any rate, with the thought that you may find their contents of interest I am enclosing the releases to date, and have added your name to the mailing list for these and some other publications, such as the pamphlet on Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence which has received in the week it has been out a good bit of nation-wide attention. We are readying for the printers a pamphlet, by Warren Gauerke and Ross Green of Emory University, that analyzes the problems involved in establishing ~~public~~ private schools.

If, as I am sure they will, the next 100 pages have the qualities of the manuscript we have read, your's will be an exciting - I suspect, an influential - book. It comes as something of a pleasant rebuttal to us: we have been wistfully regretting the lack of this sort of writing from the campuses, and now we find it on the way. We desire for it the widest possible reading, and if we can help to make that possible we want to do so.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: L reports, 1-5

Nicholls

file

LWD - Let's discuss this - maybe with Mr. Dabbs while he's here.
HCT

November 2, 1960

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

Just for your information I enclose the review of W. T. Nicholls' book that I have just done for SOCIAL FORCES, calling attention especially to the suggestion made in the last two sentences. It seems to me that while he spends much of the book flaying the dead horse of Southern agrarianism (you may want to fight me on this!) he does have something very meaty to say toward the end.

This might be something worth considering as a SRC project. (?)

When shall we be seeing you in Chapel Hill?

Best wishes,

George B. Tindall

Southern Tradition and Regional Progress. By William T. Nicholls. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960. 202 pp. $5.00

Thirty years after the Southern Agrarian Manifesto there now comes out of Vanderbilt a Southern Industrial Manifesto. The author, Professor of Economics and chairman of his department, with several studies in Southern agricultural economics and a monumental volume on pricing policies in the cigarette industry, here turns the Agrarian philosophy upside down. The Agrarian devils of industry, urbanization, progress, science, liberalism, and all their corollaries are his gods, while the Southern agrarian tradition is rejected with an utter hostility that, while it is somewhat startling, is also quite refreshing.

The title of the book sets up what are to the author completely irreconcilable categories. He expresses a "firm conviction that the South must choose between tradition and progress," and his principal thesis is "that the South's serious lag in per capita incomes is largely attributable to its insufficient rate of industrial-urban development and that the South's lag in industrial development is in substantial part the result of its stubborn adherence to a set of values inconsistent with a high rate of industrialization." A multitude of evils constitute the Southern tradition, fundamentally the sins of Old South agrarianism carried over into the present, including a disproportionate absorption of Southern talent, capital, and labor into a low-income agriculture; an undemocratic political structure that has embodied blind sectionalism and negative States' Rights doctrine; the weakness of social responsibility in the traditional leadership of the

South; and the intellectually debilitating effects of conformity in thought and behavior. The Southern tradition, as defined over 147 of 186 pages, appears in such wholly negative terms as to amount almost to the Yankeefied image of a savage and backward South. There is little suggestion in these pages that the Southern tradition might include Jefferson and Jackson, the lingering effects of frontier democracy, progressives and New Dealers in the Twentieth Century, a propensity for accepting federal giants-in-aid, social critics like Howard Odum, the interracial movement sparked by Will Alexander, and that unique band of Southern aristocratic and middle class liberals who have preserved and nurtured the ideal of social responsibility. And if he devotes six pages to the New South movement, circa 1880-1900, there is little evidence of the movements for economic development reaching backward to J. D. B. DeBow and beyond, or forward to the movement for state promotion of industry. The movement may have sought industry not wisely nor too well, but surely the activity of industry-obsessed governors has become almost, if not in fact, the central theme of contemporary Southern history. Perhaps the author is haunted by ghosts of the Agrarians that still inhabit Kirkland Hall or perhaps he was so determined to erase the infamy of negative tradition that he deliberately neglected to seek out positive aspects, although he does confess in his final paragraph that "There is something pleasant and precious about the Southern way of life which we like, or we wouldn't be here."

It is in the nature of tradition that it cannot be exorcised by exhortation, and the author might have been justified, from a tactical standpoint (this is primarily a polemical book) in seeking out these aspects of tradition that would serve his cause. The positive recommendations of the book may be

found in the final twenty-two pages, and these are the most valuable contribution. Here the author presents his program for Southern economic progress through public policies giving greater support to state development organizations, increased electric power, better employment services, more generous support to education and public health, and aid to outmigration where industry cannot take up the slack; policies to facilitate the outmigration of surplus farm population, the movement of capital into low-income rural areas, and the emancipation of both Southern whites and Negroes from the debilitating effects of segregation and poverty. It is in these areas that the economic expertise and research of the author come into play and in which he is therefore on most solid ground. The message of the book, in both its negative and positive aspects is summarized in the final chapter. And if that chapter could be brought to the attention of regional policy makers, perhaps in a version somewhat expanded and pointed up that could be placed in the hands of governors, legislators, planners, editors, and public leaders generally, with some reasonable expectation that they would read it, it might well become an important contribution to regional development and progress in the sixties. It is a significant book, but unfortunately one that probably will not be read in its present form by those who are most in need of it.

University of North Carolina George B. Tindall

March 6, 1959

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
216-C Broad-Grace Arcade
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Harold has asked me to respond to the second paragraph of your February 20th letter. Your idea of a study of the Norfolk events deserves a lot of sympathetic interest. I wonder, though, if you could spell out a bit more fully your conception of it. How would you prepare it, what sort of circulation do you plan, etc.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 19, 1959

Mr. Paul Rilling, Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
216-C Broad-Grace Arcade
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I happened to mention to Harold once that the whole Virginia story seemed to be so fascinating that it would deserve to have its historian some day. Consequently, I need little persuasion to get on your side regarding the Norfolk project. I am sure we would be able to help with clerical expenses, though I would certainly hope they would not reach the $500. figure that you mentioned in your first letter. However, let's play this by ear and good luck to you.

You probably don't need me to tell you that, though you and the Norfolk people have a "good idea", you will need to do some careful thinking about how the undertaking is to be organized, expecially - and most especially - about who is going to see that it gets finished and is of good quality. If you think I can be of any help to you people in Norfolk, let me know and I'll come up for meetings. Frankly, I doubt that I could help until there are plans somewhat more concrete than they presently seem to have.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

May 14, 1959

Mr. Paul Rilling, Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
216-C Broad-Grace Arcade
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I hope our conversation yesterday has cleared the way for you to move on the Norfolk study. As I told you, we had questions regarding two points: possible duplication of the plan to chronicle the development of the Virginia Public School Committee; adequacy of supervision of the enterprise. That you have been in close touch with Messers. Lightsey and Buck is reassuring.

As we understand it, your study will define and describe the interplay of forces in Norfolk, including the organized groups which emerged to act influentially. The political and legal decision will be treated as a background, and your concern will be, not with them, but with the manner in which community opinion developed and asserted itself.

I do look forward to receiving the outline that you have promised. I personally think that this is a promising idea, though one difficult of executing whose success will depend heavily on the clarity with which the author conceives it.

When you are down here next week, we can talk about the other question, that of supervision. The ideal would be, of course, for the draft to be finished before you leave Virginia.

I am enclosing a copy of the Commentary article on Norfolk.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

cc: Mr. Benjamin Muse
Enclosure: "Breakthrough in Norfolk"

June 22, 1959

Mr. Paul Rilling
Virginia Council on Human Relations
216-C Broad-Grace Arcade
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Paul:

The outline arrived today and I have read it over with some care. I am old-fashioned enough to believe that there is not a great deal of merit in exhaustingly criticizing a project proposal. It seems to me that what is necessary is that there be a thoughtful outline indicating a clear conception and formulation of an article. Mrs. Reif's outline is certainly that; indeed, it seems to me excellent and, after reading it, I am more enthusiastic about the undertaking than I have ever been previously. While it is altogether likely that we may have some criticisms and suggestions to make after the piece is written, at the present we think she ought to ge ahead full speed with no niggling from this quarter.

That said, let me offer two suggestions: 1) In the interest of getting to the story fast, and also of not retreading well furrowed ground, would it not be advisable to start at 1-b-3 of the outline? Perhaps one sentence,,or two at the most, before coming to grips with "Norfolk's unique nature". 2) It occurs to me that there are at least two good ways of handling the conclusions. One would be by saving up a fair amount of the illustrative nature and using it when making the points in the conclusions. Another, and possibly preferable method, would be to make the points in the conclusion very crisp and brief.

I need to make a trip to the Chapel Hill-Durham vicinity. Because I would like very much to meet Mrs. Reif, I would like to come up to Norfolk at the same time. I could make it next Tuesday, June 30, if that would be convenient for her. It would, of course, be good to see you at the same time, though I don't want to drag you down just for this. Could you give me a call?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

CC: Mrs. Jane Reif
1912 McDowell Rd.
Norfolk 13, Va.

July 14, 1959

Mrs. Jane Reif
1912 McDowell Rd.
Norfolk 13, Va.

Dear Mrs. Reif:

Just a note to say that I enjoyed meeting you two weeks ago and was sincerely excited by your discussions of the Norfolk study. We are looking forward to reading it with keen anticipation.

Paul Rilling is now safely in Atlanta and, by and large, behaving himself. As we agreed in Norfolk, the sensible thing would seem to be for you to submit the manuscript to me. We can then work out the next steps wi with the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Daniel A. Bowers,
Virginia Council on Human Relations
Enclosure: two expense vouchers

W3450

July 28, 1959
(dictated July 27th)

Mrs. George A. Reif
1912 McDowell Road
Norfolk 13, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Reif:

The manuscript arrived in this mornings mail; its appearance is both awesome and inviting. Now I must ask your indulgence, and it is that you permit me a week or so before I start reading it. I know this is unreasonable from any author's viewpoint, but the situation is that I, and those around me, are driving ourselves to meet a deadline on a report that we are preparing here. In the meantime, however, Paul Rilling will be reading it, with the firm restriction that he keep his opinions to himself until I get to it.

Again, thank you for doing this for us and the Virginia Council, and I do know about baby sitters.

I haven't yet read the article by Howard Zinn but will do so.

You should be hearing from me again in maybe two or three weeks.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Mr. Bowers
Enclosure: check $150.00

1. Chapters and sub-headings are needed. I have suggested chapter divisions and sub-heading titles: these were done hurriedly and you will want to revise. My Chapter I, for example, is too long but couldn't see clearly where else to break it.

2. I have thought more about my reaction to your opening and your response to my criticism. I still believe it is overplayed. In the first place, the picture you draw of Norfolk in the remainder of the essay does not, it seems to me, bear out the characterization on page 1. Norfolk, you show, was not the scene of a storm, not such a one as hit Little Rock or Clinton. The picture you sketch is of people who didn't know enough to come in out of the rain until their clothes began to shrink and bind. Why wouldn't the first sentence on page 2 make a good opening sentence (though some place you might want to work in the points in the last 2 paragraphs of page 1)?

3. Page 3, line 16 - add one more sentence, spotlighting this reluctance to face issues?

4. Page 3 - here and other places passim I have changed "integration" to "desegregation." This is a sort of organizational line, but also more accurate, usually.

5. Page 6, last sentence - omit? You don't follow upon it until page 10.

6. Page 9, line 4 -,or; after "involved"? is the Public Health Service in redevelopment?

7. Pages 8-9. I am not much experienced in this sort of thing, but isn't 7 out of 30 a pretty successful catch?

8. Page 13 - could you identify these PTA's by type of neighborhood?

9. Page 15, 1st paragraph - "middle forces"; not clear. "the organizations" - what besides NCPS?

10. Page 18-19. "It would be repetitive--- Virginians and Americans". shift to page 12, following 1st paragraph?

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August 20, 1959

Mrs. Jane Reif
1912 McDowell Road
Norfolk 13, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Reif:

I assume you have a carbon, and so I have marked up the manuscript pretty heavily. That I have done so is, I might add, evidence of our real interest in what you have done. The comments on the attached sheets seemed to fit there better than in the margin of the mamuscript.

We look forward to getting this back as soon as your convenience and straitened time permit. You understnad, of course, that there is no need to re-type any pages. Any new material can be prepared as inserts.

Feel free to call me collect if you need to discuss any of the changes.

What of the section on "Steps an alert---"? I wonder if it is really needed. You imply many suggestions for action. Perhaps we can let it stand as is.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD/blc
Enclosure

September 10, 1959

Mrs. George A. Reif
1512 McDowell Rd.
Norfolk 13, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Reif:

We seem to be able to locate nothing in our correspondance files regarding Joshua Fishman. I have done a little checking and so far as I can ascertain he is a respected psychologist who has written a couple of manograms of a theoretical nature in what, I understand, is called "attitude research." In other words, so far as I can find out, you would be safe in cooperating with him though it does seem a bit strange that he has used Harold Fleming's name. Perhaps when you see him you might tactfully inquire about this.

It is good to hear that you are making renewed progress with the manuscript and we look forward to reading it again. It probably would be wise for you to read Dr. White's article; it is always worth a double check to make sure that we of the right side speak, if not with one voice, at least with the same facts, (though as far as I could judge without your manuscript here, you and Dr. White are in full harmony).

As you did not call collect, I want you to send me the telephone bill.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
airmail

Mrs. George A. Reif
1912 Mc Dowell Road
Norfolk 13, Virginia

October 1,1959

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

I feel as if I have covered Norfolk with my trusty magnifying glass----again. I enclose the results, essentially a second draft and, I hope, a final one.

The changes you suggested have been made; changes I wished to make have been made; and the whole thing has been brought to date.

This latter is a rather dangerous statement to make since the whole school-desegregation-Norfolk situation is a changing, fluid one. However, I feel I have brought it up as far as it should go. Otherwise we might as well start a new study.

The punctuation has been changed to the more classic form, rather than newspaper AP style. The spelling---I hope---has been corrected. Chapter and sub-headings added. In some cases I kept your suggestions, in others I changed them. I cut Chapter 1 as much as I could, but it still runs a little longer than the others. You will notice with horror that there are many more pages in this study, do not despair. The type face is different (larger) and legal typewriter spacing is used. There are fewer words on each page, more white space. The original word count was 16,420. It is now just under 14,000, and this includes the additional information you wanted such as the private school situation, referendum, etc.

After going over and over the manuscript, I found that it had to be re-typed. The typist took about a week and the results are satisfactory, if not completely accurate. (Please note my ink corrections.)

I have tried to be as accurate as humanly possible. At times, this was difficult. There are, for example, six different figures available on the September, 1959, enrollment at Tidewater Academy. Officials there were reluctant to cooperate (I got two different figures out of the same person there on the same day). I chose, finally, the "official" figure given to the Norfolk School Board and to the Virginian-Pilot. There were many instances of this sort.

Mrs. George A. Reif
1912 Mc Dowell Road
Norfolk 13, Virginia

Norfolk people were generally cooperative. I ran into one or two who were reluctant to "hash over" past events. Several disagreed with the slant of the article (segregationists). One of our liberals objected to the Southern Regional Council. He felt it was too conservative a group---what's in a word?

I think that I would have been reluctant to undertake this time-consuming project if I had appreciated the amount of field work, the rooting out of details and the depth of detail you wanted. Not that I haven't enjoyed it all. I have. But this was not standard research. There were no source books and very little written material on the subject that one could trust. (Witness the mighty Campbell report recommended by Paul). The field was tough and fresh.

Somehow, like Topsey, this thing has "just growed." It seems to me that the "brief study" concept in the original has changed into something a shade more complex. The amount of material I amassed amazes me. The legal aspect, the side-issues such as the private school movement, the sociological analysis of neighborhoods, etc., are complex and deserved time and research. I could not sit at my typewriter, somehow, and fabricate opinions and judgments, particularly in the sociological field. Each fact had to be stalked and shot before it was stuffed.

I mention these things because I am rather melancholy about my $150. I think it works out to about one-tenth of a cent per hour. I would appreciate your consideration of an upward revision if not on the part of the Southern Regional Council, then on the part of VCHR.

I enclose my expense voucher and some answers to the points and suggestions you made. I thought perhaps this was a good way to do it (in addition to the obvious changes made in the copy).

Before closing, I want to thank you for your help, your experience and your interest. I appreciate them a great deal. I hope that the study is satisfactory to you. Do let me know.

Sincerely,

Jane Reif

October 22, 1959

Mrs. Jane Reif
1912 McDowell Road
Norfolk 12, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Reif:

I am very sorry that we have held your manuscript so long. I have been out for a week with an old back bother, Paul Rilling has been almost constantly on the road, and Harold Fleming has been busy fund-raising. The result is that the three of us have never been able to get together to discuss publication plans. I hope that next week I can write to you with some definite statements.

I have, however, read the manuscript carefully, and am impressed by the results of your revision and by the good will with which you undertook it.

Will write again soon.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

MEMORANDUM October 26, 1959

To: Les Dunbar
From: Paul Rilling

Re: CRISIS IN NORFOLK Report

I have read the Norfolk manuscript and will be happy to discuss it with you in detail. I have two immediate general reactions: 1.) I feel that the article is well written, accurate, and a work that should be of some value for persons and communities facing the same situation across the South in future years. 2.) I think the work is too long and should be cut, not by deleting whole sections, necessarily, but by working on sections and paragraphs with the blue pencil. I think this can be done fairly easily and would be glad to help in the operation if needed.

I do think that the entire section entitled "Grapevine," pp. 53-56, could be deleted with no particular loss to the work.

I believe Chapter 2 beginning with page 7 could be cut somewhat, also the section dealing with the Navy, pp. 25-29, and the section on the Referendum, pp. 40-46.

I think the entire series of paragraphs on the "annexation territory" could be cut. (beginning p. 51)

I believe the lack of response of the business community is important and should clearly shine through. I agree that some of the repetitive editorializing on this matter should be cut or changed.

In my way of thinking, there is too strong an emphasis on the Public School Committee, but there is little we can do about this. The author was warned about this danger, and did not begin this work with any preconceived idea; it apparently grew out of her research for the article.

I believe the discussion of the contact between the new school board member and Superintendent Brewbaker concerning the NEA is not particularly helpful or necessary, P. 73, and could be cut.

I agree with the pencilled notation on the article on page 13, suggesting that the mention of the role of the NCPS in connection with the court suit be rewritten. I would also rewrite the paragraph on page 34 concerning the public announcement of the Committee of 100. I believe the treatment of this subject to be unnecessarily negative and not representative of the thinking of most of the public school leaders who were thankful for the announcement, however belated.

PMR/sm

Brief Comments on "Report Crisis In Norfolk." 10/9/59

Reif report is a good one with some very important data; however, it is a bit long.

Reif gives many personal opinions and emotional conclusions (Note Pp 24 #3 and Pp 22 #2) which a report of this kind does not warrant.

The report is not as well organized as it could be. (Note Chapter I. Subtopic "The Established civic organization" does not mention The Federation of Civic Leagues; however, it is mentioned in Chapter II pp 52.

Chapter V pp 77 could have compared percentage of Negro teachers rehired, after the school open, to those hired before; also, the number of white teachers (ratio) before and after.

R.

Answers to Dr. Dunbar's suggestions.

1-Chapters, sub-heads in. Chapter 1 shortened.

2-Changed to conform with your suggestions. We may have felt it was stormier around here than it seemed to outsiders.

3-Changed. I found it impossible to "spotlight reluctance" in one sentence or in one page, for that matter. I believe this is explained by noting lack of preparation for desegregation at various points in copy.

4-Desegregation it is, except in quotes where word "integration" was used.

5-Omitted.

6-I believe this has been clarified. See copy.

7-I do not believe that the NCPS felt 7 out of 30 a successful catch. They admit the names they caught were the least desirable in terms of power. Also, there were other lists after this---it was a constantly changing one. I used this because it was a concrete, exact instance. There is no question here that the NCPS was NOT successful in their appeals to the power-money-social structure of Norfolk.

8-Have attempted this as briefly as possible. Many of the neighborhoods are so mixed in content (they are essentially not "neighborhoods," as in the case of the city's big high schools). I shy away from categorical statements such as "middle class" but have been forced to used them on occasion.

9- Clarified.

10-Shifted asper suggestion.

11-You are right. I did have this information, left out 815 originally because it was a further complication. Back in now.

12-No, wrong. "Naval officer" and "Navy official" are as different as moon and sun. "Official" implies rank and authority. "Officer" can be anyone from warrant and ensign on up (but is usually used in referring to anyone up to commander. It is customary in this military town to refer to flag rank as "official." In this particular case, my reference is to Admiral Jerauld Wright. Also, the Navy IS a business in Norfolk---its biggest. See copy.

13-Racist struck out.

14-Referendum information in.

15-I believe this has been done. The basic difference, it seems to me, is that the tutoring groups were emergency in nature and were not intended to substitute for free public system of education. Tidewater Academy was to be permanent and was to substitute for public schools.

16-I reconsidered it. However, I am inclined to disagree with you. Perhaps this is because I do not have the current approach to Machiavelli, as a prince of prince. (Have you read Sforza's introduction to Machiavelli? Perhaps this is on my mind since I had finished it a while ago. And this was tough because

my French is not what it used to be and I couldn't find the thing in English translation. I'm sorry, this is beside the point.)

17-Accomplished.

18-Corrected.

19-Some 13th sense made me put "not gospel" in theoriginal draft. I am unfamiliar with Sir Campbell, but felt that his report was not all it should be (or more than it should have been). His findings "felt" sweeping and general for some reason. I shall rely completely on your experience and judgment here, far more experienced than mine in such matters. By the way, who did pioneer HOPE?

19-No, there is no figure. I have dug and dug and dug. I have a friend on the Pilot who has promised to scout some more to see if he can come up with it in his rounds. If he does, we can always add it on the galleys, can we not?

20-I hope I have answered this as briefly as possible. I do not believe I am giving "too much credit" to the NCPS or to anyone else for that matter. I do not see how you can isolate or divorce one action from another. Why would you want to do so in a report on a community's reaction? Weighing one group's accomplishment against abother would serve to nullify the good done. Are you now subscribing to the Machiavellian prescription of which means achieves the best end? (The concept of Machiavelli I reject, of course).

21-The State Board has to act legally. However, it refused to do so in the summer of 1958. It did act this summer, 1959, rejecting the two Negro children accepted by the Norfolk School Board. Under court direction the School Board enrolled 5 Negroes (one at the last minute, totally unexpected). See copy.

22-It is my understanding that the School Board builds schools UNDER a school budget approved by the Council. Indirectly (just as directly, last year) the Council controls the purse strings. In the past they left the Board alone. This year they are more antagonistic towards Board proposals (cut in the budget).

23-The School Board hires and fires teachers (through the Supt. of Schools, of course).and under the City Council.In the past the School Board deleted a clause in teacher contracts, the 30 day clause, (and I understand such a clause is a legal, accepted thing in Virginia) with the approval of the Council. This year the Council insisted that this clause become "active" again. It was a firming-up or a reneging (whichever you prefer) on a gentleman's agreement situation.

24-The developments in the "tuition situation" are recent and extensive. Several of the surrounding cities and counties (their school boards) have been making it very tough for applicants for tuition grants. (Just as Princess Anne County just passed an ordinance, applying to all county residents, for compulsory school attendence. Norfolk has not done so.) The State Board is now under legal fire in the tuition matter, re: is prejudice involved in approval of tuition grant applications and approvals? I have kept this whole thing to bare minimum because it represents a new phase in the struggle within the state. It seems to me it would be a point of no return for this study and would represent a study in itself. Let me know what you think.

24-Private education covered. See copy.

25-Winning the Democratic primary in July is tantamount to victory in the Novemeber elections. There are Republicans running, of course. But Norfolk, Virginia ,and the South still stick to the one-party system with few deflections such as the Eisenhower coup.or Ted Dalton's-----and you see where Dalton has been safely and handsomely placed? On a nice shelf. You will notice that there was a suit brought contesting the primary (by the Defenders) which was thrown out of court. This happened after you sent the original back to me. I have included it, briefly, because I felt it emphasized my point.

26-Amen.

Len -

Now that I've typed these answers it occured to me that you might not have a carbon of your letter (suggestions). If you do not, please let me know and I'll send the original back to you.

J.R.

Reiz
Norfolk Study

1. Chapters and sub-headings are needed. I have suggested chapter divisions and sub-heading titles: these were done hurriedly and you will want to revise. My Chapter I, for example, is too long but couldn't see clearly where else to break it.

2. I have thought more about my reaction to your opening and your response to my criticism. I still believe it is overplayed. In the first place, the picture you drew of Norfolk in the remainder of the essay does not, it seems to me, bear out the characterization on page 1. Norfolk, you show, was not the scene of a storm, not such a one as hit Little Rock or Clinton. The picture you sketch is of people who didn't know enough to come in out of the rain until their clothes began to shrink and bind. Why wouldn't the first sentence on page 2 make a good opening sentence (though some place you might want to work in the points in the last 2 paragraphs of page 1)?

3. Page 3, line 16 - add one more sentence, spotlighting this reluctance to face issues?

4. Page 3 - here and other places passim I have changed "integration" to "desegregation." This is a sort of organizational line, but also more accurate, usually.

5. Page 6, last sentence - omit? You don't follow upon it until page 10.

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Tid P

FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION

ANNUAL REPORT

1959

Raymond Wilson begins his sixteenth year with FCNL in his new office

CHARLES J. DARLINGTON
Chairman, General Committee
26 Bowen Avenue
Woodstown, New Jersey

SAMUEL R. LEVERING
Chairman, Executive Council
Ararat, Virginia

E. RAYMOND WILSON
Executive Secretary

EDWARD F. SNYDER
Legislative Secretary

CHARLES H. HARKER
Administrative Secretary

Ch 1

FOREWORD

Title Page

The year 1959 was a period of challenge, frustration, and hope for the Friends Committee on National Legislation. During the year, Government officials became a little more responsive to some of the ideas FCNL has supported since its creation in 1943. Disarmament became front page news, and President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev issued a joint communique stating that "the question of general disarmament is the most important one facing the world today." The United States and eleven other nations signed a treaty to ensure the peaceful development of Antarctica. Officials began to show greater interest in developing the rule of law and strengthening the International Court of Justice. The United States promoted the establishment of an International Development Association to make long term, low interest loans to underdeveloped areas. And Congress, at long last, began to raise a few questions regarding the wisdom of U.S. China policy.

Much, of course, occurred on the debit side in 1959: throughout the year a strong minority in the Administration and Congress advocated a resumption of nuclear weapons testing. This pressure increased in December when the nuclear powers failed to reach any agreement on techniques of policing underground tests. The United States continued the dangerous policy of entering into agreements to transfer H-bomb data to NATO allies; and the Army Chemical Corps encouraged the American public to accept chemical, biological and radiological weapons as an integral part of U.S. combat equipment. Forty-six billions were appropriated for military defense, but Congress refused to allocate $500,000 for technical studies of disarmament. No action was taken on proposals to allow some unsettled, handicapped refugees to enter the United States. And on the domestic front, Congress refused to enact any legislation to help Americans adjust to desegregation or provide their children with adequate schools.

In the coming year of 1960, the FCNL staff will continue trying to convince policy makers that real peace can only be achieved by friendship and reconciliation within a framework of world disarmament, economic development and world law under the United Nations. The Committee will endeavor, as always, to carry on its work in harmony with the spirit and practices of Friends.

7 7 C

NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ACTION

During the year 1959, FCNL efforts were concentrated on four major issues: 1) opposition to the extending of the draft beyond June 1959; 2) expanded efforts for disarmament; 3) supporting human rights; and 4) supporting a much larger United States economic assistance program. Action on other issues was taken as opportunities occurred.

I. THE DRAFT AND CONSCRIPTION

When the President recommended that the draft law be extended for four years, E. Raymond Wilson encouraged other organizations to testify against this proposal. Samuel R. Levering and Raymond Wilson appeared as FCNL witnesses before House and Senate Armed Services Committees. Edward F. Snyder discussed this issue with twenty Congressional Assistants and arranged for leaders of eleven religious bodies to express their concern to an Administrative Aide of Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson.

The staff distributed background material on the draft to members of the Armed Services Committees and asked each Congressman to oppose the President's proposal.

Despite the opposition of FCNL and other religious groups, the President's request was rushed through Congress. Amendments to limit the extension to two years and establish a civilian commission to study the manpower situation were rejected. The four-year extension was approved 381 to 20 by the House; 90 to 1 by the Senate. In 1955, the House vote was 394-4; there was no roll call in the Senate.

> **". . . the Friends Committee on National Legislation opposes all military conscription because we believe that it is morally wrong . . . that it fosters a delusion of security which tends to prevent constructive steps toward real peace and security, that it violates our American free traditions and that it is hopelessly inefficient . . ."**
>
> **SAMUEL R. LEVERING, Chairman Executive Council,**
> **January 30, before the House Armed Services Committee**

II. DISARMAMENT ISSUES

■ Ban on Nuclear Weapons Testing When the United States released some technical information in January which cast doubt on the possibility of policing underground explosions, and threatened to undermine the Geneva talks, the staff distributed 3,500 ACTION bulletins urging concerned citizens to ask the President to continue to press for an agreement to end all tests.

In March and April, when the Geneva negotiations appeared to be breaking down, FCNL helped rally grass-roots backing for a resolution placing the Senate on record as supporting the Administration's efforts to negotiate an agreement.

Ch 1

■ Nuclear Weapons Agreements When the President agreed—subject to Congressional veto—to give H-bomb equipment and know-how to seven NATO allies, Raymond Wilson and Edward Snyder helped rally the opposition. They discussed strategy with Rep. William H. Meyer (Vermont), who raised the issue on the floor of the House and introduced the first resolutions disapproving the agreements. Other Congressmen were encouraged to introduce similar resolutions and seven did so. During the hearings before a Joint Atomic Energy Subcommittee, Clarence E. Pickett delivered a strong statement for FCNL and questions submitted by Edward Snyder were addressed to Administration witnesses by one of the Senators.

The staff also worked with other groups in urging the Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, to take some action on this matter. On July 13th, the Senator called for full debate on the agreements and asked the Senate Foreign Relations Committee be given an opportunity to review their effect on foreign policy. That same date, the Joint Atomic Energy Committee approved the agreements and issued an unfavorable report on the House resolutions.

> **"I speak in opposition to the seven pending agreements to transfer various kinds of nuclear weapons information and material to seven countries . . . They commit the United States more and more firmly to a divided Europe armed with nuclear weapons. They practically close the door to any serious negotiations on the subject of 'denuclearization' . . ."**
>
> **CLARENCE E. PICKETT,**
> **July 2, before a Joint Atomic Energy Subcommittee**

■ Universal Total Disarmament After Premier Nikita Khrushchev and British Foreign Minister Selwyn Lloyd called for total disarmament in speeches at the UN, representatives of FCNL and sixteen other religious and civic organizations called on President Eisenhower to "firmly commit the United States Government to universal total disarmament" within a few years. The group urged the President to make funds available for studies on the economics of disarmament and support the inclusion of Communist China in disarmament negotiations as "evidence of the seriousness of our commitment to total disarmament."

■ Technical Studies of Disarmament The last session, FCNL staff supported Senator Humphrey in a vain attempt to get Congress to appropriate some $500,000 for technical studies of armaments reduction and control. These funds were originally requested by the State Department, but when Senate and House Appropriations Committees denied this request, Senator Humphrey tried to get a comparable allocation inserted in three appropriations bills. His amendments were all rejected by Congress.

III. ECONOMIC AID AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

FCNL continued to urge Congress to expand economic aid and technical assistance to other countries; to put economic aid on a long-term basis; to stop tying humanitarian assistance to arms aid; and to provide more money for refugee programs. Considerable effort was devoted to:

- Encouraging Congress to revise the formula for calculating the U.S. payment to the UN technical assistance programs. This revision will increase the U.S. payment by more than $1 million a year.

- Supporting the International Food for Peace Act introduced by Senator Humphrey and 16 other Senators. This bill would have broadened the scope of disposal programs incorporated in P.L. 480. Raymond Wilson participated in preliminary discussions of this bill. Congress approved a less comprehensive program and limited the authorization to two years.

> **". . . We urge a much larger, long-range non-military economic assistance program to help those in the underdeveloped world help themselves to a better life. We urge that such a program be undertaken in a spirit of sacrificial sharing, being grateful for the rich blessings with which we . . . have been endowed."**
>
> **ELTON ATWATER,**
> **May 21, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee**

IV. HUMAN RIGHTS

With the assistance of the Civil Liberties Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, two statements were prepared in opposition to the enactment of any bills which would negate recent civil liberties decisions of the Supreme Court. Particular objection was made to proposals to legalize state sedition laws, to expand the Federal loyalty security program and to restrict the right to travel abroad.

During the year, FCNL recommended that present American Indian policy be revised to allow Indians to participate more fully in decisions regarding termination of Federal supervision and control over reservations. The Committee also supported larger appropriations for Indian health services.

> **"We do not believe that legislation is in itself a panacea for the nation's civil rights ills, but it is definitely one of the first requirements in the treatment. It is possible to change effectively by legislation the patterns of individual and group behavior . . . as patterns of behavior are changed, attitudes change . . ."**
>
> **B. TARTT BELL,**
> **in a statement submitted to a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee, April 10**

TESTIMONY PRESENTED TO CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES

SUPPORTED BY FCNL WITNESSES

Minority Rights:

B. Tartt Bell, Southeastern Regional Executive Secretary, AFSC, Senate Judiciary Subcommittee, April 10.

Economic Aid:

Elton Atwater, Professor, Pennsylvania State University, House Foreign Affairs Committee, April 7; and Senate Foreign Relations Committee, May 21.

E. Raymond Wilson, House Appropriations Subcommittee, June 24.

Edward F. Snyder, Senate Appropriations Committee, August 21.

UN Children's Fund:

FCNL joined 14 organizations in a joint statement presented to House and Senate Committees by the Citizens Committee for UNICEF.

Food for Peace:

E. Raymond Wilson, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, July 8.

C. Edward Behre, Virginia Friend, formerly with the Department of Agriculture, House Agriculture Committee, July 29.

Sanitation Facilities for Indians:

Edward F. Snyder, House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Sub-Committee, May 5.

Programs to Combat Juvenile Delinquency:

Robert C. Taber, Director of Pupil Counseling, Philadelphia School District, House Education and Labor Subcommittee, March 24.

Return of Confiscated German and Japanese Property:

Sarah Cope Swan, Chairman, Japan Committee, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Senate Judiciary Subcommittee, June 18.

OPPOSED BY FCNL WITNESSES

Draft Extension:

Samuel R. Levering, Virginia orchardist, House Armed Services Committee, January 30.

E. Raymond Wilson, Senate Armed Services Committee, March 3.

Sharing H-Bomb Data:

Clarence E. Pickett, Executive Secretary Emeritus, AFSC, Joint Atomic Energy Subcommittee, July 2.

Expansion of Federal Security Program:

William J. Woolston, Pennsylvania Attorney, House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, May 12.

Comprehensive Restrictions on Civil Liberties:

Edward F. Snyder, Senate Judiciary Subcommittee, May 1.

ACTION BULLETINS

During 1959 the Committee distributed eleven Bulletins suggesting that citizens:

Foreign Policy—UN Affairs

- Urge the Government to continue to press for an agreement to end all nuclear weapons tests. (January 21, March 27)
- Support the extension of the temporary ban in nuclear testing while negotiations are in process. (August 12)
- Encourage Congressmen to oppose agreements to transfer H-bomb know-how to NATO allies. (June 17)
- Ask the President to proclaim total world disarmament as the goal of U.S. foreign policy. (September 21)
- Encourage Congressmen to support an adequate economic aid program. (April 16)

Militarism and Disarmament

- Urge Congressmen to vote against the draft. (January 28, February 10, March 17)

Civil Liberties

- Question the appropriateness of a number of anti-civil liberties bills. (May 21)

American Indians

- Urge the Government to adopt a more positive Indian policy and provide increased funds for welfare programs and economic development on reservations. (June 5)

STATE OFFICES

Concerns for peace and human dignity were carried forward in the State Legislatures of California, Illinois, and Wisconsin by the Committees on Legislation within those states. With offices in Chicago, Pasadena and San Francisco, opportunities were expanded for Friends and members of a broader community to bring political issues into the light of moral and religious considerations. Working together to overcome the restrictions of time and distance, these offices have stimulated local interest and action on national issues and have provided a continuing contact with state and national legislators.

The first California office was established in San Francisco in June 1952. This became the Northern California FCL office when in 1954 the Southern California office was opened in Pasadena. Just prior to the 1959 California legislative session, Ralph Schloming succeeded Catherine C. Cory who left the Committee after many creative years as Executive Secretary in Pasadena. In November, Trevor Thomas left the Northern California FCL office after six years of dynamic service. Lucy Hancock is now serving as Acting Executive Secretary until a new appointment is made. Coleman A. Blease represents both offices for legislative activity in the state and during the legislative sessions in Sacramento.

The Chicago office opened in 1957 with part time staff and volunteer assistance. In 1959, its program expanded when Chester A. Graham was appointed full time Executive Secretary.

Staff and Committee members from the three offices took part in a three day discussion of issues and joint administrative problems with the Washington staff prior to the Annual Meeting in December. State Legislatures in California, Illinois, and Wisconsin do not meet in 1960. This meeting provided an opportunity for the combined staffs to discuss National issues and project plans for increased participation at the state level.

STATE ISSUES AND ACTION

Capital Punishment

Major campaigns for the abolition of capital punishment were conducted in both California and Illinois in 1959.

In California the FCL took a leading part in the formation and work of *Californians Against Capital Punishment*. This culminated a six year effort of the California FCL to abolish capital punishment. In the California Assembly, the bill was defeated, 35 to 43. A similar bill was defeated by a tie vote of 6 to 6 in the State Senate Judiciary Committee.

The *Illinois Committee to Abolish Capital Punishment* was organized, with Chester Graham providing active leadership. Broad support has come from church, educational, and socially concerned leaders throughout the state. In spite of co-sponsorship by 28 Representatives bills providing for a six year moratorium on the death penalty, and substituting life imprisonment for the death penalty, were defeated.

"In my visits to death row at San Quentin and to other prisons, I have been impressed with a singular fact. There is nothing to distinguish the crimes of the men on death row from those of hundreds of others receiving lesser penalties except for one fact—in almost all cases those on death row are poor and friendless."

STATE SENATOR FRED FARR of California

OTHER ISSUES

CALIFORNIA: Civil Liberties

Bills to repeal oaths of non-disloyalty were reported out of Committee and were debated. Progress was made in securing protections against police excesses. Several measures placing undue power in the hands of law enforcement agencies were defeated.

Civil Rights

The long fight for a fair employment practice bill culminated in passage of one of the strongest measures in the country. A fair housing bill and a greatly extended civil rights statute also became law.

Nuclear Weapons Tests

A joint resolution commending and encouraging efforts to negotiate an end to nuclear weapons testing passed the Assembly, 44 to 24, and in the Senate, 25 to 0. This resolution was modeled after the 1958 resolution which was choked off from debate by an early motion to table, 49 to 9. The change in atmosphere, brought about by the changed international picture and local test ban sentiment, enabled California to become the first state body to officially encourage efforts toward a test ban.

ILLINOIS - WISCONSIN: Optional ROTC

Arising from a resolution passed by the University of Wisconsin Student Senate, a bill was introduced and passed in Wisconsin, allowing the University Board of Regents to make the issue of ROTC participation optional.

Menominee Indians

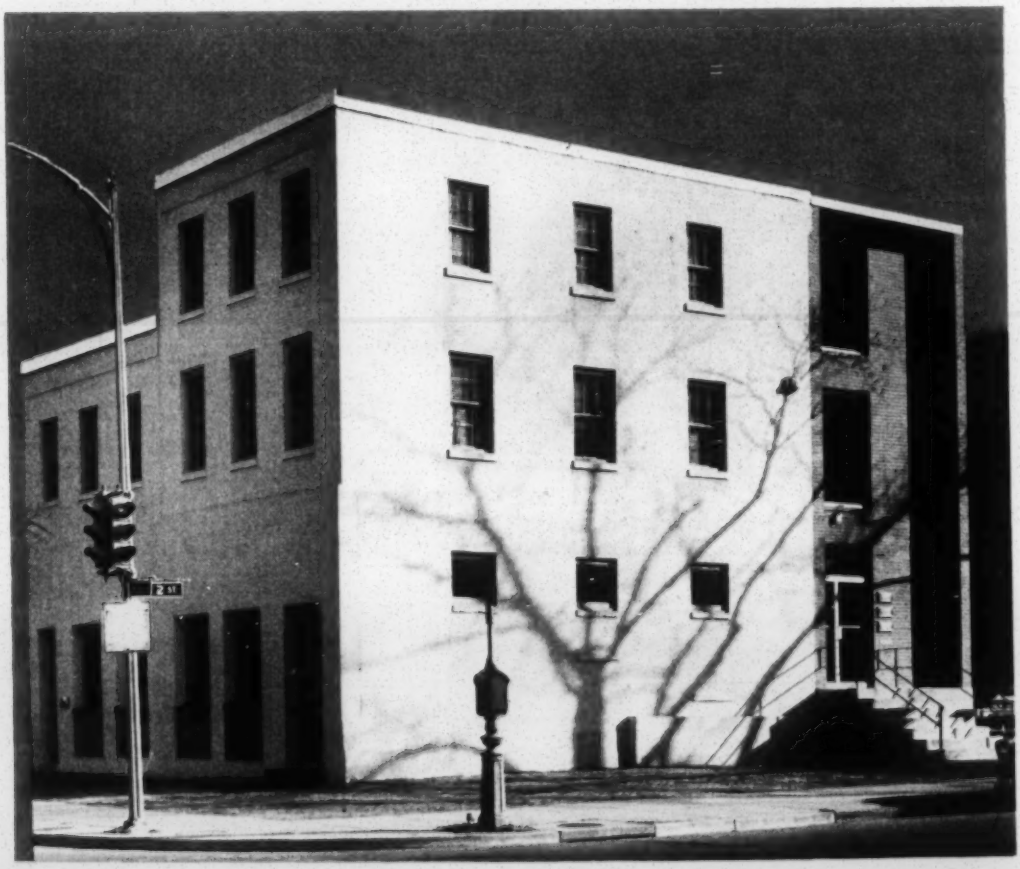
State legislation was urgently needed to ease the problems arising from termination of the U.S. Government reservation program. Date of termination was set for December 31, 1960. Three bills providing for the establishment of a separate Menominee County, establishing a tax base for Menominee forest lands, and transfer of funds held in escrow were passed. Strenuous efforts by FCL aided the enactment of this legislation.

THE NEW HOME OF FCNL

September was moving time for the office, the third move in sixteen years of Washington activity. Three days were required to move four floors of equipment, files, and desks from the old location across from the new Senate Office Building to the new office one block away at the corner of Second and C Streets, N.E.

One of the most helpful features of the new building is the conference room which seats forty people for seminars, meetings of joint legislative groups and other activities in Washington. The building has been financed by individual contributions totaling $25,000, $10,000 on loan from FCNL reserve funds, $42,000 from the sale of the old property, and a $45,000 mortgage. This building, owned by the Friends Meeting of Washington, provides a practical and pleasant office center for FCNL and other non-profit organizations.

The American Baptist Convention, the Disciples of Christ and the Unitarian Church have established legislative offices in this building. Offices of the United Presbyterian Church and Friends of the Pusan Children's Charity Hospital moved with FCNL from 104 C Street, N.E., now making a total of six organizations in the new building.



PUBLICATIONS IN 1959

WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

The total Washington Newsletter circulation grew during 1959. Average circulation increased from 18,000 to 20,000 copies per month. This total includes average monthly orders from the following groups:

California FCL offices	5300	Brethren Service Commission	1900
Illinois-Wisconsin FCL office	800	California-Nevada Methodist Conference	1000
Other states served from Washington, D. C.	5500	Disciples of Christ	2400

A new series of publications entitled the "How-To Series" was started during the year. The first issue, *How-To Write a Letter to the Editor*, was in its second printing with 17,000 copies circulated by the end of December. Encouraged by interest and demand for this form of information, preparation of additional topics for the series was started.

SEMINARS AND CONFERENCES

During 1959, the Washington staff participated in a variety of national conferences and briefed attenders at many seminars held by the Five Years Meetings of Friends, the American Friends Service Committee, and other religious and civic groups. The staff assumed major responsibility for planning, promoting and servicing the Sixth National Conference on World Disarmament and Development, held in Washington, January 23-24, under the sponsorship of twenty organizations. Raymond Wilson served as Conference Chairman.

The Committee also continued as a regular co-sponsor of several important annual meetings, the Churchmen's Washington Seminar, the National Civil Liberties Clearing House Conference and the National Conference on International Economic and Social Development.

In the fall, Raymond Wilson encouraged Mid-Western Friends to call two meetings on the problem of American abundance in a hungry world. One was held at Spiceland, Indiana, December 12th, with one hundred persons attending this discussion. The second was held at Oskaloosa, Iowa, December 15-16, drawing 125 participants.

In addition to calling conferences, FCNL representatives participated in the Annual Conference of the American Association for the United Nations, and the National Workshop for Religious Liberals, both in Washington, D. C.; the Conference of the Church Peace Mission, Evanston, Illinois; the 45th General Assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Miami, Florida; the Friends Conference on Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Germantown, Ohio; and the Seminar for Quaker Businessmen and Economists, sponsored by the Washington Friends Seminar Program.

PERSONNEL

As another year passes, new faces and names are added to the FCNL role of those who have participated in this unique opportunity for Quaker service. Leaving behind a long list of permanent accomplishments during six years of service, in April, Wilmer A. Cooper moved with his family to Richmond, Indiana, to join the faculty of Earlham College. His position of Administrative Secretary was filled by Charles H. Harker, a member of Illinois Yearly Meeting.

The legislative and research staff comprised of Raymond Wilson, Edward Snyder, Jeanette Hadley, Frances Neely, and Priscilla Grissett provided a stable team through an unusually long Congressional session. However, in December, Priscilla Grissett left the staff for another job in Washington. Part of Priscilla's work with the Washington Meeting Seminar Program is being carried on by Marion Krebser, a member of the Meeting. Other faithful volunteers during the year included Frieda Patterson, Dave Hartsough and Polly Schneider.

Floyd Voris continued his volunteer service in the printing and mailing department, completing his tenth year of loyal service. Alice Stout, Roland Hufford, Dorothy Kelley and and Michael Ingerman completed a year together on the administrative staff caring for the mailings, contribution receipts and bookkeeping. An Antioch student worked on the staff for the first half of the year. With the move to the new building and conversion to automatic telephone equipment, the staff has been reduced to ten people and the Antioch program has been temporarily discontinued.

STAFF TRAVEL AND VISITATION

National and State staff members participated in and reported to eighteen Yearly Meetings of Friends during 1959. In addition, members of the National staff made several fully scheduled speaking trips. Edward Snyder spent two weeks in New England, Raymond Wilson traveled through Illinois and Wisconsin, and Charles Harker through North Carolina.

Executive Council Meetings for the purpose of conducting business between the Annual Meetings were held at Muncie, Indiana, in April and Ridgewood, New Jersey in October. Prior to the October meeting seventeen members of the Executive Council met in New York with ten Friends who had expressed concern over some of the policies supported by the FCNL. The meeting developed better understanding of FCNL policy procedure and pointed up the problem experienced by large Quaker groups in seeking a consensus of thought.

AREA ORGANIZATION

The effectiveness of the FCNL program is dependent upon contributions of time and effort on the part of thousands of individuals. From the beginning, the FCNL offices have sought to provide information and help to these individual efforts. A plan was developed in 1954, whereby twenty-two areas were established, each with a Chairman, to coordinate activities.

Recommendations for improving this plan were made at the Annual Meeting by Stephen L. Angell, Chairman of the Promotion Committee. These recommendations have been referred to the Administrative Committee for carrying out the next steps.

Friends in New Jersey and Virginia have taken the initiative in organizing, on a volunteer basis, Committees for dealing with legislation in their respective states. To date, this work has been limited to the abolition of capital punishment.

FINANCIAL REVIEW

FCNL income during the year ending September 30, 1959 totaled $73,053. In addition, FCNL supporters generously contributed $25,000 to the *Capitol Hill Property Fund* making completion of the new office building possible. Together, the total response to FCNL needs in Washington reached an all-time high. Local budgets for the three regional offices are not included in these figures.

Staff time which normally would have been devoted to fund raising and promotion was involved in the problems of relocating the office and in supervising the remodeling of the new building. This led to a shortage of funds for FCNL during the late summer and fall. The added efforts of many individual Committee members were particularly helpful in meeting our bills and payroll during those difficult months.

A special *Disarmament Peace Chest* appeal, in November, netted $9,000 and provided a carry-over for the intensified effort on disarmament in 1960.

The 1960 Washington Budget, envisaging increased leadership in disarmament efforts, and incorporating unavoidable increases in costs without increase in staff, totals $86,358.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Statement of Income and Expense, 15-Months ending December 31, 1959*

INCOME (Net)

Contributions	$77,385.95	
Newsletter subscriptions	17,031.33	
Literature Sales	5,044.97	
Reserve Fund Interest and Miscellaneous	2,962.31	$102,424.56

NOTE: National office income includes $533.96 from Chicago, $1,822.56 from San Francisco and $338.31 from Pasadena in addition to payments for services obtained from the National office.

EXPENSE (Net)

Salaries, Payroll taxes, Retirement	$66,168.35	
Travel and Services	5,424.83	
Conference Fees and Contributions	334.50	
Periodicals and Documents	651.53	
Newsletter and Information	7,645.08	
Office Overhead: Postage, Promotion	7,370.88	
Office Rent	5,388.50	
Equipment Maintenance and Depreciation	2,084.59	
Telephone and Telegraph	1,825.65	
Personal Property tax, Auditing Fee, Insurance Expense	620.08	
Miscellaneous	257.23	$ 97,771.22
Excess of Income over Expense		$ 4,653.34

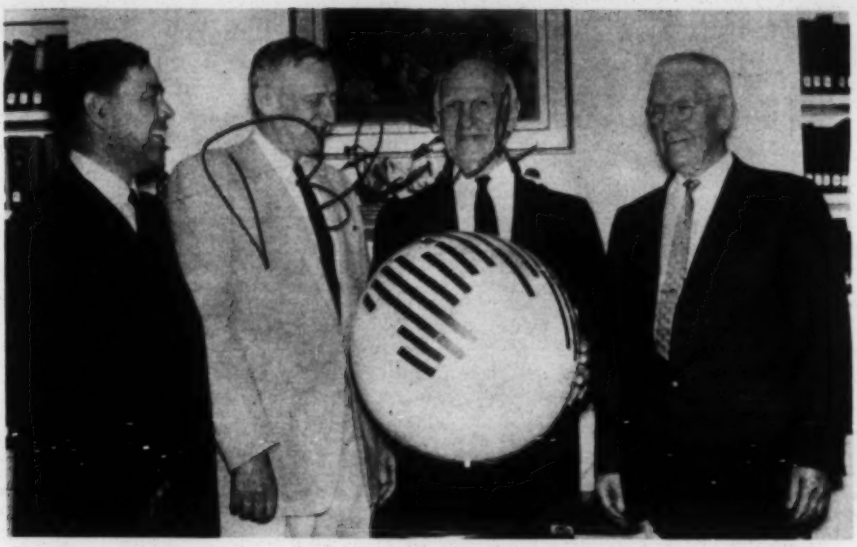
AREA OFFICE INCOME AND EXPENSE STATEMENT

	Income	*Expense*
Northern California—San Francisco	$40,270.53	$ 39,026.86
Southern California—Pasadena	42,037.33	47,469.75
Illinois and Wisconsin	7,537.84	9,042.88
	$89,845.70	$ 95,539.49

1960 BUDGETS

National	$86,358.00
Southern California	31,430.00
Northern California	33,085.00
Illinois-Wisconsin	14,746.00
Total	$165,619.00

** At the 1958 Annual Meeting the fiscal year was changed from the period October 1 to September 30 to the calendar year. To make this change effective January 1, 1960, a fifteen month accounting period was used from October 1, 1958 through December 31, 1959.*



Charles Darlington; Frank Laubach, speaker at the December Annual Meeting; Raymond Wilson; and Samuel Levering confer prior to the first session.

STATE OFFICE LEADERS

E. Von Seggern, C. Graham, L. Hancock, R. Schloming.

Edward Snyder and Jeanette Hadley draft a letter to a Congressman.

THE FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION is a working committee of Friends and like-minded persons attempting to translate Quaker beliefs into political education and action. Every political decision helps to shape our national policy and in turn influence the peace, freedom and welfare of people everywhere.

FCNL works particularly with Congress where national policy is enacted into law. It also believes that our religious concerns and moral convictions about political affairs should be implemented on many different levels—local, state, national and international.

The Committee and its staff endeavor to carry on their work in harmony with the spirit and practices of Friends. Though Friends have always been concerned about the affairs of government, FCNL is thought of by many as a unique expression of Quaker social concern in the twentieth century.

Offices are located in Chicago, Pasadena, San Francisco, and Washington, with staffs to provide: 1) a source of current legislative information and suggestions for individual action supporting the Committee's program; and 2) a continuing expression of our religious concern on public issues through presentation of testimony and personal contacts with members of all branches of government.

NATIONAL OFFICE
Friends Committee on National Legislation
245 Second Street, N. E.
Washington 2, D. C.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
Friends Committee on Legislation
122 North Hudson Avenue
Pasadena 4, California

ILLINOIS - WISCONSIN
Friends Committee on Legislation
5132 South Woodlawn Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA
Friends Committee on Legislation
2160 Lake Street
San Francisco 21, California

1-60-R1—12M

TURNPIKE PRESS

Norfolk Study
Jane Reif

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 5-8764

January 4, 1960

Mr. David Scull
Turnpike Press
Annandale, Virginia

Dear Mr. Scull:

The enclosed two paragraphs bring up-to-date the Norfolk legal battle; Dan Bowers requested that I mail them directly to you.

I am afraid, however, that you or Dan must exercise some review of what I have written before it goes into print. The reason is that I don't have a copy of Mrs. Reif's manuscript here and cannot, therefore, indicate the page on which the enclosure should be inserted. More importantly, I don't altogether trust my memory as to just where her account left off. It is, therefore, quite possible that what I have written may repeat some of her narative. Will you and Dan please use your best judgment to tailor what I have written to fit the manuscript.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure
CC: Dan Bowers
Jane Reif

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	X
DAY LETTER	
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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

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LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

January 19, 1960

Mr. Dan Bowers
Virginia Council on Human Relations
210-C Broad-Grace Arcade Bldg.
Richmond, Virginia

SUGGEST TWENTY-FIVE CENTS A COPY, GROUP RATES ON REQUEST.

ASSUME THERE WILL BE INITIAL SELECTIVE FREE DISTRIBUTION.

Leslie W. Dunbar

Charge: Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AA20 RB039

1960 JAN 19 AM 9 53

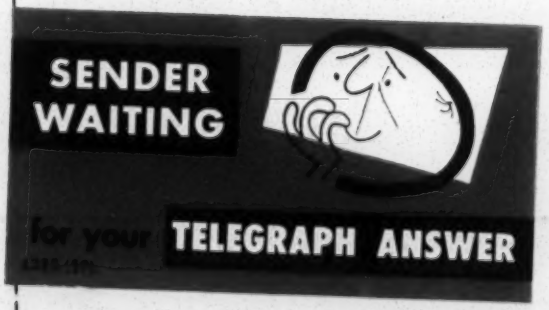
R LLB006 PD AR=RICHMOND VIR 19 918AME=

DR LESLIE DUNBAR, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

63 AUBURN AVE ATLA=

WHAT PRICE SHOULD BE PUT ON CRISIS IN NORFOLK=

DAN BOWERS VA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS.



Norfolk study

February 2, 1960

Mr. Dan Bowers
Virginia Council on Human Relations
216-C Broad-Grace Arcade Bldg.
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dan:

The galleys are enclosed. Some few of the corrections are the results of our own second thoughts, but the overwhelming lot of them are printer's errors.

The author of the preface (you ?) should sign it. I have marked the fifth paragraph for deletion. It would have to be rewritten, generally, for grammar if it were kept in, but my own feeling is that it is dispensable.

In my letter of November 2 to Jane Reif, of which you got a copy, I asked her to do two things--neither of which has been done. The first was to write a few extra lines on the role of the school board and Superintendent Brewbaker. I suggested that these be inserted some place on page five of the manuscript, the proper place seemed to me to be before the fourth paragraph on the bottom of galley sheet two. Did Mrs. Reif ever write these lines? If not, I am not going to struggle to get her to do so, though I think it is a fault of her work that she gives practically no attention to what was, after all, one of the central groups until very close to the end.

The second thing that I asked her to do must, however, be done, and that was to straighten out the order in which the three Defender candidates finished in the July primary. It obviously cannot be the way she has it. Please see the first paragraph in galley 12.

As I said to you over the telephone, we would be agreeable to anything, within reason, better than Mr. Scull has proposed for the layout. I share with you some doubt that a self-cover pamphlet of

this size would hold together. But whatever you decide regarding this will be satisfactory. It does seem to me, however, necessary that Mr. Scull abandon the plan for a 32-page booklet. I think the table of contents is highly desirable and I am not happy with printing parts of both chapters seven and eight on the same page. If he were to add four more pages, he could get the preface off the inside cover, he could have a title page, a table of contents, could start chapter eight on a clear page, and would still have a blank inside back cover.

Incidentally, for purposes of comparison, our private school pamphlet, of which I am enclosing a copy, has a cover of 50 pound Beckett and the pages are 60 pound gloss.

Let me know if I can be of any further non-assistance in getting this launched. This is beginning to resemble one of Norfolk's ships--probably a mine-layer.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosure: galley proofs
<u>If the Schools Are Closed</u>

THE TURNPIKE PRESS, INC.

LITTLE RIVER TURNPIKE, ANNANDALE, VIRGINIA • CLEARBROOK 6-3444

offset lithography duplicating addressing and mailing

DAVID H. SCULL
PRESIDENT AND
GENERAL MANAGER

RALPH A. ROSE
VICE-PRESIDENT

January 25, 1960

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Rm 432, 63 Auburn Ave N E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dan Bowers, VCHR
216 C Broad Grace Arcade
Richmond 19, Va.

Mi. 9-0872

Dear Friends:

I enclose galley proofs on the Norfolk Story. We will appreciate your proof reading this copy; the compositors have gone over it but I have not.

This is scheduled as a 32 page 5½" x 8½" self-cover booklet. The copy is all right for this as set provided we do not waste space. We propose eliminating a table of contents; there are no chapter headings anyway. Allowing 7.25 linear inches per page (½" top margin, 3/4" bottom margin) we propose the following layout:

proof tell 28

Title Page		Cover
Preface		Inside Cover
Chapter 1	2¼ pages	Pages 1,2,top of 3
Chapter 2	5 pages	4 - 8
Chapter 3	5 pages	9 - 13
Chapter 4	7 pages	14 - 20
Chapter 5	2 pages	21 - 22
Chapter 6	4 pages	23 - 26
Chapter 7	1¼ pages	27, top of 28
Chapter 8	1¼ pages	bottom of 28, 29

This allows us to leave p. 30, back cover, blank which I think is desirable in a self-cover if we can do it. We have only p. 28 with parts of 2 chapters, and plenty of room for blank space between.

I am enclosing sample copies of a comparable 16 page booklet we have just done on 70# green Beckett text with dark green ink. Please let me know if this kind of combination appeals to you. I am trying to get the price on the composition and will note it below if I can. Using this paper my estimate on all costs except composition, for 2500 copies, is $425.

Sincerely

David H. Scull

David H. Scull

COMPO NOT OVER $250

Virginia Council on Human Relations

2161C BROAD-GRACE ARCADE
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

Phone MI. 9-0872

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Dr. J. Rupert Picott
Dr. Harry W. Roberts
Dr. C. Waldo Scott
Mr. David H. Scull
Mrs. Grellet C. Simpson
Mr. Gerald C. Speidel
Mr. W. R. Walker, Jr.
Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker
Dr. David C. Wilson
Mr. James B. Woodson
Mr. Thomas W. Young

DANIEL A. BOWERS
Executive Director

MARCH 14, 1960.

DR/ LESLIE DUNBAR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.,
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA.

DEAR LES:

WILL YOU PLEASE WRITE DAVE SCULL, TURNPIKE PRESS, ANNANDALE, VA. AND TELL HIM HOW MANY COPIES OF THE NORFOLK SCHOOL STORY YOU WANT SHIPPED DIRECT TO SRC.

THE PAMPHLET IS NOW READY ALTHOUGH I DO NOT HAVE A COPY OF IT AS YET, AND DAVE HAS ASKED HOW MANY YOU WANT SENT DIRECTLY TO YOU.

THANKING YOU, I AM,

SINCERELY,

DANIEL A. BOWERS

Total printing is
2500 - We can use
1000 to 1500 profitably right now.

Dan

March 21, 1960

Mr. David H. Scull
The Turnpike Press, Inc.
Old River Turnpike
Annandale, Virginia

Dear Mr. Scull:

Dan Bowers has asked that we tell you how many copies of Crisis in Norfolk to ship direct to here. I think our agreement with Dan was that we would get 500 copies, and this would be satisfactory. If, on the other hand, you would like for us to distribute more, I believe we could move with good effect another 200. However, I leave this up to you and Dan to decide in the light of your distribution plans.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

W. L. SNELL

National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. • NE • Atlanta 9, Georgia

Printers & Lithographers • TRinity 5-7081

17 cut "

22 cut "Reformed" - invidious distinction

33 "Radical" liable to backfire - be misunderstood

34 - Definitely bring support on committee cut

+ hypocrisy to boot.

cut??

34 - Cut "bitterness."

W. L. SNELL | National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. • NE • Atlanta 9, Georgia
Printers & Lithographers • TRinity 5-7081

To be added:

1. a few lines on ~~Rs~~ Lehrl Brown & Brownbaker, characterizing their leadership - insert page 5, 2nd ¶ - will ask J.R. to write
2. a short foreword by Pres. Va. Council
3. a few lines bringing legal development up to date - I will write, just prior to printing

---

Will ask Bowen to read carefully, & have Brewer read, pp 11-13, 32. So I have cut these. I think they are all right, but Brewer could well look at them anyway

W. L. SNELL

National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. • NE • Atlanta 9, Georgia

Printers & Lithographers • TRinity 5-7081

there are one or two
technical questions to be
taken up with JR (such
as evident confusion on p. 20)

Va Council?
Va Comm?

latest stuff

✓ 8 - comment on newspapers
- O last sentence 1st # - unnecessary
- insert (the bing of Stone Jack) in 2nd #
✓ 11 - evaluation of men who did & didn't join NCPS
16 - line 8 - should "the" be "what"?
✓ 19 - evaluation of PTA officers
✓ 31st pg - criteria of lawyers, architects, business men; 33 - family harmony of heavy special
✓ 35 - line 15 - "blue-blood" accurate description? is it too rough on "100"; esp page 36
70 - order of finish
73 - no footnote?
✓ 78 - evaluation of community leadership
80 - line 1 - lothrum or lotherum?

further Carter "Segregation in Norfolk" South Atlantic Quarterly, Autumn 59

13 - omit 3rd # ditto p. 80 - NCPS private & public role in litigation
21; ~~bo~~ 5th line from bottom - omit "on footnotes"
5, 2nd # - insert something on Sch Bd & Brewbaker
11-12 - read carefully, and 32
rumor & scatter effect

~~69 vote~~

Gleamcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

March 6, 1959

FORTUNE Magazine
TIME, INC.
Time and Life Building
Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to have three reprints of an article from FORTUNE, September 1956, Volume 54, pages 126-31, written by Emmet John Hughes, "The Negro's New Economic Life".

If reprints are not available, please send us two copies of the magazine, issue of September 1956, and bill us.

Very truly yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
airmail

Esleeck

March 9, 1959

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Mr. Peters:

Some recent queries from state advisory committees to the Civil Rights Commission have underlined our regrets that your article on federal employment of Negroes, federal contract compliance, etc., has not yet appeared in Look. I understand from Harold Fleming, however, that the piece may be part of a book to be published in the not too far distant future.

We are wondering if the manuscript could be made available to us for information purposes without infringing any publication contracts you may have? We would, of course, restrict the use and spread of the information in any way you wish. We are growing more and more aware that we ourselves ought to have better facts on the questions you dealt with, and it would be helpful to us to secure the orientation which your surveys could provide.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Clearcopy Orion Slim
MADE IN U.S.A.

March 12, 1959

Abraham's Magazine Service
56 East 13th Street
New York, New York

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to have two copies of FORTUNE, September 1956, Volume 54. If you have these on hand, or one copy at least, please mail to us and bill us.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

March 16, 1959

Office of Information
Department of Defense
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

We are interested in ascertaining the names and addresses of those colleges and universities in the southern states which maintain R.O.T.C. units for any of the services, and also the names and addresses of secondary schools in the south which have R.O.T.C. units. Could you send us such a list, or refer us to some source, if there is one publically available, where the list is printed.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:s

March 17, 1959

Professor Frank H. Jackson
Department of Economics
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Professor Jackson:

I noticed a newspaper report of your recent lecture on "The Economic Costs of Segregation". If you have a copy of this lecture available, we would be extremely happy to have it or to borrow it. I should be interested to know, also, if you have written other things or have writings planned on this subject.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

March 18, 1959

Mr. Delmar Karlen, Asso. Director
40 Washington Square South
New York 12, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Karlen:

Thank you for sending us a copy of your brochure, "The Institute of Judicial Administration". We would like to receive a list of your published studies.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Esleeck
Clearcopy Onion Skin

March 20, 1959

Phi Delta Kappa
8th and Union Streets
Bloomington, Indiana

Gentlemen:

We want to thank you for your most prompt response to our suggestion that we could help you in the distribution of Action Patterns in School Desegregation. We received in good order the copies that you sent.

We have prepared a list of names of intergroup relations people working in southern fields. We have prepared for them names of school men in their areas. Through these intergroup relations workers, through our own consultants, and through the human relations councils in various southern states and cities, we hope to do a useful job of selective distribution of the book.

Thank you again for believing that we could be of service to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 23, 1959

Mr. Setsuko Matsunaga Nishi, Director
Research Unit in Christian Life and Work
Bureau of Research and Survey
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Nishi:

I have noted your comment in the symposium on The Role of the Social Sciences in Desegregation that the Bureau of Research of the National Council of Churches has undertaken the systematic exploration of literature and research pertinent to the function of churches and religion in the desegregation issue. This is a field in which we have great interest, and we would be particularly desirous of seeing the outcome of any research conducted by your organization. I would like to ask that you remember us when distributing any reports from this project.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 24, 1959

Miss Ruth Goldstein
Book Department
Rich's, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Goldstein:

We want to order the following books; if you do not have them, can you order them for us?

~~Burgoisie~~ Frasier, E. Franklin, The Black Bourgeoisie, Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1957 - $4.00

Karon, Bertram P., The Negro Personality, Springer Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1958. - $4.50

Shuey, Audrey M., The Testing of Negro Intelligence, J. B. Bell Company, Inc., Lynchburg, Virginia, 1958 - $4.00

Please let us know if there are any that you cannot get; we will try ordering them in New York.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research Department

March 24, 1959

Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Sirs:

Please send us a copy of the background discussion paper on the theme, "Migration, Human Resources, and Southern Economic Development".

When the pamphlet on "Human Resources and Southern Development" is ready for distribution, we would very much like to have a copy of it, also.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

March 25, 1959

Community
4233 South Indiana Avenue
Chicago 53, Illinois

Dear Sirs:

We would like to have ten copies of your issue of March, 1959, Vol. 18, No. 7, and enclose .70¢ in stamps in payment.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

April 3, 1959

Office of the President
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Sir:

Will you please refer this request to the proper office of your university?

We would like to order one copy of the publication #28 of the Florida State University Studies. This is Professor Wm. Dillingham's article "The Economics of Segregation".

Please bill us for the charges plus postage.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 6, 1959

Senator J. W. Fulbright
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Fulbright:

We would be very grateful to receive, if you have one, a copy of the brief filed by you as Amicus Curiae with the Supreme Court last summer in the Aaron v. Cooper case.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Silicon
Glazecopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

April 9, 1959

Library
Institute of Judicial Administration
40 Washington Square South
New York 12, New York

Dear Sirs:

Please send us the mimeographed copy of your study, "Disparity in Sentencing of Convicted Defendants", as listed in your October 1, 1958 publications list.

If there is any charge for this, please bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

April 9, 1959

U. S. Information Service
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sirs:

We have read with much interest an account of "American Illustrated," and its reception in the Soviet Union. We would like very much to have a copy of the issue mentioned in the news release as the latest issue and containing an article with a two-page spread of text and pictures depicting the generally improving status of America's 18,000,000 Negroes.

If you will bill us for the magazine we will be happy to pay you in U. S. money--we have no rubles.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

April 10, 1959

Mr. C. Wilson Record
Associate Professor of Sociology
Sacramento State College
6000 Jay Street
Sacramento 19, California

Dear Professor Record:

Thank you for the copies of your "Social Stratification and Intellectual Roles in the Negro Community". I had read and admired this several months ago, before coming to the Council, and wanted, therefore, that we have it for our small library. Your invitation for comments did, however, caution me that I should refresh my memory of it before responding.

My training has not been in sociology, and so either praise or disagreement may be presumptious. I have been instructed by your analysis, and in no small measure. I must admit to a prejudiced feeling that much sociological research seems disastrously hell-bent on being "original". Your essay is an achievement of skill because it draws into focus so much of the work of your colleagues, and does it with obvious authority and consequent right to discriminate. The whole thing seems to justify your conclusion: racial status distorts the class structure of American society and (only) the Negroes have a class interest in relieving the distortion. I don't know if you are familiar with Bertrand de Jouvenel's Sovereignty. You might care sometime to consider whether his conceptual device of dux and rex can't be applied, with some rather peculiar results, to the intra-racial relations of Negroes, and their inter-racial relations. If I have any

criticism at all to make of your article it would only be (to reverse a good principle of logic) to question whether every true statement you make is necessarily valid. The truth, e.g., of the sentence on page 240 is, to me, clear: "That such recognition is largely a consequence of prior valuation by some whites is of no great consequence". Yet how else could it be, given the white preponderance as gatekeepers of success? Similarly, I suspect the last paragraph on page 245, which so far as I know is true, would be equally valid (omitting the last sentence on page 246 and its reference to "ministers") if you scratched the word "Negro" wherever it appears.

But you will recognize this criticism for what it is: a strained attempt to moderate my earlier praise. Many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Eaton's
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

April 10, 1959

Mr. Robert T. Leigh, Director
Division of Publications
The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Leigh:

Thank you very much for sending us a copy of Florida State University Studies No. 28. This will be helpful to us.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 17, 1959

Miss Elizabeth Carmichael
Chief of Publications Section
Division of Administrative Services
Board of Governors
Federal Reserve System
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Miss Carmichael:

Will you please place us on your mailing list to receive copies of the following releases:

G 72 - Monthly Department Store Sales

G 6 - Bank Debits to Demand Deposit Accounts

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 17, 1959

Bureau of Business Research
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I would like to have information as to price and terms for a subscription to the Southeastern Resources Handbook. I would particularly like to know whether some of the sections of the Handbook can be ordered without subscription to the entire service.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 17, 1959

U. S. Department of Labor
BLS Regional Director
Suite 540
1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please enter our subscription for one year for Employment and Earnings. Our check for $3.50 is enclosed.

We would also like to receive the free copy of State Employment, with individual historical summary tables for each state, from the Employment and Earnings Data.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

P.S. Miss Lee, in the Information Dept., is mailing us the free copies of State Employment; we have talked with her by telephone. Thank you very much.

April 23, 1959

Superintendent of Documents
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us five (5) copies of Statistical Summary of of Education for 1955-56, the biennial survey of Education done by the Federal Security Agency, Office of Education. We are enclosing our check for $1.00.

If the price has increased from the twenty cents, as specified in the 1947-48 Biennial Survey, please send the number of copies that the $1.00 we are enclosing will cover.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

April 23, 1959

Federal Reserve Bank
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Sirs:

Release G.7.2 of the Federal Reserve System notes that indices showing longer time comparisons for selected cities are available from the district banks. We would like to receive such indices for monthly department store sales in Little Rock, Arkansas.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 28, 1959

Race Relations Law Reporter
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Sirs:

We have not received our two copies of the February, 1959 issue of Race Relations Law Reporter. If this has been published, please send immediately.

On November 18, 1958, a check for $6.00 was mailed to you for two subscriptions, as follows:

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Miss Marge Manderson, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

May 4, 1959

Reference Library
U. S. Department of Commerce
Volunteer Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs: Attention: Mrs. Cawthon

Thirty-five cents in coin is enclosed for two Commerce Department publications recently forwarded to this office.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM:a

Enclosure: 35¢

May 4, 1959

Florida Development Commission
Tallahassee, Florida

Gentlemen:

Please forward one (1) copy of your Business Research Report #114, Florida's New Industrial Plants, March, 1959 to the Research Department, at the above address. Bill the Southern Regional Council for any charges.

We would like to receive this report annually, so if you maintain a mailing list which would insure our receipt of a copy regularly, please include our name.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM:a

May 4, 1959

Bureau of Research
National Education Association
1201 - 16th Street N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

Will you please send us a copy of the recent statistical report released by you with state by state figures on per pupil expenditure, years completed in school, total state budget for education, etc.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

May 6, 1959

Congressional Record Digest
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

We would like to have a copy of A-3485, 4-27-59 (No. 65), which includes a letter to Congressman Williams of Mississippi from the New Bedford Standard-Times charging that the Southern Regional Council is an "offshoot" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

If there are any charges for this, please bill the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

May 8, 1959

Miss Inez Watson, Clerk
House of Representatives
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Miss Watson:

We would like very much to have a copy of the 1959 Legislative Manual of the General Assembly of South Carolina. If the 1959 manual is not yet available, might we have a copy of the 1958 manual?

Please bill the Southern Regional Council for any charges.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

May 12, 1959

Research Division
National Education Association of the U. S.
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for sending a copy of your Research Report 1949-R4. We would like to have fifty (50) additional copies, and are enclosing our check for $20.00 ($25.00 less 20% discount for orders of more than 10 copies).

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

May 13, 1959

Mr. Morris B. Abram
Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Abram:

We learn from the Atlanta Urban League that its distribution of some of the statements, including yours, made at the recent housing hearing before the Commission on Civil Rights is a very limited one. Your remarks and those of Robert Thompson, in particular, seem to me to be worth a wider reading. I am wondering, therefore, if you would have any reservations about our mimeographing your statement, in whole or in large part, together with Thompson's, as an SRC Special Report.

We do not have a copy of your testimony. I suppose we could use the one from which the Atlanta Urban League drew its excerpts, but it would be helpful to have a copy for ourselves if you have another available.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

May 20, 1959

Chicago Committee to Win the Vote in the South
1110 South Oakley Boulevard
Chicago 12, Illinois

Attention: Milton T. Norman

Dear Mr. Norman:

We would like very much to be placed on your mailing list.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

May 25, 1959

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Please send us the following publications:

JF101 - What We Know About "Race", Ashley Montagu		.25
F107 - Civil Rights - Barometer of Democracy		.25
G304 - Trends in Human Relations Research		.40
R38 - Prejudice and Mental Health		.10
		$1.00

One dollar is enclosed for payment. Send to the above address.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

Note:	Research Dept.:	F107	.25
		G304	.40
			.65
	MGA, personal	JF101	.25
		R38	.10
			.35

May 26, 1959

Journalism Quarterly
School of Journalism
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, 14, Minn.

Dear Sirs:

We are most eager to have a copy of "Segregation and the News: a Regional Content Study" by Roy E. Carter, Jr., published in the Journalism Quarterly, Winter 1957, pp 3-18. Do you have a copy of this issue of the Journalism Quarterly?

If you do not have a copy available, would it be possible to get a reproduction of the article?

Any charges should be billed to the Southern Regional Council, at the above address.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

Airmail

May 27, 1959

726 Jackson Pl. NW.

Mr. Thomas W. Young
Commission of Civil Rights
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Young:

The newspapers reported that Dr. Hanna's testimony of April 30 before a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee had been released to the press. We would like very much to receive a copy of the transcript. Would you have one available?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

May 28, 1959

Department of Sociology
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to receive a copy of Social Problems, Winter 1958-59, and we are enclosing $1.25 in payment.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

Same letter to: Baton Rouge, Louisiana
Frankfort, Kentucky
Tallahassee, Florida
Montgomery, Alabama
Jackson, Mississippi
Raleigh, North Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina - Received
Nashville, Tennessee
Austin, Texas
Richmond, Virginia
Little Rock, Arkansas
Atlanta, Georgia

June 1, 1959

The Secretary of State
The State of Mississippi
State Office Building
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Sir:

We would like very much to receive a copy of your 1959 manual or handbook for legislators, containing information on government departments, names of those elected as representatives and senators (state and federal), and names of chairmen and members on various state committees.

If there is a charge for this, please bill the Southern Regional Council, at the above address.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

June 8, 1959

Bureau of Community Services
Department of Sociology
College of Arts and Sciences
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to receive two copies of your "Kentucky Community Series No. 21" which is the proceedings of the 7th annual Community School-for-a-day, November 10, 1958.

A copy of this came to our office for Miss Anna Holden, who is now at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. We are forwarding it on to her, but found it most interesting and informative and would like to have it for staff use and information.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

July 15, 1959

Mr. Patrick E. McCauley
Assistant to the Director & Editor of Summary
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. McCauley:

I wonder if you would help me with a question I have about the Oklahoma figures in your May 15, 1959 statistical summary. On page 2 it is reported that 170 of 250 biracial districts are desegregated. These figures are repeated at the top of page 15, but further down on the page it is said that 238 of 271 biracial school districts have desegregated. These figures puzzled me, and so I counted the districts which you listed as being desegregated and got as my sum 167. Can you clarify?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

July 15, 1959

Circulation Dept.
The Miami Herald
Miami, Florida

200 So. Miami Ave.

Dear Sirs:

Please enter our subscription for three months, and send us a statement accordingly. At the end of that period we will consider if we wish to continue the subscription.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

July 16, 1959

Dr. Ray Gibbons, Director
Council of Christian Social Action
of the United Church of Christ
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Greetings!

And how is everyone at the CCSA? Annie Campbell has told me about the United Church of Christ meeting in Oberlin, as reported to her by Jimmie Lightbourne. Since one of my responsibilities here is to read all the Religious magazines and mark them for clipping, I have been keeping up with developments.

Les - / Annie mentioned a publication to go out from the CCSA on interracial marriage, written by Chester Marcus. Is this ready for distribution, and if so may we have one?

We are racing against an August deadline to get out several pamphlets - one of the private school plan (proving that it won't work) and several others. The latest Special Report is just out, on "Waiting Room Practices in 21 Southern Cities."

My work here continues to be most interesting, and varied - I've even been making speeches. Never thought I'd be doing that.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

July 20, 1959

Industrial Development Branch
Georgia Institute of Technology
225 North Avenue N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

In the July 19th Atlanta Journal-Constitution, reporter Jim Montgomery wrote of a lengthy report, "Analysis of Georgia Personal Income Payments by Counties," just published by the Industrial Development Branch. We would like very much to receive a copy of this report. Any charges should be billed to the Southern Regional Council.

We would also like to have a copy of an earlier report, also directed by Dr. John L. Fulmer, on population and migration trends research into county-by-county, published in 1957.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

July 24, 1959

The Christian Life Commission
of the Southern Baptist Convention
127 - 9th Avenue North
Nashville 3, Tenn.

Dear Sirs:

We would like to receive a copy of your May, 1957 report of a study of social attitudes among Southern Baptists during that summer. If there is a charge for this, please bill the Southern Regional Council.

We would also like to have on hand a recent list of your publications, if you have this printed or mimeographed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

July 25, 1959

Publications
Georgia State College
33 Gilmer St. S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to receive a copy of your publication, The Atlanta Economic Review on business and industry. If there is a charge for this, please bill the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

August 5, 1959

Mr. Gordon M. Tiffany, Staff Director
The Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Tiffany:

We would like very much to receive a copy of the transcript of the Commission's hearings into voting rights held last December and January in Montgomery, Ala. It is our understanding that this material was released on July 30.

We would also like to receive a copy of your second release, a transcript of the Commission's Conference on Education, held in Nahsville, Tenn., last March.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

August 17, 1959

Population Reference Bureau,
Incorporated
1507 M Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Please send us two (2) copies of MIGRATION, MOBILITY, AND THE ASSIMILATION OF THE NEGRO, by Irene B. Taeber. Population Bulletin, Volume XIV, Number 7, November, 1958. Bill the Southern Regional Council for charges.

Very truly yours,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc

August 24, 1959

New York University of Law
40 Washington Square South
New York 3, New York

Gentlemen:

We would very much appreciate your sending one copy each of your April and May issues of the New York University Law Review to our president, Mr. James M. Dabbs, Mayesville, South Carolina. If you can spare two copies of each issue, we would like very much to receive them for our research files.

Any charges should be billed to the Southern Regional Council, at the above address.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

August 25, 1959

Mr. Isaiah Terman
Director of Communications
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Terman:

We have received your "Fact Sheet on Equality of Opportunity" by Harry Fleischman and appreciate having it for the research files.

We would like very much to have one additional copy, if you have some to spare.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

September 4, 1959

The Journal of Negro Education
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us another copy of your Spring, 1959 issue of The Journal of Negro Education. Our check for $1.50 is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

Enclosure: check

September 9, 1959

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, chairman
Women's Emergency Committee to Open
Our Schools
P. O. Box 122
Pulaski Heights Station
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Brewer:

In the September 6 issue of the Arkansas Gazette we noted a report on a recently issued book called "Little Rock Report: The City, Its People, Its Business."

We would like very much to receive six copies of this mimeographed book; if there is any charge, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

September 14, 1959

Educational Testing Service
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Sirs:

Could you tell us if you have done studies for other southern cities similar to your statistical report on Atlanta public schools, 1955-56? If so, are copies available from your office?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

September 15, 1959

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, Chairman
Women's Emergency Committee
To Open Our Schools
P. O. Box 3244
Pulaski Heights Station
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Brewer:

Thank you for filling our request for six copies of your Little Rock Report; our check in payment is enclosed.

We think this is an excellent job and are really struck by the skill which has gone into your fact finding and presentation. We now have, therefore, two questions: first, is there a rate for bulk orders? second, could we have your permission to abstract from the report (with, of course, due credit) for one of our L reports. These we circulate to business men, news media, and other invluential persons and groups throughout the South. I am enclosing a sample to show you what they are and how they appear.

With best wishes, and congratulations for an excellent job,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure:
check, $6.00
Montgomery L Report 3

September 16, 1959

Department of Public Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

We understand that several months ago you published a report on juvenile delinquency in the District, and that this report contains some information on the delinquency rate among Negroes since 1954. We would be very grateful if we could receive a copy of this report. Please let us know the charges, if any.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

September 16, 1959

Southern Education Reporting Service
Nashville, Tennessee

Gentlemen:

Please send one copy of Southern Schools: Progress and Problems to me in care of the above address. Bill the Southern Regional Council for charges.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc

September 24, 1959

The Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to receive another copy of The Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1959.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

September 28, 1959

The Irving-Swain Press
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Sirs:

Please send us a copy of Patterns of Leadership Among Negroes (North Carolina) by John R. Larkins. Our check for $1.50 is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enc- check for $1.50

September 29, 1959

The Western Political Quarterly
Institute of Government
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Sirs:

Do you have special rates for quantity orders of reprints of the article "The South Counterattacks: The Anti-NAACP Laws" from your June 1959 issue? If so we would like very much to know them.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

October 2, 1959

Mr. James P. Mitchell
Secretary of Labor
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The New York Times on September 27 carried a report of your address in New Orleans before the Anti-Defamation League on manpower problems. If they are available, I wonder if we could have one or two copies of your paper.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

October 6, 1959

Dr. John A. Griffin
Florida State College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear John:

I had hoped to check this question with you yesterday during a lull in the Executive Committee meeting. It has to do with Table 8 of your section of the SERS book, Progress and Problems. It seems to me fairly obvious that there are two typographical errors in that table: the figure for Rural White Enrollment, 1939 to 1957, for Arkansas should be - 39.8? the figure for Rural Negro Enrollment, 1949 to 1957, for Oklahoma should be - 74.6 ?

Would you mind taking a look at the table and dropping me a very quick line confirming that both of these percentages should be minus. I need to use the data for the next issue of New South.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

October 8, 1959

The Southern Economic Journal
Box 1289
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Sirs:

Could you send me a copy of the program for the annual meeting of the Southern Economic Association in Jacksonville, November 20-21 ?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

October 8, 1959

Journal of Southern History
The Rice Institute
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Sirs:

Could you send me a copy of the program for the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Atlanta on November 12-14 ?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

October 8, 1959

Professor George B. Tindall
Department of History
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Professor Tindall:

I have only today read your fine essay on Howard W. Odum in the Journal of Southern History for August, 1958. Because of Dr. Odum's great role with the Southern Regional Council, we would like to have a reprint of the article if you have one available.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

October 15, 1959

Dr. Geneva Facen
Division of Education
Grambling College
Grambling, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Facen:

Thank you for writing to us regarding your dissertation. While we would be most happy to read it, and hope that we may have the opportunity some day to do so, we would not be able to help you with publication. As you may know, our publications are largely confined to topical pamphlets and reports. We have never undertaken a program of publishing basic research, believing that this is beyond our special responsibilities and competence.

I wish you all success in finding a publisher and if we can be of any further help, please communicate with us.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
(dictated, but not read or signed)

October 15, 1959

Dr. Walter Kennon
Secretary-Treasurer
Industrial Research Branch
Georgia Institute of Technology
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Kennon:

Will you please send me a program for the November 20-21 meetings of the Southern Economic Association?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

October 21, 1959

Mr. Frank D. Wood
Southern Manager
Moody's Investors Service
P. O. Box 1236
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wood:

Thank you for your letter of October 20, and the information concerning Moody's Industrials. Our check is enclosed for $104. for the 1959 Manual, together with a binder and all the current issues s since the beginning of the present series.

In 1960 we will consider whether we wish to subscribe for another year.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosure: check #701

October 21, 1959

Mr. E. E. Weaver
Managing Editor
The Western Political Quarterly
University of Utah
Salt Lake City 12, Utah

Dear Mr. Weaver:

Thank you for your letter of October 13, giving us prices on quantity reprints on the article "The South Counterattacks: The Anti NAACP Laws," which appeared in the June 1959 issue of the Western Political Quarterly.

I should have been more specific. We only want about 25 copies to have on hand for inquiries of those doing serious research in this area. Would you please let us know how much 25 copies will cost?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

October 22, 1959

Bureau of Business Research
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to receive a copy of your special report on the South. If there are any charges for the report, please bill the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

October 22, 1959

The Secretary of State
The State of Virginia
State Office Building
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Sir:

We would like very much to receive a copy of the Report of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, which we understand is available in October or November of each year.

If there is a charge for this, please bill the Southern Regional Council, at the above address.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 22, 1959

The Secretary of State
The State of Virginia
State Office Building
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Sir:

We would like very much to receive a copy of the Report of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, which we understand is available in October or November of each year.

If there is a charge for this, please bill the Southern Regional Council, at the above address.

Sincerely yours,

Monty Albright

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

October 29, 1959

Mr. Arthur W. Wiebel, President
Tennessee Coal and Iron Division
of the United States Steel Corporation
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Wiebel:

We would like very much to receive a copy of your address to the National Society of Professional Engineers on February 20, 1959: "Face to Face with Tomorrow". If you have an extra copy, we would very much appreciate the opportunity of reading it.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

October 30, 1959

Subscription Department
The Miami Herald
Miami, Florida

Dear Sirs:

Please cancel our subscription, which expired October 22nd.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

October 30, 1959

Subscription Department
The Virginian Pilot
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Sirs:

Please cancel our subscription, which expired this week.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

November 12, 1959

National School Boards Association
1940 Sheridan Road
Evanston, Illinois

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to receive a mailing list of school board members or school board chairmen of the southern states. Would it be possible for us to get this from you?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

November 17, 1959

University of Pennsylvania Law Review
Philadelphia
Pennsylvania

Dear Sirs:

We understand that your November 1959 issue will contain an article by Lewis Pollak dealing with issues raised in an address by Herbert Wexchler. If so, please accept this letter as our order for one copy and bill us the charges.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

November 17, 1959

Virginia Law Review
Clark Memorial Hall
Charlottesville, Va.

Dear Sirs:

We would like to receive your issue of May, 1959 and our check for $2.00 in payment is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Enclosure: check

Correspondence

November 17, 1958

Texas Employment Commission
Brown Building
Austin, Texas

Gentlemen:

Please send a copy of your most recently prepared state population figures, with a county by county and, if possible, a racial breakdown. If this data cannot be supplied by your office, I would appreciate your letting me know where it might be obtained.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc

November 17, 1959

Harvard Law Review
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Sirs:

We understand that the November issue of the Review will reprint a recent address by Herbert Wexchler dealing with inter alia the Supreme Court and the segregation cases. If so, please accept this letter as our order for one copy and bill us the charges.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

November 23, 1959

Sales Department
University of California Press
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Sirs:

Please send us ten copies of Where Shall We Live?. Our check for $10.00 is enclosed.

Mail to: Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Enclosure: check

November 2, 1959

East Publishing Company
Box 349
Hattisburg, Mississippi

Dear Sirs:

Please enter my name as a subscriber of The Petal Paper, and send it to my home address; the extra .30 is for three copies of your issue of October 22, 1959, Vol. 6, No. 50.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
2150 Monterey Dr. N. W.
Atlanta 18, Georgia

Enclosure:
check: $5.30

November 2, 1959

Mr. E. E. Weaver
Managing Editor
The Western Political Quarterly
254 Spencer Hall
University of Utah
Salt Lake City 12, Utah

Dear Mr. Weaver:

Thank you for the information that we may obtain six copies of the reprint we wrote you about; our check for $2.10 is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

Enclosure:
Check - $2.10
6 copies @ .35

November 4, 1959

Florida State University Press
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to receive a copy of the study by Sidney Kobre in 1957: "Behind Shocking Crime Headlines; Searching Probe into Juvenile, Adult Crime and Prisons." Please bill us for any charges.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

November 9, 1959

Subscription Department
Richmond News-Leader
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Sirs:

We would like to subscribe to your newspaper; will you please enter our subscription and bill us for one year.

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

December 2, 1959

Mr. F. I. Sheeder, Executive Secretary
Board of Christian Education & Publication
United Church of Christ
1505 Race Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Dear Mr. Sheeder:

We would like to receive ten copies of your publication Love Of This Land, at the special price of 18¢ per copy. If you still have them on hand, will you mail them to us and bill us?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

December 3, 1959

American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Sirs:

We would like to receive two copies of your detailed report on non-discriminatory employment trends in Durham, N. C. We would also like to have two copies of the questionnaire form you used in making the survey.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 3, 1959

The Journal of Negro Education
The Bureau of Educational Research
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

I would like to inquire if reprints are available of the article by Frank H. Stallings in the Fall, 1959 issue, and if so at what price for a quantity of twenty-five?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

CC: Frank H. Stallings

December 7, 1959

Mr. Henry M. Shine, Jr.
Civil Rights Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Shine:

It would be greatly appreciated if you could send at once a copy of the transcript of your Nashville hearings on education to:

Frank Stallings
Associate Professor of Education
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dr. Stallings if engaged in an assignment with us.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 8, 1959

Mr. Frank G. Davis
Research Director
Ebony Magazine
1820 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

Dear Mr. Davis:

We would like very much to obtain, for our research files, a copy of Ebony, May 1958 issue. If it is not possible to get this, we are interested in the article regarding integration in the churches, and would appreciate a reprint or copy of it.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

order

December 9, 1959

Mr. Frank D. Woods
Moody's Investors Service
P. O. Box 1236
Atlanta 1, Georgia

Dear Mr. Woods:

Upon further consideration, I think we shall take advantage of your generous offer. We would like to subscribe to Moody's for 1960 on the understanding that the price will be $77.00 and that we may cancel this renewal at any time before the end of May, 1960.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 10, 1959

Mr. Jonathan Daniels
Raleigh News & Observer
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Mr. Daniels:

I wonder if you would have available a copy of the paper read by you at the recent meeting of the Southern Historical Association. We have heard and read so much comment on it that we would like very much to have an opportunity to read it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 11, 1959

Mr. Daniel A. Bowers
Virginia Council on Human Relations
216-C Broad-Grace Arcade Bldg.
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Bowers:

We have read, in the Richmond News Leader, that the Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government has recently issued a pamphlet entitled, A Question of Intent. It seems the pamphlet was put out by the commission's public relations committee, headed by James J. Kilpatrick. Could you get hold of a copy and send it to Leslie Dunbar? He would like very much to see one.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

P.S. We would also like to be on their mailing list. Will you also send us the address of the commission's public relations committee, or wherever materials are mailed from.

December 30, 1959

The Honorable Leroy Collins
Governor of Florida
State House
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Governor Collins:

We would like very much to receive a copy of yourreport to the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, meeting in Tallahassee on December 4 or 5, 1959.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 30, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Wright, Jr.
Executive Editor
Concern
P. O. Box 871
Nashville 2, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Wright:

We would like to order 25 copies of your issue of December 25, 1959 (Civil Rights Issue) to use in replying to requests from high school and college students for material on the South, and on civil rights in the South. Will you please let us know what the charges would be for 25 copies?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

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TO: Colleges, Libraries, Organizations and Individuals

We are sending you herewith a copy of the Second Edition of INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. We have issued this Second Edition not only to bring the material up to date, but because of the great demand for the First Edition. You will note that information is given about your organization.

While the Council publishes this as a public service, the actual cost is $1.00. If you wish to keep INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, we would greatly appreciate your remittance. Further copies may be ordered from the Council headquarters while the limited supply lasts.

It occurs to us that your chapters throughout the country might be interested in using this publication and they may be purchased at the quantity rate of 25 for $20.00: 50 for $35.00.

Mrs. Regina Andrews
Mrs. Sophia Yarnall Jacobs
Co-Chairmen, Human Relations Committee

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Mrs. Vanderbilt Webb, *New York*

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

OFFICE OF

SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH

We have your request for a copy of our latest Report of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, sometimes called "The Blue Book" which contains a list of the officials of all counties, cities and towns of Virginia.

Because of the increased demands for the Report, and the higher printing charges, it has become necessary for us to impose a $2.50 charge for the Report. If you will let us have your check for this amount, we shall be glad to forward you a copy by return mail.

hold until order unless some need comes up

_____

Secretary of the Commonwealth

January 6, 1959

Office of Educational Activities
The New York Times
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

We have a copy of your recent Current Affairs Publication, Integration vs. Segregation, and would like to inquire the cost or ordering reprints in the following quantities:

25 copies
50 copies
100 copies sent free

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

December 2, 1959

Circulation Manager
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Sir:

Please continue sending us your newspaper, and bill us for one year. We have been receiving it as a gift, and have received notice of expiration. We do not want to miss any issues.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

P.S. The newspaper has been mailed to:

John Constable
Director of Information
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

January 5, 1960

Dr. E. B. Robert
Dean of Education
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Dean Robert:

Belatedly, I have read in the November 23rd issue of the Times-Picayune a report of the address given by you before the Louisiana Teachers' Association. The report was so interesting that I am writing to ask if you may have an extra copy of the address which you might send to us. If you do not have a copy to spare, we would be very grateful if you would lend us a copy which we would return promptly.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

January 5, 1960

Mr. Joseph Gross
1196 Converse Dr. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Joe:

I wonder if you could return, as soon as convenient, the materials which I lent you. We are pinched a little, especially for the copy of the Commission on Civil Rights Report.

We remain interested in your memorandum whenever you may have it finished.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

January 18, 1960

Mr. Henry Moon
Director of Public Relations
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Moon:

Mrs. Ruby Hurley has told us that you have reprinted the New York Times advertisement related to the Yancey County situation. I wonder if you could have someone advise us as to the price of copies?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

January 25, 1960

The Democratic National Committee
1001 Connecticut Avenue N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

The Southern Inter-Agency Conference, which is made up of representatives of the leading social and religious agencies concerned with Southern racial problems, discussed at its last meeting the desirability of each agency being aware of the principles of the Fair Election Code subscribed to by the Democratic and Republican national parties. We were instructed to find out if copies of the code could be obtained for distribution to each agency.

Would it be possible to obtain 90 copies of the code from you, or could you advise us how we may procure them?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

January 27, 1960

Industrial Relations Counselors
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York 20, New York

Dear Sirs:

We have heard that you recently have prepared a report on the general subject of Negro manpower skills and their utilization. If this is so, I wonder if we could procure a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

January 27, 1960

University of Chicago Press
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sirs:

We would like to order the latest edition of your A Manual of Style. Will you please send one copy, and bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

January 27, 1960

Southern Economics Journal
P. O. Box 1289
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Sirs:

We would like to receive one copy of your January 1960 issue, and enclose $1.50 in payment.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

enclosed
1 sent

February 1, 1960

Editorial Department
Pittsburg Courier
Pittsburg, Pennsylvania

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to receive your "Courier Correspondence" newsletter, which we understand is mailed out from time to time and is free. Will you kindly put us on your mailing list?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

February 10, 1960

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Maslow:

We would like to order 100 copies of your publication, The Myths of Racial Integration. Our understanding is that the cost will be 25¢ each for orders of 100 or more. Will you please bill us?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Also ordered: 1 copy
"Let's Be Human"
by Harry Fleischman

February 11, 1960

Dr. Lawrence W. Towner
History Department
College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Towner:

We have read an account, in the Richmond News-Leader, of a report given by you on January 20 to the Williamsburg Area Interracial Study Group. We would like to receive a copy of this study by the education committee, if you have one available.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 11, 1960

Miss Marjorie W. Longley
School Service
The New York Times
Times Square
New York 36, N. Y.

Dear Miss Longley:

We want to express to you our appreciation for sending us the 100 copies of the current affairs publication, Integration and Segregation.

We have so many requests for information--from students, writers, teachers, ministers and people doing research--and these will, therefore, be helpful to us in supplying their needs.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

February 12, 1960

American Automobile Association
1712 G Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us your Southeastern Accommodations Directory for 1959; and your Western Accommodations Directory, if this includes ~~Texas and Oklahoma, for 1959. S~~tatement for the cost should be sent to the Southern Regional Council, at the above address.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

February 17, 1960

Dr. Philip Weltner
3147 Lanier Drive N. E.
Atlanta 19, Georgia

Dear Dr. Weltner:

Will you please place us on your mailing list for any reports you have put out, or may put out? We are very much interested, and noted the editorial in the Atlanta Journal on January 27 regarding your recommendation to the Fulton County Council.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

send to:

Research
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

February 17, 1960

Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Sirs:

Will you please send us four copies of Southern Schools: Progress and Problems in the paper back edition, and bill the Southern Regional Council at the above address.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Sources of Funds for Capital Investment in the Southeast

A selection of articles reprinted from the *Monthly Review* of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta for the period 1945-59, together with additional text. The following topics are included:

Introduction (Capital Investment and Income Growth)

Measures of Financial Resources

Financial Institutions as Sources of Funds

Corporate Financing

Sources of Funds for State and Local Borrowing

Some Gaps in Our Knowledge

This pamphlet is available upon request. To expedite your order, fill in the lower portion of this page and return it to us.

Sent 2/22/60 RBA

Monthly Review

February 23, 1960

Dept. of Racial and Cultural Relations
Nat'l Council of the Churches of Christ
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

We would like to receive your bi-monthly publication Interracial News Service for two years, at $2.50. Will you please begin the subscription and bill us?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

P. S. Subscription should be entered as follows:

Research
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Would you be interested in an exchange, with our monthly publication New South? (copy enclosed).

February 29, 1960

Editor
The Rebel
East Carolina College
Greenville, N. C.

Dear Sir:

We have noted, in the February 17 issue of the Raleigh News and Observer, a portion of an interview with Paul Green, as quoted from an interview published by you. We would like very much to receive a copy of the complete interview.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

February 29, 1960

Mr. Bruce L. Felknor
Executive Director
Fair Campaign Practices Committee, Inc.
8 East 66th Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Felknor:

May we request 100 copies of the Code of Fair Campaign Practices? This request is made not only out of our own interest, but because we were asked at a recent meeting of the Southern Inter-Agency Conference to seek these for distribution to the various agencies having action programs in the field of southern racial relations. We hope you shall be able to supply their needs. If there is a charge, will you please advise us as to the amount before mailing the copies.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 7, 1960

Mr. Bruce L. Felknor
Executive Director
Fair Campaign Practices Committee, Inc.
8 East 66th Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Felknor:

Thank you for your letter of March 4 and the enclosed copies of the Code of Fair Campaign Practices. It was very good of you to send them so promptly. I think we would prefer to wait for a month in order to get the amended version (although there are places down here and elsewhere where compliance with even part of the unamended version would be a victory).

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 10, 1960

Social and Economic Studies
Institute of Social and Economic Research
University College of the West Indies
British W. I.

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to receive a copy of "The Segregation of Negroes in American Cities," if you have this in reprint form. If you do not, would you send us a copy of your Vol. 6, No. 1, March, 1957, and bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

March 10, 1960

The Journal of Legal Education
Faculty of Law
Duke University
Duke Station
Durham, N. C.

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to receive a copy of "Sociological Factors in the Effectiveness of Projected Legislative Remedies," by Arnold M. Rose. If you have reprints available, we would prefer a reprint; if you do not, will you please send us Vol. II, No. 4, 1959, containing this study. And please bill us for any charges.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

March 10, 1960

American Journal of Orthopsychiatry
American Orthopsychiatry Association
1790 Broadway
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to receive a reprint of "Sociological Aspects of Desegregation," by Melvin M. Tumin, if you have reprints available. If you do not, would you please send us a copy of Vol. 29, No. 1, January, 1959 and bill us?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

March 22, 1960

Governor LeRoy Collins
State Capital Building
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Governor Collins:

We would like very much to receive a copy of your speech discussing the lunch counter demonstrations.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

March 23, 1960

The Free Press
Glencoe
Illinois

Dear Sirs:

Will you please send us one copy of The Negro Professional Class, by C. Franklin Edwards and bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

March 23, 1960

University of North Carolina Press
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Sirs:

We wish to place an advance order for William H. Nicholls' Southern Tradition and Regional Progress, to be released by you on April 30th. Please send as soon as available, and bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

March 23, 1960

The Rev. J. Metz Rollins, Jr.
Department of Social Education & Action
Board of Christian Education
P. O. Box 1083
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Rollins:

In the March 1960 issue of The Crisis we noted that the editors of Social Progress devoted their February issue to a symposium on racial intermarriage. We would like very much to receive a copy of this issue, and will appreciate it very much if you will send us one.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Ressearch

March 28, 1960

Miss Maria Cawthon
U. S. Department of Commerce
AT-7
Volunteer Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Cawthon:

Please send us your Current Population Reports, Series P, 25, 20, 23, 27. It is our understand that these will cost $2.50, and our check is enclosed. We are also including the 50¢ due you for another report.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Enclosure: check, $3.00

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
FIELD SERVICES
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
604 Volunteer Building
March 29, 1960

50¢ Receipt
RHA
Rec'd 3/30/60

Mrs. Ed A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you for your check in the amount of $3.00.

We have placed your name on the mailing list to receive copies of the Current Population Reports as issued. The subscription rate for this publication is $2.50.

The 50 cents included in your check is appreciated as this will balance our records for the publication mailed you several days ago, Receipt coupons are enclosed.

Very truly yours,

MERRILL C. LOFTON
Field Office Manager

by
Business Analyst.

Enclosure

April 5, 1960

The Journal of Politics
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Sirs:

We understand that Professor Robert Steamer, Louisiana State University, will have an article, on district courts and desegregation, in your August issue. We would like to reserve twenty reprints of this article.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

LWD:a

April 5, 1960

Circulation Department
The St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Sirs:

We would like to subscribe to your paper for three months, after which we will decide whether or not we wish to continue the subscription. Will you please begin the subscription and bill the Southern Regional Council, Research.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

May 3, 1960

Mr. B. H. Wall
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Historical Association
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Wall:

Will you please send us the February, 1960 issue of the Journal of Southern History. We are enclosing $1.00 in payment.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Enclosure: check

May 4, 1960

Professor Louis Killian
Department of Sociology
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Professor Killian:

I have just read the article by you and C. V. Smith, "Negro Protest Leaders in a Southern Community," in the March issue of Social Forces. We would be most grateful to have a reprint for our files if you have one available.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

May 18, 1960

Circulation Department
The Times Picayune
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Sirs:

We would like to subscribe to your newspaper for three months, daily and Sunday. At the end of that time we will let you know whether or not we wish to continue the subscription. Will you please bill us, and begin the subscription with Sunday, May 15?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

May 18, 1960

Meridian Books
17 Union Square West
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

In 1956 you published for The Fund for the Republic, Inc., a papertound edition of Integration North and South, by David Loth and Harold Fleming. We are wondering if you might possibly have a copy or three in your files that you no longer care to keep and could send to us. We would be glad to pay for whatever number of copies you may turn up, and will greatly appreciate even one, as we are down to our last file copy.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

May 18, 1960

The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

We are wondering if you might possibly have several copies of Integration North and South, by David Loth and Harold Fleming, around your offices. If you do, we would very much appreciate having them; we are down to our last file copy. We would of course be happy to pay for any number you may turn up.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

May 18, 1960

Publications Office
Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry
104 E. 25th St.
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us 100 copies of your Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation. Our check for $30.00 is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Enclosure: $30.00

May 18, 1960

Henry Holt & Company, Inc.
383 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

We would like to receive Two Parties for Shreveport, Louisiana, by Kenneth N. Vines, from your Case Studies in Practical Politics series in the paperbound 50¢ edition. We are enclosing 50¢ in coin.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Enclosed: 50¢

May 19, 1960

American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us the following pamphlets and reprints, and bill us:

"Deflating the Professional Bigot"	.15
"Prejudice Won't Make Us Sell Our House"	.05
"When a Negro Moves Next Door"	.15
"The People Take the Lead"	.25
"Reaching Out in Recreation"	.20
	.80

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Okay

June 20, 1960

Mr. Isaiah Terman
American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Terman:

We would like to receive a copy of your Nationwide Poll of March, 1959, which we understand is now ready for distribution as prepared by your Scientific Research Division. We also understand that the report is not to be publicized, but is for our personal-professional use.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

A

May 25, 1960

Prentice Hall Inc.
Englewood Cliffs
New Jersey

Dear Sirs:

We wish to order White and Negro Schools in the South: An Analysis of Bi-racial Education, by Pierce, Truman M., James B. Kincheloe, R. Edgar Moore, Galen N. Drewry and Bennie F. Carmichael, published by you in 1955. Please bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

To order, check publications desired on above order form, complete the form, detach and return to the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., with remittance . . .

1E. NAVY CONTRACT LAW. As pointed out in the preface of this volume, many contractors dealing with the Federal Government make unnecessary and costly mistakes because of ignorance of the applicable rules. Designed to further a better understanding of the subject of Government contract law, this newly revised edition of *Navy Contract Law* should be of help in making the principles of this special body of law better known to contractors and their lawyers as well as to Government officials. 1959. 1,015 p.
Catalog No. D 201.5:C 76 — Cloth, $8.00

2E. SUBTERRANEAN TERMITES, THEIR PREVENTION AND CONTROL IN BUILDINGS. Describes termites—their appearance, biology, and habits; suggests methods for preventing subterranean termite attack in new construction; and tells where to look for termites in existing buildings, how to recognize signs of their presence, and how to control them by both structural and chemical means. 1960. 30 p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.77:64 — 15¢

RETAIL PRODUCE MANUAL. A series of bulletins issued to help retail store managers and workers save time and money in produce handling and to enable them to offer consumers produce of better quality with less loss from waste and spoilage.

3E. Organization of the Work Area for Handling Produce in Retail Stores. 1959. 8 p.
Catalog No. A 1.95:2 — 15¢

4E. Ordering, Receiving, and Storage of Produce in Retail Stores. 1959. 6 p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.95:3 — 5¢

5E. Trimming Produce in Retail Stores. 1959. 16 p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.95:4 — 25¢

6E. LIST OF AVAILABLE PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE. Lists the currently available publications of the U.S. Department of Agriculture as of August 1, 1959. Rev. 1960. 102 p.
Catalog No. A 21.9/8:11/3 — 35¢

CLIMATES OF THE STATES. Detailed reports on the climates of the States.

7E. California. 1959. 37 p. il.
Catalog No. C 30.71/3:4 — 25¢

8E. Delaware. 1959. 18 p. il.
Catalog No. C 30.71/3:7 — 15¢

9E. Mississippi. 1959. 16 p. il.
Catalog No. C 30.71/3:22 — 10¢

10E. Nebraska. 1959. 16 p. il.
Catalog No. C 30.71/3:25 — 10¢

11E. New Jersey. 1959. 16 p. il.
Catalog No. C 30.71/3:28 — 10¢

12E. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD, 1959. Reports the activities of the Civil Aeronautics Board for the fiscal year 1959. 1960. 64 p. il. 6 maps.
Catalog No. C 31.201:959 — $1.25

13E. CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD REPORTS, VOLUME 21. Economic and safety enforcement cases of the Civil Aeronautics Board, June 1955–October 1955. 1959. 1,169 p.
Catalog No. C 31.211:21 — Cloth, $4.00

14E. WORLD SURVEY OF AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT, SOUTH AMERICA. Contains brief summaries of the agricultural machinery and equipment situation in selected countries in South America. 1960. 14 p.
Catalog No. C 41.91:So 8a — 15¢

15E. POCKET GUIDE TO TURKEY. This pocket guide, prepared for use by servicemen assigned to this area, introduces the reader to the people, the religion, the education and language, the government, and the resources and industry of Turkey. Descriptions of interesting places to see and a brief language guide are included. Rev. 1959. 122 p. il.
Catalog No. D 2.8:T 84/959 — 50¢

16E. ARMED FORCES NEWSPAPER HANDBOOK. Designed to furnish information and guidance in writing and preparing material for Armed Forces newspapers, this handbook contains information on most of the basic principles and methods of present-day journalism. It includes chapters on gathering, writing, and editing the news, as well as how to prepare the copy for reproducing. 1959. 116 p. il.
Catalog No. D 2.14:1–17 — 45¢

17E. COLOR CODE FOR RESISTORS, MIL–STD–221A. This Military Standard establishes a uniform color code for insulated, axial-lead, composition-type and wirewound-type, fixed resistors used by the Departments of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force. Rev. 1960. 8 p. il.
Catalog No. D 7.10:221A — 20¢

18E. HANDBOOK ON THE SOVIET ARMY. This *Handbook on the Soviet Army* discusses the Soviet military system, military doctrine, organization of the field forces, personnel and training, logistics, weapons, equipment, and uniforms, insignia, decorations, and awards. It also gives information on the Navy, Air Forces of the Soviet Army, and the quasi-military organizations. Issued in looseleaf form without binder. 1959. 260 p. pl. map.
Catalog No. D 101.22:30–50–1 — $2.00

19E. THE AMERICAN EPHEMERIS AND NAUTICAL ALMANAC FOR THE YEAR 1961. Information relating to the sun, moon, planets, stars, eclipses, ephemerides, and satellites. 1959. 523 p. il.
Catalog No. D 213.8:961 — Cloth, $4.00

20E. HANDBOOK OF SUPERSONIC AERODYNAMICS, SECTION 16, MECHANICS OF RAREFIED GASES. This section of the Handbook of Supersonic Aerodynamics presents quantitative information of interest to the designer working with the problems of flight at very high altitudes. 1959. [90] p. il.
Catalog No. D 215.7:1488/v.5/sec.16 — $1.25

21E. THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE DICTIONARY. *See special block on front panel for description of this publication.*
Catalog No. D 301.2:D 56 — Cloth, $4.00

22E. HYDROELECTRIC PLANT CONSTRUCTION COST AND ANNUAL PRODUCTION EXPENSES, SECOND ANNUAL SUPPLEMENT, 1958. This publication is the first annual supplement to Hydroelectric Plant Construction Cost and Annual Production Expenses which is sold by the Federal Power Commission. [1959.] 88 p. il.
Catalog No. FP 1.21:139 — 55¢
All requests for the basic book should be directed to the Federal Power Commission, Washington 25, D.C.

23E. STATISTICS OF ELECTRIC UTILITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1958, PUBLICLY OWNED. Presents financial and operating data for the year 1958 on 326 classes A and B publicly owned electric utilities. 1959. [112] p. il.
Catalog No. FP 1.21:140 — 75¢

24E. HOUSING AND HEALTH, ANNOTATED REFERENCES. A bibliographical collection of appropriate annotations, abstracts, and comments in the area of housing-health relationships, with particular attention given to the preventable diseases. 1959. 27 p.
Catalog No. FS 2.21:29 — 15¢

25E. THE TEACHER AND MENTAL HEALTH. A statement of the basic principles of emotional growth and human relations which can make a direct contribution to the work of the classroom teacher. Rev. 1959. 21 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.22:M 52/14/959 — 20¢

26E. HEALTHY VOLUNTEERS HELP SCIENTISTS CONQUER DISEASE. Tells the story of the contributions the healthy volunteer patients are making to the medical research program at the Clinical Center of the National Institutes of Health. 1959. 15 p. il. pl.
Catalog No. FS 2.22:V 88 — 15¢

27E. SOCIAL SECURITY IN THE UNITED STATES. Explains briefly the social security programs and the principal related public programs that are in effect in the United States today. 1959. 58 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 3.2:So 13/11/959 — 25¢

28E. CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS OF FULL-TIME WORKING MOTHERS. Reports the results of a survey sponsored by the Children's Bureau of the child care arrangements of working mothers, particularly for children under 12. 1959. 26 p.
Catalog No. FS 3.209:378 — 15¢

29E. A LOOK AT JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. Discusses what juvenile delinquency means, the extent of the problem, what causes delinquency, whether it can be prevented, what helps to prevent it, and helping delinquent children. 1960. 50 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 3.209:380 — 25¢

30E. DETENTION PLANNING. Adequate detention services are an important part of a community's services for delinquent children. This publication discusses the need for State-administered regional programs, general considerations for detention planning, and estimating required detention capacity. 1960. 41 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 3.209:381 — 20¢

31E. FALL 1959, ENROLLMENT, TEACHERS, AND SCHOOL-HOUSING IN FULL-TIME PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY DAY SCHOOLS. Presents the results of the 6th annual survey conducted by the Office of Education to obtain certain basic data about the Nation's public schools at the beginning of the school year. 1959. 20 p.
Catalog No. FS 5.220:20007 — 25¢

32E. TEACHER TURNOVER IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1957–58. Reports the findings from a survey conducted by the Office of Education in 1958 to obtain national data on several facets of the problem of teacher turnover. 1959. 38 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 5.223:23002 — 30¢

33E. DIGEST OF INSURABLE LOANS. Charts setting forth primary provisions for the insurance of loans authorized under the National Housing Act as Amended and FHA Administrative Regulations as of January 1960. 1960. 16 p.
Catalog No. HH 2.6:L 78/3/960 — 10¢

CHAPTERS FROM MINERAL FACTS AND PROBLEMS, 1960 EDITION. These chapters, preprinted from *Mineral Facts and Problems, 1960 Edition,* give information on geology, technology, mining, processing, uses, and other important information on the minerals.

34E. Aluminum. 1960. 15 p. il.
Catalog No. I 28.3/c:Al 82 — 15¢

35E. Barium. 1960. 9 p.
Catalog No. I 28.3/c:B 239 — 10¢

36E. Bismuth. 1960. 7 p.
Catalog No. I 28.3/c:B 542 — 10¢

37E. Bromine. 1960. 6 p.
Catalog No. I 28.3/c:B 788 — 5¢

38E. Cadmium. 1960. 7 p. il.
Catalog No. I 28.3/c:C 114 — 10¢

39E. Cesium. 1960. 6 p.
Catalog No. I 28.3/c:C 337 — 5¢

40E. Chromium. 1960. 15 p. il.
Catalog No. I 28.3/c:C 468 — 15¢

41E. Columbium. 1960. 9 p.
Catalog No. I 28.3/c:C 723 — 10¢

Prices subject to change without notice • All supplies limited • Many more titles on other side →

42E. Diamond—Industrial. 1960. 8 p.
Catalog No. I 28.3/c:D 541 10¢

43E. Garnet. 1960. 4 p.
Catalog No. I 28.3/c:G 187 5¢

44E. Hafnium. 1960. 6 p.
Catalog No. I 28.3/c:H 119 5¢

45E. Mercury. 1960. 9 p.
Catalog No. I 28.3/c:M 539 10¢

46E. Nitrogen Compounds. 1960. 8 p.
Catalog No. I 28.3/c:N 638 10¢

47E. Potassium Compounds. 1960. 8 p.
Catalog No. I 28.3/c:P 847 10¢

48E. Tin. 1960. 10 p.
Catalog No. I 28.3/c:T 49 10¢

49E. BACKGROUND STATISTICS BEARING ON THE STEEL DISPUTE, INCLUDING SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES. The background facts in this booklet relate to some of the economic questions which surrounded the steel strike: wages, productivity, prices, and profits. Included are 36 supplementary statistical tables. 1959. 37 p. il.
Catalog No. L 1.3/3:1 30¢

50E. WAGES AND RELATED BENEFITS, 20 LABOR MARKETS, 1958–59. Summarizes and analyzes the results of the individual area bulletins for the surveys made during late 1958 and early 1959. 1959. 93 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1240–22 50¢

51E. MILITARY MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS AND SUPPLY, 1959–63. Presents the findings of a study of military manpower supply and requirements undertaken to provide background information pertinent to a consideration of the extension of the authority to induct men under provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act. 1959. 10 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1262 15¢

52E. STATE MINIMUM-WAGE LAWS. Discusses State minimum-wage laws, their purpose, coverage, how wage orders are issued, their history, gives sample rates, and includes a map showing the States which have or do not have minimum-wage laws. Rev. 1960. [8] p. il.
Catalog No. L 13.11:4/3 5¢

WE'RE NEVER TOO YOUNG TO LEARN SAFETY

53E. Written by the Bureau of Labor Standards primarily to promote safety for young workers, this leaflet contains safety hints useful to all workers. Amusingly illustrated with cartoons it gives pointers on safety, hints on lifting, and safety rules that apply nearly everywhere. 1959. [8] p. il.
Catalog No. L 16.2:Sa 1/20 5¢

54E. COPYRIGHT LAW OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. Contains the copyright law of the United States, regulations of the Copyright Office in effect as of June 18, 1959, and other pertinent material relating to copyright laws. Rev. 1960. 62 p.
Catalog No. LC 3.3:14/960 25¢

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CLASSIFICATION SCHEDULES. The following schedules have recently been reprinted to include additions and changes to September 1959 adopted since publication of the previous editions.

55E. Class B, Part 1, B–BJ, Philosophy. Reprinted 1960. [211] p.
Catalog No. LC 26.9:B/pt.1/960 $1.75

56E. Class L, Education. Reprinted 1960. [243] p.
Catalog No. LC 26.9:L/960 $1.75

57E. Class U, Military Science. Reprinted 1960. [101] p.
Catalog No. LC 26.9:U/960 $1.00

58E. AERONAUTICAL DICTIONARY. *See special block on front panel for description of this publication.*
Catalog No. NAS 1.8:Ae 8 Cloth, $1.75

59E. FUNDS FOR RESEARCH IN MEDICAL SCHOOLS, 1957–58. Presents data on the use of funds used for research in medical schools in 1957–58. 1960. 5 p. il.
Catalog No. NS 1.11:17 10¢

60E. SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION ACTIVITIES OF FEDERAL AGENCIES, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, PART 1. Contains general information about the Department of Commerce and detailed information about the Office of Technical Services, the Bureau of the Census, the Bureau of Public Roads, and the Patent Office. 1959. 23 p.
Catalog No. NS 1.16:3 15¢

61E. AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. An address made by H. Schuyler Foster, Director, Public Opinion Studies Staff, before the Middletown University Club at Middletown, Conn., on October 15, 1959. 1960. 19 p.
Catalog No. S 1.71:146 15¢

62E. COMMON SENSE ABOUT MANAGING YOUR MANAGEMENT JOB. Gives some practical tips for increasing your own personal efficiency and that of the people you supervise. 1959. 28 p. il.
Catalog No. VA 1.19:5–28 15¢

63E. NATURALIZATION LAWS. A compilation of laws relating to naturalization, May 9, 1919–Sept. 22, 1959. 1960. 382 p.
Catalog No. Y 1.2:N 21/3/960 $1.25

64E. THE EFFECTS OF ELECTRIC SHOCK ON MAN. The Atomic Energy Commission, in the interest of promoting a better understanding of hazards of electrical energy to human life, has reprinted this report on the effects of electric shock on man. 1956, reprinted 1959. 19 p. il.
Catalog No. Y 3.At 7:3/7 20¢

STUDY PAPERS. Materials prepared in connection with the study of Employment, Growth, and Price Levels for consideration by the Joint Economic Committee, Congress:

65E. Study Papers Nos. 12 and 13, The Low Income Population and Economic Growth; The Adequacy of Resources for Economic Growth in the United States. 1959. 71 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Ec 7:Em 7/4/no.12, 13 25¢

66E. Study Papers Nos. 14 and 15, Liquidity and Financial Institutions in the Postwar Period; Profits, Profit Markups, and Productivity, an Examination of Corporate Behavior Since 1947. 1960. 111 p. il.
Catalog No. Y 4.Ec 7:Em 7/4/no.14,15 35¢

67E. Study Paper No. 16, International Effects of U.S. Economic Policy. 1960. 93 p. il.
Catalog No. Y 4.Ec 7:Em 7/4/no.16 30¢

68E. Study Paper No. 17, Prices and Costs in Manufacturing Industries. 1960. 58 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Ec 7:Em 7/4/no.17 20¢

69E. EMPLOYMENT, GROWTH, AND PRICE LEVELS, REPORT. Final report of the Joint Economic Committee on the "Study of Employment, Growth, and Price Levels," including minority, supplemental and additional views. 1960. 156 p. il. tab.
Catalog No. 86–1:S.rp.1043 50¢

70E. List of Hearings, Study Papers, and Reports Prepared Under Study of Employment, Growth, and Price Levels. Free

COMPARISONS OF THE UNITED STATES AND SOVIET ECONOMIES, COMPENDIUM OF PAPERS. Papers submitted by the panelists invited to appear before the Subcommittee on Economic Statistics in connection with the subcommittee's current study of "Comparisons of the United States and Soviet Economies."

71E. Part 1. 1959. 376 p. il.
Catalog No. Y 4.Ec 7:So 8/3/pt.1 $1.00

72E. Part 2. 1959. p. 377–545, il.
Catalog No. Y 4.Ec 7:So 8/3/pt.2 45¢

73E. Part 3. 1959. p. 547–616.
Catalog No. Y 4.Ec 7:So 8/3/pt.3 25¢

74E. COMPARISONS OF THE UNITED STATES AND SOVIET ECONOMIES, HEARINGS. Hearings before the Joint Economic Committee (86th Cong., 1st sess.) on comparisons of the United States and Soviet economies, held Nov. 13–20, 1959. 1960. 292 p. il.
Catalog No. Y 4.Ec 7:So 8/4 70¢

75E. GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO INVENTION AND RESEARCH: A LEGISLATIVE HISTORY. This study paper of the Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights covers the attempts by the Government to stimulate invention, or suggestions among its employees, and sketches the legislative history back of some of the Government agencies engaged in research and how they deal with patents and other inventions. 1960. 199 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/2:P 27/3/no.22 55¢

76E. OBSCENE MATTER SENT THROUGH THE MAIL. Presents a report by the Subcommittee on Postal Operations on the findings and recommendations of a study of obscene matter sent through the mail together with a suggested program for community action in the crusade against obscenity. 1959. 61 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.P 84/10:M 28/14 20¢

For your project on farming . . .

AMERICAN FARMING

An Introduction for Young People

77E. Written for school students who want to know more about American agriculture, this booklet tells about the life and work of American farmers and their families; the land and the crops grown in different regions of the country; marketing of farm products; farmers problems; and what is done to aid them do a more efficient job. Also included is information about the Department of Agriculture and other Government offices that serve the farmers. 1956. 30 p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.38:720 15¢

THE CRIMES OF KHRUSHCHEV. Consultations by staff members of the Committee on Un-American Activities, House (86th Cong., 2d sess.):

78E. Pt. 1, Consultation with Eugene Lyons, September 4, 1959. 1959. 18 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:K 52/pt.1 15¢

79E. Pt. 2, Consultations with Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Petro Pavlovych, Prof. Dr. Ivan M. Malinin, Nicholas Prychodko, Constantin Kononenko, Mykola Lebed, Dr. Gregory Kostiuk, Prof. Ivan Wowchuk, and Jurij Lawrynenko, September 9–11, 1959. 69 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:K 52/pt.2 25¢

80E. Pt. 3, Consultations with Gen. Bela Kiraly and Joseph Kovago, September 10, 1959. 1959. 25 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:K 52/pt.3 15¢

81E. Pt. 4, Consultations with Dr. Vilis Masens and Vaclovas Sidzikauskas, September 21, 1959. 1959. 18 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:K 52/pt.4 15¢

82E. Pt. 5, Consultations with Joseph Pauco, Father Theodoric Joseph Zubek, Nuci Kotta, and Arshi Pipa. 1960. 33 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:K 52/pt.5 15¢

83E. Pt. 6, Consultations with Rusi Nasar, Ergacsh Schermatoglu, Constant Mierlak, Dr. Vitaut Tumash, Anton Skukeloyts. 1960. 25 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:K 52/pt.6 15¢

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1960—O-540212

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1957 INVENTORY, MUNICIPAL AND INDUSTRIAL WASTE FACILITIES
A Cooperative State-Federal Report

Water is a basic need of man—for survival, for economic development, and for social well-being. In recognition of the fact that polluted water cannot meet this need, the Congress and the State legislatures have enacted laws to protect the quality of the Nation's water resources. This inventory contains the latest available data for all sources of pollution, both municipal and industrial, which are of significance in water pollution control programs.

1J. Vol. 1. Region I, Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont. 1958, published 1959. 129 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.71/2:957/v.1 65¢

2J. Vol. 2. Region II, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania. 1958, published 1959. 362 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.71/2:957/v.2 $1.75

3J. Vol. 3. Region III, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia. 1958, published 1959. 196 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.71/2:957/v.3 $1.00

4J. Vol. 4. Region IV, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee. 1958, published 1959. 160 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.71/2:957/v.4 $1.00

5J. Vol. 5. Region V, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin. 1958, published 1959. [339] p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.71/2:957/v.5 $1.75

6J. Vol. 6. Region VI, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota. 1958, published 1959. 241 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.71/2:957/v.6 $1.25

7J. Vol. 7. Region VII, Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas. 1958, published 1959. 180 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.71/2:957/v.7 $1.00

8J. Vol. 8. Region VIII, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Utah, Wyoming. 1958, published 1959. 109 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.71/2:957/v.8 60¢

9J. Vol. 9. Region IX, Arizona, California, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Alaska, Hawaii. 1958, published 1959. 267 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.71/2:957/v.9 $1.25

10J. ARMED SERVICES PROCUREMENT REGULATION (1955 EDITION), REVISION NO. 52. Revision No. 52, March 15, 1960, contains revised pages for sections 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, and 16, and appendixes B and C. 1960. [126] p.
Catalog No. D 1.13/2:52 60¢

11J. GENERAL PROCUREMENT INFORMATION ON GUIDED MISSILE PROGRAMS, ROCKETS, AND TARGET DRONES. Presents unclassified information of interest to individuals, groups, or firms seeking prime contracts or subcontracts in the Guided Missile Program of the Military Departments. It includes listings of the Department of the Army, Navy, and Air Force missile and rocket systems and prime contractors in missile work. Rev. 1960. 30 p.
Catalog No. D 7.2:M 69/960 15¢

12J. AIRCRAFT MAINTENANCE CLEANING, HANDBOOK. The instructions issued in this manual are for the purpose of outlining accepted materials, methods, and procedures for use in the maintenance cleaning of naval aircraft. These instructions list and classify the many solvents, cleaning agents, chemicals, and equipment recommended to be used by aeronautical Naval operating activities in the various cleaning operations. Revised pages to be inserted into the basic publication have recently been released. 1956. 64 p. il.
Catalog No. D 202.6:Ai 7 40¢

13J. Revised Pages to Aircraft Maintenance Cleaning, Handbook, Dec. 1, 1959. [1960.] [38] p. il.
Catalog No. D 202.6:Ai 7/rev.pages 25¢

14J. NATIONAL INTERESTS IN ANTARCTICA, AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. An annotated bibliography of literature pertaining to the national interests of the various countries which have been active in the Antarctic. 1960. 137 p. map.
Catalog No. D 207.11:An 8 $1.25

15J. HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE TRENDS, 1960 EDITION. *See special block on front panel for description of this publication.*
Catalog No. FS 1.2:H 34/3 50¢

HEALTH STATISTICS FROM THE U.S. NATIONAL HEALTH SURVEY. Special reports from the U.S. National Health Survey based on data collected in household interviews during the period July 1957–June 1958.

16J. Heart Conditions and High Blood Pressure Reported in Interviews, United States, July 1957–June 1958. 1960. 36 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.85:B–13 30¢

17J. Dental Care, Interval and Frequency of Visits, United States, July 1957–June 1958. 1960. 42 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.85:B–14 35¢

18J. Veterans, Health and Medical Care, United States, July 1957–June 1958. 1960. 52 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.85:C–2 40¢

19J. A Study of Special Purpose Medical-History Techniques. 1960. 27 p.
Catalog No. FS 2.85:D–1 30¢

20J. A limited supply of earlier reports in this series are available. Please check above if you desire a complete listing of Health Statistics from the U.S. National Health Survey. Free

21J. SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PROGRAM. This bulletin has been prepared to help teachers, supervisors, students of education, and others gain information and understanding about current practice and developing trends in the social studies programs of elementary schools throughout the Nation. 1960. 110 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 5.231:31000 50¢

THE UNKNOWNS OF WORLD WAR II AND KOREA

22J. On Memorial Day 1958, two Unknown Americans who lost their lives on the distant battlefields of World War II and the Korean conflict joined the Unknown Soldier of World War I in Arlington National Cemetery. Representing more than 87,000 men who died under such tragic circumstances that they now are known but to God, the two heroes were accorded a state funeral befitting the Nation's Great. The word-and-picture stories in this pamphlet are based on narratives and photographs prepared and submitted by the Army, Navy, and Air Force Commanders at home and abroad who planned and conducted the services for the Unknown. The *Story in Pictures* section contains 18 pages of illustrations depicting the selection ceremonies overseas, the final burial at sea, and the last rites for the Unknowns in Washington. 1959. 71 p. il.
Catalog No. D 101.22:870–1 55¢

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES. There has been a long-felt need for an orderly series of the Public Papers of the Presidents. A reference work of this type can be most helpful to scholars and officials of government, to reporters of current affairs and the events of history. Immediate plans call for the publication of annual volumes soon after the close of each calendar year, and at the same time undertaking the periodic compilation of volumes covering previous years. In each volume are gathered most of the public messages and statements of the Presidents of the United States that were released by the White House during the year. Volumes covering the years 1955 through 1959 are now available.

23J. Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1955. 1959. 935 p. por.
Catalog No. GS 4.113:955 Cloth, $6.75

24J. Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1956. 1958. 1220 p. por.
Catalog No. GS 4.113:956 Cloth, $7.25

25J. Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1957. 1958. 939 p. por.
Catalog No. GS 4.113:957 Cloth, $6.75

26J. Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1958. 1959. 954 p. por.
Catalog No. GS 4.113:958 Cloth, $8.25

27J. Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1959. 1960. 974 p. por.
Catalog No. GS 4.113:959 Cloth, $7.00

Planning to be a camp leader this summer?

STEPS TO 4–H CAMPING

28J. Describes objectives, types, facilities, administration, organization, programs, campfires, and ceremonies of 4–H camps. Although written primarily for those who plan and conduct 4–H camps, other camp directors and leaders should also find this excellent publication of interest. 1959. 52 p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.68:401 30¢

29J. THE VOLUNTARY HOME MORTGAGE CREDIT PROGRAM, WHAT IT IS, HOW IT WORKS. Discusses the operations and functions of the Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program, operated through the facilities of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. 1960. [6] p.
Catalog No. HH 1.2:V 88/960 5¢

30J. DEALERS' AND CONTRACTORS' GUIDE, PROPERTY IMPROVEMENT LOANS. Dealers and contractors who participate in the FHA property improvement program are required to comply with FHA regulations. This publication is a guide for the dealer or contractor desiring to finance his sales under this program. Rev. 1960. 10 p. il.
Catalog No. HH 2.6/6:P 94 10¢

31J. GEOLOGY AND OIL-SHALE RESOURCES OF NAVAL OIL-SHALE RESERVE NO. 2 UINTAH AND CARBON COUNTIES, UTAH. A report on the geologic investigation of Naval Oil-Shale Reserve No. 2 to obtain data on the stratigraphic distribution, continuity, areal extent, oil content, and attitude of the oil-shale beds and on the thickness of over-burden above the oil-shale beds; and to study the oil and gas possibilities of the area. 1960. p. 753-793, il., 3 tabs. and map in pocket.
Catalog No. I 19.3:1072–O $1.00

32J. GIANT WAVES IN LITUYA BAY, ALASKA. A timely account of the nature and possible causes of certain giant waves in Lituya Bay, Alaska, with eyewitness reports of their destructive capacity. 1960. p. 51–86, il., map in pocket.
Catalog No. I 19.16:354–C $1.25

33J. INJURY STATISTICS AS AN AID IN PREVENTING ACCIDENTS IN METAL AND NONMETALLIC MINES. Covers various phases of accident prevention at metal and nonmetallic mines. It presents compilations of statistical data on past experience, based on injuries resulting from accidents. The information shows how accident-injury records can be used in planning, executing, and measuring the effectiveness of accident-prevention programs. 1960. 42 p. il. pl.
Catalog No. I 28.6:51/2 40¢

34J. INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION REPORTS, VOLUME 300. Presents decisions of the Interstate Commerce Commission of the United States for the period Feb. 1957–Aug. 1957, reported by the Commission. 1960. 903 p.
Catalog No. IC 1.6:300 Cloth, $4.00

FOOD FOR FAMILIES WITH SCHOOL CHILDREN

35J. Gives information on selecting foods and planning well-balanced meals for the large family with school-age children. Included are a low-cost weekly food plan, a sample week's market list and menus, and suggestions for the family with more money to spend on food. Rev. 1960. 24 p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.77:13/3 15¢

IMPROVING TEEN-AGE NUTRITION

36J. We like to think we're well-fed in America. And we are, compared to many countries. But although abundant good food is available, many teenagers need improved diets. Meant for State extension staff members—nutrition, 4–H, and perhaps others, this booklet gives suggestions to help plan ways of improving teenage nutrition. 1959, published 1960. 14 p. il.
Catalog No. A 43.2:N 95/4 15¢

37J. DIRECTORY OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LABOR UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1959. Describes developments in the labor movement since 1957; presents the results of a survey of union membership and functions conducted in conjunction with obtaining directory information; and includes a directory of national and international unions and officials, an index of commonly used union initials, and an index of all persons identified in the directory. 1960. 77 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1267 45¢

38J. COMPARATIVE JOB PERFORMANCE BY AGE: OFFICE WORKERS. This study attempts to show how the output of office clerical workers aged 45 or over compares with the output of other age groups. 1960. 36 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1273 30¢

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF THE LABOR-MANAGEMENT REPORTING AND DISCLOSURE ACT OF 1959. These volumes contain the principal documents and debates which constitute the legislative history of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959. Committee reports and drafts of bills are reproduced as they were originally printed. Volume I contains early drafts of the Act, drafts of related bills and reports, and documents of the House, the Senate, and the Conference Committee; Volume II, the pertinent congressional debate, followed by a text of the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, showing the amendments to that Act made by the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 and a table in which these amendments are compared to parallel provisions of early drafts of the Act and of related bills.

39J. Volume I. 1959. 967 p.
Catalog No. LR 1.5:L 11/7/v.1 Cloth, $6.00

40J. Volume II. 1959. p. 968–1927.
Catalog No. LR 1.5:L 11/7/v.2 Cloth, $6.00

41J. UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION ACTIVITIES OF FEDERAL AGENCIES. Devoted entirely to the organization and functions of the Government Printing Office, individuals, as well as teachers and librarians, who are interested in Government publications, should find this publication a handy reference guide. It also describes in detail the activities of the Office of the Superintendent of Documents who is responsible for distributing and selling Government publications printed by the GPO and for compiling and issuing official catalogs and indexes announcing the availability of all Government publications. 1960. 8 p.
Catalog No. NS 1.16:4 5¢

42J. A HANDBOOK OF SMALL BUSINESS FINANCE. Revised to reflect recent Federal legislation in the field of small business, this handbook gives basic information to help new owners and inexperienced managers understand better the operations of their businesses. As such it should aid businessmen in making better use of the financial assistance available to them—particularly from local banks—and guide them in measuring the progress of their operations. Rev. 1960. 80 p.
Catalog No. SBA 1.12:15/3 30¢

43J. BIRDS OF ANAKTUVUK PASS, KOBUK, AND OLD CROW, A STUDY IN ARCTIC ADAPTATION. This United States National Museum Bulletin reports studies made during expeditions for physiological investigations of adaptation to the arctic Alaskan climate. 1960. 409 p. il. 13 pl.
Catalog No. SI 3.3:217 $2.00

44J. COMMISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE, ANNUAL REPORT, 1959. Reports on the operations and activities of the Internal Revenue Service for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1959. 1960. 143 p. il.
Catalog No. T 22.1:959 $1.00

45J. COMMON SENSE ABOUT EVALUATING AND RECOGNIZING PERFORMANCE. Evaluating the performance of employees and giving appropriate recognition, when merited, in a fair and equitable manner is essential for effective supervision. This pamphlet discusses certain general principles, attitudes, and practices applicable to the evaluation and recognition of performance. 1960. 31 p. il.
Catalog No. VA 1.19:5–29 15¢

46J. OCCUPATIONS OF EPILEPTIC VETERANS OF WORLD WAR II AND KOREAN CONFLICT. Gives brief descriptions of the employment achievements of several hundred epileptic veterans which will be useful to rehabilitation workers in the Veterans Administration and in other public agencies and organizations. 1960. 62 p.
Catalog No. VA 1.19:22–6 40¢

47J. THE METALLURGY OF HAFNIUM. Discusses the history, nuclear properties, nuclear and nonnuclear uses, refining, melting, fabrication, and shaping, physical metallurgy and properties, analytical chemistry, and thermodynamic properties of hafnium; extraction of hafnium from ores; hafnium reduction processes; and hafnium alloy systems. 1960. 384 p. il.
Catalog No. Y 3.At 7:2 H 11 $1.50

48J. RADIOISOTOPES IN SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY. This special report of the Atomic Energy Commission reviews briefly the contributions of radioisotopes to the sciences, agriculture, medicine, and industry, and summarizes Commission programs designed to broaden the use of radioisotopes, and to increase their assistance to the national welfare and economy. 1960. 176 p. il.
Catalog No. Y 3.At 7:2 R 11/25 $1.25

LIVING WITH RADIATION. The Problem of the Nuclear Age for the Layman.

49J. Part 1. Fundamentals. Presents the essence of what has been found by extensive field experience to be a practical approach to the understanding of the industrial radiation hazard. It is intended for the layman who requires a basic understanding of the relationship of the radiation problem to his own field. 1959. 65 p. il.
Catalog No. Y 3.At 7:43/1 45¢

50J. Part 2. Fire Service Problems. Extends the discussion of the fundamentals covered in Part 1 into the area of fires and other emergency situations. It should be of interest not only to professional firefighters but also to those charged with the control of radiation hazards. 1960. 199 p. il.
Catalog No. Y 3.At 7:43/2 $1.00

THE TECHNIQUE OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA

51J. The Soviet Union is spending approximately $2 billion a year on propaganda—roughly 100 times as much as all the rest of the world. It therefore becomes of major importance for the free world to understand the techniques used. Dealing only briefly with direct propaganda, this pamphlet is principally concerned with indirect propaganda. It describes, in detail, the technical means of Soviet propaganda, the psychological means used, and the seven common fallacies of Communism. It also provides constructive proposals for countering this formidable propaganda and conspiracy machine maintained by the Soviet. 1960. 38 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/2:So 8/8 15¢

52J. RADIO FREQUENCY CONTROL IN SPACE TELECOMMUNICATIONS. A report on radio frequency control in relation to space telecommunication and research prepared for the use of the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences. 1960. 235 p. il. chart.
Catalog No. Y 4.Ae 8:R 11 75¢

53J. CONDITIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION, THE "NEW CLASS." Presents further testimony of Aleksandr Y. Kaznacheyev given during the hearing before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws on January 22, 1960. 1960. 42 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/2:So 8/9 15¢

54J. 1960 JOINT ECONOMIC REPORT. Report of the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, on the January 1960 Economic Report of the President with minority and other views. Includes a list of the publications of the Joint Economic Committee. 1960. 98 p.
Catalog No. 86–2:S.rp.1152 30¢

55J. ANTITRUST AND MONOPOLY. This report covers the activities of the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly of the Committee on the Judiciary for the year 1959, together with individual views. 1960. 32 p.
Catalog No. 86–2:S.rp.1201 15¢

Students . . . Now is the time to plan your future!

SCIENTIFIC CAREERS IN THE AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH SERVICE

56J. In this publication you will find—a brief description of the Agricultural Research Service—what it is, what it does; descriptions of some of its accomplishments and objectives; and information about the opportunities for scientific careers that exist within the organization, and about the advantages of employment in the Federal civil service. 1960. 37 p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.38:798 35¢

CAREERS IN THE SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

These four pamphlets briefly describe the jobs performed by soil scientists, engineers, student trainees, and range conservationists in the Soil Conservation Service. Each pamphlet gives information on how to apply for the job, work locations, training, advancement, and employment benefits.

57J. Students . . . Start Your Career in SCS Before You Graduate. 1960. [8] p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.38:714/2 5¢

58J. An Engineering Career for You in Soil Conservation Service. 1956. [12] p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.38:715 10¢

59J. A Soil Science Career for You in SCS. 1960. [8] p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.38:716/2 10¢

60J. Careers in Soil Conservation Service. 1960. [12] p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.38:717/2 10¢

SUMMER EMPLOYMENT IN FEDERAL AGENCIES

61J. Contains information about the summer employment plans of a number of Federal agencies. *Specific addresses* to which to write for further information are included. Rev. 1959. 24 p. il.
Catalog No. CS 1.48:45/7 15¢

SUMMER JOBS FOR STUDENTS

62J. Prepared by the U.S. Department of Labor, this pamphlet presents a general picture of summer employment opportunities for students. It discusses briefly several categories of employment, including clerical and service jobs, jobs created by summer, employment in National Parks, jobs with Government, camp and recreation jobs, farm jobs, and volunteer work; and provides lists of jobs that may be held by boys and girls from 14 to 17 years of age. 1959. [8] p.
Catalog No. L 7.2:J 57/15 5¢

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STRENGTH OF METAL AIRCRAFT ELEMENTS

1G. Since many aircraft and missile manufacturers supply products for both commercial and military use, standardization of the requirements of the various governmental procuring or certificating agencies is of direct benefit to the manufacturer. Although the types and purposes of military products often differ greatly from those of commercial products, necessitating certain differences in the structural requirements, the requirements for strength of materials and elements are nearly identical. This publication, formerly designated as ANC–5 Bulletin, is issued to provide uniform data and to eliminate the necessity for referring to materials, handbooks, and bulletins to obtain the allowable stresses and other related properties of materials and structural elements. With few exceptions the data are acceptable to the Air Force, the Navy, the Army, and the Federal Aviation Agency. Issued in looseleaf form with marginal index tabs. No binder is furnished. Rev. 1959, published 1960. 251 p. il.
Catalog No. D 7.6/2:5 $2.50

2G. RURAL LINES, USA. An illustrated story of the Rural Electrification Administration's first 25 years, 1935–1960. It includes a chronology of REA events and a list of REA electric borrowers. 1960. 68 p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.38:811 50¢

MANUAL OF RADIOSONDE OBSERVATIONS (WBAN). This *Manual,* issued in looseleaf form in 1957, was prepared by Weather Bureau personnel in collaboration with representatives of the Air Force and the Navy to secure uniformity in the taking and recording of radiosonde observations. Revised pages for insertion in the manual, are issued as changes.

3G. Basic Manual; effective June 1, 1957. 1957. 313 p. il.
Catalog No. C 30.4:P/957 $1.75

4G. Change 1. 1957. [36] p. il.
Catalog No. C 30.4:P/957/ch.1 25¢

5G. Change 2. 1958. [63] p. il.
Catalog No. C 30.4:P/957/ch.2 35¢

6G. Change 3. 1959. [15] p. il.
Catalog No. C 30.4:P/957/ch.3 15¢

7G. Change 4. 1960. [24] p. il.
Catalog No. C 30.4:P/957/ch.4 15¢

8G. METROPOLITAN AREA AND CITY SIZE PATTERNS OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, 1954. A research tool for community development groups in urban and rural areas, based on a special tabulation of the 1954 Census of Manufactures. Both the manufacturer seeking a new location for a plant and the community seeking to attract industry to its area will find this publication useful for industrial development studies. 1959. 86 p. il.
Catalog No. C 41.89:4 50¢

9G. CHANGES NO. 5 AND 6, PART 1 TO THE 1955 NAVAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MANUAL FOR COURTS-MARTIAL, UNITED STATES, 1951. Contains changes to the Table of Contents and Chapters 1 through 9 to the 1955 Naval Supplement to the Manual for Courts-Martial, United States, 1951. 1959. [34] p. For the benefit of new purchasers, the Basic Manuals and changes are *listed below.*
Catalog No. D 1.15/4:955/ch.5,6/pt.1 15¢

10G. 1955 Naval Supplement to the Manual for Courts-Martial, United States, 1951, including Change No. 1.
Catalog No. D 1.15/4:955 $1.50

11G. Change No. 2 to 1955 Naval Supplement to the Manual for Courts-Martial, United States, 1951.
Catalog No. D 1.15/4:955/ch.2 20¢

12G. Change No. 3 to 1955 Naval Supplement to the Manual for Courts-Martial, United States, 1951.
Catalog No. D 1.15/4:955/ch.3 10¢

13G. Change No. 4 to 1955 Naval Supplement to the Manual for Courts-Martial, United States, 1951.
Catalog No. D 1.15/4:955/ch.4 20¢

14G. Manual for Courts-Martial, United States, 1951, effective May 31, 1951.
Catalog No. D 1.15:951 Cloth, $3.50

15G. ELECTRON TUBES, INTERCHANGEABILITY DIRECTORY. Provides as complete a list as possible of electron tube types used in Armed Services equipment or stocked in depots, together with a cross reference to any other type numbers or designations these tubes may have, to serve as an interchangeability guide. 1959. 230 p.
Catalog No. D 7.6/2:213 $1.50

DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN NAVAL FIGHTING SHIPS, VOLUME I

16G. From our earliest struggles for independence to our present position of world dominance, our country's history is replete with stirring and heroic episodes of fighting ships. As the name implies, this *Dictionary* is an alphabetical arrangement of the ships of the Continental and U.S. Navies, with a historical sketch containing pertinent information on each one. This volume, the first of a multivolume series, lists those ships whose names begin with A or B. Five appendixes list some of the types of combatant ships comprising the modern Navy—battleships, cruisers, escort vessels, submarines, and destroyers. These ships are listed chronologically within the appendixes, thus facilitating the study of the evolution of a type. 1959. 349 p. il.
Catalog No. D 207.10:1 Cloth, $3.00

17G. *If you desire to be notified when additional volumes in this series are published, check the order form above.*

18G. INSTRUMENT FLYING, TECHNIQUES AND PROCEDURES FOR HELICOPTER AIRCRAFT. Issued to provide instructors and pilots with a better understanding of the instrument flying techniques applicable to rotary wing aircraft, this Air Force manual explains detailed procedures for checking instrument flying equipment prior to flight. It also explains the proper operation and use of such equipment during flight to enable pilots to accomplish successful instrument flight missions within the capabilities of the helicopter. 1959. [96] p. il.
Catalog No. D 301.7:51–13 $1.50

19G. FIRE PROTECTION SPECIALIST. Issued as a guide for the supervised on-the-job training of firefighters, this Department of the Air Force publication explains firefighting, rescue, and salvage operations in connection with aircraft crashes and structural fires, and in other emergencies. 1959.
Catalog No. D 301.38/5:JP 57150/2 $1.50

AIR FORCE REGISTER. The official register of the United States Air Force, January 1, 1960. Volume I contains the active lists, and Volume II contains the retired lists.

20G. Volume I, Active Lists. 1960. 836 p.
Catalog No. D 303.7:960/v.1 $4.50

21G. Volume II, Retired Lists. 1960. 123 p.
Catalog No. D 303.7:960/v.2 75¢

22G. THE PUBLIC HEALTH NURSE IN YOUR COMMUNITY. Throughout the United States more than 29,000 public health nurses make their daily rounds. This pamphlet tells who employs the public health nurse; what qualifies a woman for public health nursing; the need for more public health nurses, and job security and the future of public health nursing. Rev. 1959. [16] p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.2:N 93/23/959 15¢

23G. FHA UNDERWRITING HANDBOOK, HOME MORTGAGES, VOLUME VII, BOOK 1, FHA MANUAL. It is essential that the Federal Housing Administration follow uniform methods in underwriting mortgage transactions. This underwriting manual prescribes uniform methods and procedures to be followed nationally by the Administration. Issued in looseleaf form with marginal index tabs. No binder is furnished. Rev. 1959. [998] p. il.
Catalog No. HH 2.6/6:Un 2/959 $3.50

24G. RESOURCES FOR A GROWING POPULATION. A reprint from the 1959 annual report of the Department of Interior, this publication outlines some of the problems which a growing America must face in the conservation and use of its natural resources—and the basic programs which the men and women of the Department of Interior believe will result in finding ways to meet and solve the problems. 1960. 59 p. il.
Catalog No. I 1.1/a:R 312/6 25¢

25G. 1959 Annual Report, Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year June 30, 1959. *A limited supply* of the Annual Report is also available. The *Report* includes the publication listed above, as well as reports on the activities of the bureaus and offices of the Department. 1959. 459 p. il.
Catalog No. I 1.1:959 $3.00

26G. URANIUM IN COAL IN THE WESTERN UNITED STATES. Describes the distribution of uranium in lignite beds and its relation to the geology in five areas in and adjacent to northwestern South Dakota. 1959. 315 p. il. pl. and portfolio of 47 pl.
Catalog No. I 19.3:1055 $3.75 per set

27G. THE HUBBARD SITE AND OTHER TRI-WALL STRUCTURES IN NEW MEXICO AND COLORADO. Describes the results of excavations at the Hubbard Site and other tri-wall structures in New Mexico and Colorado. 1960. 92 p. il.
Catalog No. I 29.59:5 $1.00

28G. NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION, 9TH ANNUAL REPORT, 1959. Presents a report on the activities of the National Science Foundation for fiscal year ended June 30, 1959. 1960. 274 p. il. pl.
Catalog No. NS 1.1:959 $1.00

29G. MAJOR ACTIVITIES IN THE ATOMIC ENERGY PROGRAMS, JANUARY–DECEMBER 1959. This annual report of the Atomic Energy Commission for 1959 reports on the atomic energy industry in 1959 and related activities, major activities in atomic energy programs January–December 1959, and management of radioactive wastes. Nineteen appendixes are included. 1960. 628 p. il.
Catalog No. Y 3.At 7:2 P 94/2/959 $2.00

30G. OKLAHOMA CONFERENCE—RADIOISOTOPES IN AGRICULTURE. Contains papers presented at the conference sponsored by Associated Midwest Universities and Argonne National Laboratory, held April 2 and 3, at Oklahoma State University. 1960. 287 p. il.
Catalog No. Y 3.At 7:22/TID–7578 $2.00

31G. FEDERAL SERVICES TO SPECIAL EDUCATION AND REHABILITATION, PART 1, AN INVENTORY OF FEDERAL SERVICES TO SPECIAL EDUCATION AND REHABILITATION. Contains a concise description of functions of the Federal Government that benefit the handicapped and other exceptional people, and includes provisions of the United States Code, in numerical order, which provide statutory authority for the services and a detailed listing by handicap or exceptionality of all services authorized by statutes, with a cross reference to the section of the United States Code and the public law which authorized the service. 1960. 532 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Ed 8/1:Ed 8/10/pt.1 $2.25

32G. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CODE, 1951 EDITION, SUPPLEMENT 8, 1960. This eighth cumulative supplement to the District of Columbia Code contains laws enacted from January 3, 1951, to January 5, 1960, and notes to decisions of the courts affecting the respective sections of the Code, January 3, 1951, to July 31, 1959. 1960. 804 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/1:D 63/24/951/supp.8 $4.25
The 1951 edition of the District of Columbia Code is now out of print. A revised edition is expected to be available sometime in 1961.

33G. STUDIES IN UNEMPLOYMENT. A collection of papers written by experts in particular phases of unemployment problems to assist the Special Committee on Unemployment Problems of the Senate in its study of unemployment conditions in the United States. 1960. 432 p. il. map.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 2/3:Un 2/2 $1.50

34G. NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES INCLUDING THE MANNER OF SELECTING DELEGATES TO NATIONAL POLITICAL CONVENTIONS. See special block on front panel for description of this publication.
Catalog No. 86–2:H.doc.332 65¢

New pamphlet on benefits for veterans and their dependents!

FEDERAL BENEFITS FOR VETERANS AND DEPENDENTS

35G. A fact sheet designed to provide *only* general information concerning most Federal benefits enacted by the Congress of the United States for veterans, their dependents and beneficiaries. It discusses benefits for veterans of the Spanish-American War, World Wars I and II, Korean conflict, peacetime veterans, and 6-month enlistees, and for those in active service. Included is information relating to the new veterans pension plan which becomes effective July 1, 1960. 1960. 38 p.
Catalog No. VA 1.34:IS–1/3 15¢

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1960—O-543409

5-26-60

LWD

National Labor Service

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

Harry Fleischman, Director

May 26, 1960

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is a copy of THE CIVIL RIGHTS STORY...A YEAR'S REVIEW, written by Theodore Leskes, director of the American Jewish Committee's Legal Division. The three major events reviewed in the pamphlet were the collapse of "massive resistance" and school closings in the South as the answer to desegregation; the significant additions to state legislation protecting and expanding civil rights; and the hearings and report of the Federal Commission on Civil Rights.

This authoritative yet compact report on civil rights developments in education, housing, employment, public accommodations, voting and related fields should be of great value to civil rights, education and political education committees as well as to civil rights agencies. Copies of THE CIVIL RIGHTS STORY...A YEAR'S REVIEW are available from the National Labor Service, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N.Y. at 15¢ per copy, $12.50 per hundred.

25 copies

ordered 7-12-60 MA

Also enclosed is a copy of LABOR AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION, reprinted from the April 18 issue of The New Leader. An important Negro weekly, The Michigan Chronicle, terms this survey of racial bias in the labor movement one which "gets at the crux of many of the problems which continue to beset the movement and its minority members." Excerpts have also been reprinted in the AFL-CIO News. Additional copies of LABOR AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION are available from the National Labor Service at the above address, at 5¢ per copy, $3.50 per hundred.

Oceana Publications has reprinted the enclosed feature story about LET'S BE HUMAN which appeared in the Long Island Sunday Press. Don't let the photos fool you. I'm no rival to Joe Glazer as a guitarist (having had only five lessons to date.) But if you can use the flyer to promote the book, let me know and we'll be glad to send you without charge as many copies as you need.

Cordially yours,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman

HF:rd

LPK, LPKE, PA, ILG, MMCCD, LNP

May 26, 1960

Editor
Prospectus
Vanderbilt Divinity School
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Sir:

We would like very much to receive a copy of your issue for March 16, 1960, if you have one available. Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of our own report on the student protest movement.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

May 27, 1960

Professor Charles V. Hamilton
Department of Political Science
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Professor Hamilton:

We would like very much to receive a reprint of your article, "The Political Consequences of Southern Politics," as published in a recent issue of The Negro Educational Review.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:A

May 27, 1960

Mr. Harold F. Walker
Vice-President and National
Sales Manager
Rounsaville Radio
3165 Mathieson Drive, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mr. Walker:

From time to time the Southern Regional Council issues short, factual and objective reports high-lighting information pertinent to the present racial problems of the South; occasionally these reports, as in the enclosed samples, digest other publications. In doing so we make a genuine and I hope successful effort to represent accurately the 1 larger context from which our report is taken.

These reports are sent to school superintendents, chambers of commerce, and selected persons of influence throughout the South.

We would like to have your permission to base a report upon your recent brochure, General and Specific Negro Market Data and Individual Station Information. The source of our report would be, of course, clearly indicated.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures:
L-10, L-11, L-17

Subscribe
7-12-60
MA

The Pittsburgh Courier Publishing Company, Inc.

50th Anniversary 1910 - 1960

THE PITTSBURGH Courier

P.O. BOX 1828 MUseum 3-2000 • • • PITTSBURGH 30, PA.

May, 1960

Dear Friend:

We hope that something has been missing in your life...that is, for at least the past few weeks! Further, we trust that the missing "something" has been a literary link...THE COURIER CORRESPONDENCE!

For the past twenty-five weeks we tested the receptivity of this innovation in Negro journalism. At this point we are tremendously enthused at the response we have received from our "test panel" which includes a cross-section of persons in nearly all of the top professions. Incidentally, if you haven't already guessed, your request to be placed on THE COURIER CORRESPONDENCE mailing list automatically made you a member of this panel. Your continued interest, commendations and/or criticisms have been most valuable in our deciding the future of THE CORRESPONDENCE.

Needless to say, this explorative venture has been costly, but we feel that through this "trial and error" period we are now in a position to perform a stimulating and desirable service to a selected group of literati.

We plan to expand our contributor's staff with some of the most top "inside" contacts and writers obtainable. DIVERSITY, BREVITY, POIGNANCY and VERACITY will make each COURIER CORRESPONDENCE item a "pearl"!

With this proposed objective for a streamlined format, we are to resume publication of THE COURIER CORRESPONDENCE in JUNE. It will, however, be necessary to offer the newsletter on a subscription basis. As an original recipient of THE CORRESPONDENCE we would like to offer you a CHARTER MEMBER SUBSCRIPTION of 26 WEEKS for only $1.30. This charge, of course, is far below production costs, but we feel obligated to our panel of friends who have inspired and guided us in this venture.

Frankly, our intent is not to commercialize on the newsletter; we will develop it as another Pittsburgh Courier service. However, in building THE COURIER CORRESPONDENCE subscribers' list, the rate will justifiably have to absorb the production costs. The subscription rate to new subscribers will be higher, so we hope you will take immediate advantage of our CHARTER MEMBER SUBSCRIPTION.

For your convenience, we are simply asking that you immediately return the order blank in the return self-addressed envelope. No payment is necessary, unless you so desire. We will bill you.

Thanks again for your interest and if you have any comments which will be of value to us in this project, please don't hesitate to note them on the back of the order blank ... YOUR OPINIONS DETERMINE OUR FUTURE!

Cordially,

Wm Clyde Page

Wm. Clyde Page
Promotion Manager
THE PITTSBURGH COURIER PUB. CO., INC.

WCP:mm

enc.

June 1, 1960

rec'd

Women's Division of Christian Service
The Methodist Church
7820 Reading Rd.
Cincinnatti 37, Ohio

Dear Ladies:

We would like very much to have a copy of your 1955 supplement to States' Laws on Race and Color. If you have one available, will you please mail it to us, and bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

June 15, 1960

Mr. Saul Silverman
Commission on Race Relations
313 State Office Building
800 Twigg Street
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

We have read with great interest the text of your first report, as printed in the St. Petersburg Times for May 30. I wonder if it would be possible to be put on your mailing list to receive copies of subsequent reports from you?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Announcement No. 1

Announcement and
Order Form

1960 CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING

PRELIMINARY REPORTS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

FORM 60-01-79
(5-20-60)

DESCRIPTION OF PUBLICATIONS

Beginning in May, 1960, the Bureau of the Census will publish four series of reports based on preliminary field counts from the 1960 Census of Population and Housing. The use of the preliminary field counts makes possible the publication of population and housing data well in advance of the time when final counts will be available. Later series of reports, not covered in this announcement, will present final official figures.

This announcement describes the content of the various series of preliminary reports.

Population Counts for States -- Series PC(P1)

One report each for the 50 States containing a table showing the 1950 population and field count of the 1960 population by counties and a table showing the population of incorporated places of 1,000 or more. Reports for the New England States, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania will also have a table showing the population count by Minor Civil Divisions. There will also be reports for the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, American Samoa, Canal Zone, Guam, and the Virgin Islands, and a summary report for the United States containing a region-division-State table. Ordered 2 ea. 3.60

Housing Counts -- Series HC(P1)

One report each for the 50 States, District of Columbia, Virgin Islands, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the United States, showing the total 1960 housing units for each place of 10,000 or more, with 1950 dwelling unit counts. 16 states + DC. + U.S. one order 3.60

Population Counts for Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas -- Series PC(P2)

One report each for 192 SMSA's, showing 1960 and 1950 populations, and number and percent increase, for the central city (or cities) and each county. For New England SMSA's the table will also show separate figures for each of the towns within a county when only a portion of the county is included in the SMSA. 1 ea order. Cities 6.50

Population Summaries -- Series PC(P3)

This series will contain about six reports, summarizing the preliminary counts for SMSA's, counties, congressional districts, etc. 1 @ .50 .50

$14.20

6-20-60

MA

If you wish to keep this description of the reports, detach this page by tearing on the dotted line.

June 20, 1960

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

We would like to receive one copy of your Sit-Ins, The Students Report, compiled and edited by Jim Peck. The 25¢ is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

June 24, 1960

Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry
104 E. 25th St.
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us ten copies of your Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation. Our check for $4.00 is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Enclosure: check $4.00

To order, check publications desired on above order form, complete the form, detach and return to the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., with remittance . . .

DESIGN OF SMALL DAMS

1N. Instructions, standards, and procedures for use in the design of small dams are presented in this book. It is intended to serve primarily as a guide to safe practices for those concerned with the design of small dams in public works programs in the United States. It will provide engineers with information and data necessary for the proper design of small dams and specialized and highly technical knowledge concerning the design of small dams in a form that can be used readily by engineers who do not specialize in this field. Also, it will simplify design procedures for small earthfill dams. 1960. 611 p. il. pl.
Catalog No. I 27.19/2:D 18 Cloth, $6.50

2N. CONTROLLING NEMATODES IN THE HOME GARDEN. Contains information on the control of nematodes in the garden. Rev. 1960. 10 p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.9:2048/3 10¢

3N. AN ENGINEERING CAREER FOR YOU IN SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE. Tells what Soil Conservation Service engineers do, lists the different engineering fields open, and gives employment facts. Rev. 1960. [12] p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.38:715/2 10¢

4N. FOOD FOR THE FUTURE—THROUGH RESEARCH. Research, conducted by business and industry, at State experiment stations, and by the Department of Agriculture, has played an important part in helping to meet the needs of our steadily growing population. This pamphlet tells the story of our food—now and in the future. 1960. 32 p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.75:220 25¢

5N. COMPENDIUM OF STATE GOVERNMENT FINANCES IN 1959. Presents statistics on State government finances in the fiscal year 1959. 1960. 67 p. il.
Catalog No. C 3.141:959/2 40¢

6N. MERCURY BAROMETERS AND MANOMETERS. The various designs of mercury barometers and manometers are briefly described, with a more extended discussion of the various design elements which may affect the achievable accuracy. 1960. 59 p. il.
Catalog No. C 13.44:8 40¢

7N. BIBLIOGRAPHY ON MOLECULAR AND CRYSTAL STRUCTURE MODELS. The references in this bibliography are classified into those discussing models in general, static models, dynamic models, or construction devices. 1960. 7 p.
Catalog No. C 13.44:14 15¢

8N. CALIBRATION OF LINE STANDARDS OF LENGTH AND MEASURING TAPES AT THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS. Outlines the methods used at the National Bureau of Standards in calibrating line standards of length and measuring tapes submitted for standardization, and describes the equipment used. 1960. 11 p. il.
Catalog No. C 13.44:15 15¢

9N. TORNADOES, WHAT THEY ARE AND WHAT TO DO ABOUT THEM. Tells about tornadoes, tornado warnings, and tornado precautions. Rev. 1960. [4] p. il.
Catalog No. C 30.2:T 63/4/960 5¢

10N. MANUAL OF MARINE METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS, CIRCULAR M. Designed to serve primarily as a guide in the taking of weather observations at sea. March 1960, revised to include Change No. 1. 127 p. il.
Catalog No. C 30.4:M/960 $1.25

11N. HIGHWAY PROGRESS, 1959. Annual report of the activities of the Bureau of Public Roads for the fiscal year 1959. 1960. 99 p. il.
Catalog No. C 37.1:959 40¢

12N. RIGID UNPLASTICIZED POLYVINYL CHLORIDE PIPE. This Commercial Standard covers requirements and methods of test for materials, dimensions, workmanship, chemical resistance, brittleness, minimum burst pressure, and marking for two types of rigid unplasticized polyvinyl chloride pipe. Rev. 1960. 9 p.
Catalog No. C 41.25:207–60 10¢

13N. STATISTICS OF COMMUNICATIONS COMMON CARRIERS FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1958. Contains financial and operating data, taken principally from annual and monthly reports filed by carriers with the Federal Communications Commission, for the year 1958. 1960. 173 p. il.
Catalog No. CC 1.35:958 55¢

14N. CHANGES NO. 5 AND 6, PART II TO THE 1955 NAVAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MANUAL FOR COURTS-MARTIAL, UNITED STATES, 1951. Contains changes to the Table of Contents and Chapters 1 and 7 to the 1955 Naval Supplement to the Manual for Courts-Martial, United States, 1951. 1960. [22] p.
Catalog No. D 1.15/4:955/ch.5,6/pt.2 15¢

15N. GOING BACK TO CIVILIAN LIFE, FACTS YOU SHOULD KNOW. Outlines the principal rights and benefits to which newly separated veterans of the Armed Forces and their dependents are entitled. It also notes the service obligations that may follow upon separation, and sources of advice and counsel. 1960. 56 p. il.
Catalog No. D 2.14:6–14 20¢

16N. UNITED STATES ARMY IN WORLD WAR II, THE WAR DEPARTMENT, THE ARMY AND INDUSTRIAL MANPOWER. The ways in which the Army and its officers met the problems into which they were drawn in dealing with organized labor are examined and illustrated in this volume. It is an account not so much of operations as of relationships, policies, and interests. 1959. 291 p. il.
Catalog No. D 114.7:W 19/v.7 Cloth, $2.75

U.S. NAVY MARINE CLIMATIC ATLAS OF THE WORLD. These *Atlases,* which when completed will include all oceans of the world, present meteorological information for the surface and upper air over the oceans. The five volumes issued to date are listed below.

17N. Volume 1, North Atlantic Ocean. 1955. 275 pages of charts.
Catalog No. D 202.2:At 6/v.1 Cloth, $8.00

18N. Volume 2, North Pacific Ocean. 1956, published 1957. 275 pages of charts.
Catalog No. D 202.2:At 6/v.2 Cloth, $8.00

19N. Volume 3, Indian Ocean. 1957. 267 pages of charts.
Catalog No. D 202.2:At 6/v.3 Cloth, $8.00

20N. Volume 4, South Atlantic Ocean. 1958. 267 pages of charts.
Catalog No. D 202.2:At 6/v.4 Cloth, $8.50

21N. Volume 5, South Pacific Ocean. 1960. 267 pages of charts.
Catalog No. D 202.2:At 6/v.5 Cloth, $8.00

22N. REGISTER OF COMMISSIONED AND WARRANT OFFICERS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY AND MARINE CORPS AND RESERVE OFFICERS ON ACTIVE DUTY, JANUARY 1, 1960. Provides lists of all officers of the United States Navy and Marine Corps on active duty. 1960. 1,248 p.
Catalog No. D 208.12:960 $6.25

23N. NAVY RECIPE SERVICE, ISSUE 9. Although *Naval Recipe Service* was developed for use in the naval service, institutions serving large groups of persons should find them useful. The housewife will also find that most of the portions specified in these recipes can be scaled down for smaller servings. Approximately 60 recipes, covering many varieties of dishes, are included in this group just recently released. Each recipe, designed for serving 100 individual portions, is printed on a stiff card, 5 x 8 inches in size, to facilitate filing. 1960. [115] cards.
Catalog No. D 212.2:R 24/issue 9 $1.50

24N. FEDERAL AVIATION AGENCY, FIRST ANNUAL REPORT, 1959. Reports the activities of the Federal Aviation Agency during the period December 31, 1958, through December 31, 1959. 1960. 47 p. il.
Catalog No. FAA 1.1:959 30¢

25N. FAA AIR TRAFFIC ACTIVITY, CALENDAR YEAR 1959. Presents terminal and en route air traffic data on a calendar-year basis. 1960. 66 p. il.
Catalog No. FAA 1.27:959–2 45¢

26N. DIABETES PROGRAM GUIDE. This Guide has been organized to deal with the major elements of a diabetes program, beginning with community resources and proceeding through primary and secondary prevention to finding and serving the diabetic patient. Rev. 1960. 68 p.
Catalog No. FS 2.6/2:D 54 50¢

27N. TREATING CANCER, SURGERY, RADIATION, CHEMOTHERAPY. Answers some of the questions often asked about surgery, radiation, and chemotherapy, and their uses against cancer, an abnormal growth of tissue. 1960. 16 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.22:C 16/20 15¢

28N. PROGRESS AGAINST CANCER, 1959. Presents items of interest on research and related programs conducted and supported by the Public Health Service during 1959. 1960. 61 p.
Catalog No. FS 2.22:C 16/21 25¢

29N. POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS AND PARTICIPATION IN THE POLIOMYELITIS VACCINATION PROGRAM. Reports information relating to participation in the poliomyelitis vaccination program from 1954 to 1957. 1960. 37 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.62:61 30¢

30N. HOME PLAY AND PLAY EQUIPMENT FOR YOUNG CHILDREN. A guide for supervising your child's play. It tells about his playing alone and with other children; discusses parties and trips; describes toys, books, storytelling, music, and dancing; and shows how to make practical, healthful, and safe outdoor play equipment for the young child. Rev. 1959, published 1960. 23 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 3.209:238/2 15¢

31N. HANDBOOK, OFFICE OF EDUCATION, INCLUDING CAREER OPPORTUNITIES. Briefly describes the organization and activities of the Office of Education. It also includes information on career opportunities in the Office of Education. 1960. 49 p.
Catalog No. FS 5.211:11002 25¢

32N. SOURCE MATERIALS FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES. The listings in this circular were selected with particular emphasis on materials and information helpful to the junior and senior high school foreign language teacher. 1960. 26 p.
Catalog No. FS 5.227:27001 20¢

33N. SCIENCE AND MATHEMATICS IN PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS, 1958: PART 1, GENERAL FACILITIES AND EQUIPMENT. Data is presented on the use of facilities and equipment for the teaching of science and mathematics in the public high schools during 1958. 1960. 70 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 5.229:29006 30¢

34N. POST-HIGH SCHOOL COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS. Discusses post-high school cooperative programs which represent a development in distributive education that is becoming increasingly important. 1960. 11 p.
Catalog No. FS 5.282:82001 15¢

35N. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION, 1959. Covers the activities of the Federal Trade Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1959. 1960. 155 p. il.
Catalog No. FT 1.1:959 50¢

36N. 106 QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS RELATING TO TEXTILE FIBER PRODUCTS IDENTIFICATION ACT AND REGULATIONS. Questions and answers prepared by the Federal Trade Commission for use in interpreting the Textile Fiber Products Identification Act and the regulations thereunder. 1960. 23 p.
Catalog No. FT 1.2:T 31/5 15¢

37N. FEASIBILITY OF CURVED ALIGNMENT FOR RESIDENTIAL SANITARY SEWERS. Summarizes a study comprising an investigation and evaluation of the use in the United States of curved or curvilinear alignments for residential sewers, as distinguished from the conventional practice wherein only straight runs are allowed between manholes. 1959, published 1960. 200 p. il.
Catalog No. HH 2.2:Se 8 $1.25

38N. LOW-RENT PUBLIC HOUSING, WHAT AND WHY. Presents in question and answer form, information on the low-rent housing program—its purpose, what it is, how the Federal Government helps, who is eligible for low-rent housing. Rev. 1960. [8] p. il.
Catalog No. HH 3.2:H 81/960 5¢

39N. TOPOGRAPHIC INSTRUCTIONS, MULTIPLEX PLOTTER PROCEDURES. Instructions in the standard operating procedures for the multiplex plotter, including a description of equipment. 1960. 45 p. il.
Catalog No. I 19.15/4:bk.3/chap.3F4 45¢

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40N. HISTORICAL SUMMARY OF COAL-MINE EXPLOSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1810–1958. A history of coal-mine explosions, covering over 400 in all, since the beginning of the 19th century. It also discusses methods of preventing and handling explosions that have changed with the years. 1960. 280 p. il.
Catalog No. I 28.3:586 $1.75

41N. POSSIBILITIES OF USING NUCLEAR ENERGY FOR GASIFYING COAL. Describes a conceptual design of a system to utilize nuclear heat for coal gasification and apparatus that has been built to simulate the operation of a high-temperature nuclear system. 1960. 11 p. il.
Catalog No. I 28.27:7965 15¢

42N. CAMPING FACILITIES IN AREAS ADMINISTERED BY THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE. An alphabetical list showing the name and address of the area and the name of the campground, number of campsites in the particular campground, and days permitted at the campsites. It also contains information on which campsites contain toilets, outdoor tables and benches, outdoor cooking facilities, drinking water, and laundry facilities. Rev. 1960. 32 p.
Catalog No. I 29.2:C 15/3/960 15¢

43N. AREAS ADMINISTERED BY THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, JANUARY 1, 1960. Lists the name, location, and address of the areas administered by the National Park Service with a brief description of the outstanding characteristics of each area, and other pertinent data. 1960. 51 p.
Catalog No. I 29.66:960 20¢

44N. VALUE OF SERVICE IN RATE-MAKING. Value of service and cost of service, although either may be described in a variety of ways, are conceded to be the principal elements in the construction of freight rates. This study was undertaken to create a general understanding of the place value of service has had in the development of the Nation's freight-rate structure and of the extent to which it continues to influence the construction of rates. 1959, published 1960. [426] p.
Catalog No. IC 1 rat.2:Se 6 $2.00

OCCUPATIONAL WAGE SURVEYS. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has conducted surveys of occupational earnings and related benefits on an area-wide basis in the various important industrial centers. Recently issued surveys are listed below.

45N. San Bernardino–Riverside–Ontario, California, November 1959. 1960. 22 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1265–15 25¢

46N. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 1959. 1960. 30 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1265–16 25¢

47N. San Francisco–Oakland, California, January 1960. 1960. 28 p. il.
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48N. Washington, D.C.–Md.–Va., December 1959. 1960. 24 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1265–18 25¢

49N. Memphis, Tennessee, January 1960. 1960. 26 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1265–19 25¢

50N. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, December 1959. 1960. 26 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1265–20 25¢

51N. Minneapolis–St. Paul, Minnesota, January 1960. 1960. 28 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1265–21 25¢

52N. Indianapolis, Indiana, January 1960. 1960. 26 p. il.
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53N. Kansas City, Missouri–Kansas, January 1960. 1960. 26 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1265–23 25¢

54N. Richmond, Virginia, February 1960. 1960. 24 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1265–24 25¢

55N. Detroit, Michigan, January 1960. 1960. 20 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1265–25 20¢

56N. Jackson, Mississippi, February 1960. 1960. 22 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1265–26 25¢

57N. UNION SECURITY AND CHECKOFF PROVISIONS IN MAJOR UNION CONTRACTS, 1958–59. Deals with the prevalence of different types of union security and checkoff provisions in major collective bargaining agreements. 1960. 16 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1272 20¢

58N. HEALTH AND INSURANCE PLANS UNDER COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, HOSPITAL BENEFITS, EARLY 1959. Covers the key features of hospital benefits as provided in selected collectively bargained health and insurance programs in effect in early 1959. 1960. 37 p. il.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1274 30¢

59N. PROGRAMS AND SERVICES OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU, HOW TO USE THEM . . . Describes the activities and functions of the Women's Bureau. 1960. 16 p. il.
Catalog No. L 13.2:P 94/2/960 20¢

60N. MATERNITY BENEFIT PROVISIONS FOR EMPLOYED WOMEN. Discusses maternity benefits women in the United States are provided through health and insurance programs under voluntary plans or, in some cases, through legislative action. 1960. 50 p.
Catalog No. L 13.3:272 25¢

61N. PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT FOR WOMEN. Presents data relating to part-time work for women, the jobs they hold; why they work part time; duration of their employment; and part-time work in the future. 1960. 53 p. il.
Catalog No. L 13.3:273 30¢

62N. MINIMUM WAGE AND THE WOMAN WORKER. Tells briefly and in plain language how and why State minimum-wage laws came about, how they operate, and of their impact on the worker, the employer, and the community. 1960. 16 p. il.
Catalog No. L 13.19:8 15¢

BACKGROUND. Present background information on the land, the people, the government, the economy, the history, and relations with the United States.

63N. Republic of the Philippines. 1960. 19 p. il.
Catalog No. S 1.38:86 20¢

64N. Canada, Free-World Partner. 1960. 30 p. il.
Catalog No. S 1.74:59 25¢

65N. RATIO ANALYSIS FOR SMALL BUSINESS. The purpose of this booklet is to highlight for small business managers the existence of ratios, the methods of obtaining them, and the ways of interpreting them. Rev. 1960. 55 p.
Catalog No. SBA 1.12:20/2 25¢

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION JUDICIAL DECISIONS. Assembles for convenient reference all judicial decisions, civil and criminal, reported and unreported, involving statutes administered by the Securities and Exchange Commission.

66N. Volume 2, January 1, 1940, to December 31, 1942. 1960. 1008 p.
Catalog No. SE 1.19:2 Cloth, $4.50

67N. Volume 3, January 1, 1943, to June 30, 1944. 1960. 947 p.
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68N. Volume 4, July 1, 1944, to September 30, 1946. 1960. 1005 p.
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69N. Volume 5, October 1, 1946, to December 31, 1948. 1960. 1209 p.
Catalog No. SE 1.19:5 Cloth, $5.00

70N. CODE OF FEDERAL REGULATIONS, PART 295, REMOVAL OF TOBACCO PRODUCTS AND CIGARETTE PAPERS AND TUBES, WITHOUT PAYMENT OF TAX, FOR USE OF THE UNITED STATES. Title 26 (1954), chapter 1, Internal Revenue Service, subchapter E, alcohol, tobacco, and other excise taxes. Rev. 1960. 2 p.
Catalog No. T 22.17/3:295/2 5¢

71N. HEALTH IN THE AMERICAS AND THE PAN AMERICAN HEALTH ORGANIZATION. A factual report on the health of the peoples of the Americas. In particular it is devoted to a summary of the problems of well-being of the more than 192 million people of Middle America and South America. 1960. 105 p. il.
Catalog No. Y 4.G 74/6:H 34/4 35¢

72N. UNITED STATES CODE, 1958 EDITION, SUPPLEMENT 1. Supplement 1 to the United States Code, 1958 Edition, contains the general and permanent laws of the United States enacted during the 86th Congress, 1st session, January 7, 1959, to January 5, 1960. 1960. 806 p. il.
Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/1:Un 3/3/958/supp.1 Cloth, $5.25

73N. COPYRIGHT LAW REVISION STUDIES 5–6. Contains two studies, prepared by the Library of Congress for the Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights under a program for the comprehensive reexamination of the copyright law with a view to its general revision, on the compulsory license provisions of the U.S. copyright law and the economic aspects of the compulsory license. 1960. 125 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/2:C 79/no.5–6 35¢

74N. COMPULSORY PATENT LICENSING UNDER ANTITRUST JUDGMENTS. Staff report of the Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights on a study undertaken to determine how effective compulsory licensing in antitrust judgments has been "in opening industry to competition, and what practical problems have arisen in the administration of such compulsory licensing." 1960. 78 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/2:P 27/11 30¢

75N. SURVEY OF ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THIRD-CLASS BULK MAIL RATE INCREASE. This report to Congress by the Department of Commerce assesses the impact of the rate increases on the general economy, on the use of bulk third-class mail, and on business enterprises by kind and size of business. It also discusses the importance of third-class bulk mail as a medium of advertising and supplies information about the development, growth, and use of bulk third-class mail. 1960. [152] p. il.
Catalog No. Y 4.P 84/10:M 28/17 70¢

76N. THE IMPACT OF POSTAL-RATE INCREASES. A report of a study of the probable impact—on mail patrons and on the Post Office Department—of the increased rates for first-, second-, and third-class services that the Post Office Department plans to propose to the current session of Congress. 1960. [92] p. il.
Catalog No. Y 4.P 84/10:P 84/29 45¢

77N. SURVEY OF POSTAL RATES. A report which provides an analysis of the historic revenue and expense relationships of the principal classes of mail. It also shows the circumstances which contribute to the projected postal deficit of $554 million in fiscal year 1961, as shown by the President's budget document submitted to the Congress in January 1960. 1960. 118 p.
Catalog No. 86–2:H.doc. 381 60¢

78N. SCHOOLS IN OUR DEMOCRACY. *See special block on front panel for description of this publication.*
Catalog No. FS 5.220:20014 15¢

Three new publications on nursing homes . . .

79N. FHA NOTES ON NURSING-HOME MORTGAGE INSURANCE. Discusses the FHA nursing-home program—FHA Section 232 program—which is aimed at providing nursing homes that are economically sound and structually adequate for the safety and proper care of occupants. [1960.] [24] p.
Catalog No. HH 2.2:N 93 15¢

80N. MINIMUM PROPERTY STANDARDS FOR NURSING HOMES. These Property Standards for nursing homes, adopted to provide a basis of acceptability for the physical security for insured mortgages, apply to properties designed and used for nursing homes submitted for mortgage insurance under Section 232 of the National Housing Act as amended. 1960. 33 p.
Catalog No. HH 2.17/3:N 93 20¢

81N. SELECTED ARTICLES ON NURSING HOMES. This selection of articles relating to nursing homes in general covers such subjects as: ownership and size of nursing homes; medical care; quality of services; standards of care; health care; food services and meal planning; accident prevention; courses for nursing home personnel; and many others. 1960. 287 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.2:N 93/43 $1.50

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Mr. Bruce L. Felknor
Executive Director
Fair Campaign Practices Committee, Inc.
8 East 66th Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Felknor:

My thanks for the copies of the amended Code of Fair Campaign Practices. We shall distribute them as I indicated in my first letter.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

July8, 1960

Mr. John F. Chapman
Associate Editor
Harvard Business Review
Soldiers Field
Boston, Mass.

Dear Mr. Chapman:

We wish to order 300 copies of your reprint of Helen Hill Miller's "Private Business and Public Education in the South."

First hundred	$39.70
Add'l 200 @ $20 each	40.00
	$79.70

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

July 12, 1960

Oceana Publications, Inc.
80 Fourth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

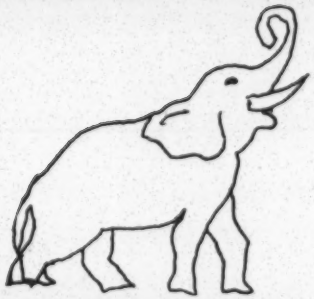
Dear Sirs:

Our check for $1.00 is enclosed; please send us

Voting and Election Laws, paper.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research



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PETER H. ODEGARD
Professor of Political Science
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A searching study of the historical role of religion in American political life, and, in particular, of the role of the Catholic Church. Religion and the Constitution, Sources of Religious Tension Today, Religion and Political Behavior, and the timely question, Can A Catholic Be President?, are some of the issues discussed. A broad survey of historical and contemporary sources has been made in this study, which is a major contribution to the understanding of a vital issue.

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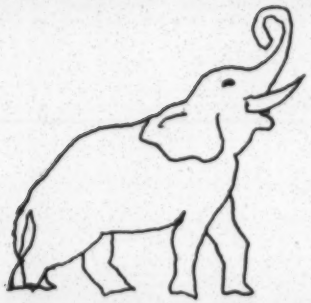

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July 12, 1960

The University of North Carolina Press
Box 510
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Sirs:

We wish to place an advance order for The Southerner as American, edited by Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., and scheduled for release in September. Will you please send us the book when it is released, and bill us?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

LWD

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page 3

for

Fall 1960

July 12, 1960

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
Fund for the Republic
P. O. Box 4068
Santa Barbara, California

Dear Sirs:

We would like to receive one copy of your Our own kind; voting by race, creed, or national origin, by Moses Rischin, 38 p.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:A

July 12, 1960

School and Society
1834 Broadway
New York 23, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

We wish to request one copy of your special issue of May 7, 1960, Racial Segregation in Education, Part 1: The National Scene. Will you please bill us for any charges.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

July 12, 1960

National Labor Service
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

We wish to order 25 copies of your The Civil Rights Story...A Year's Review, by Theodore Leskes. Please bill us, at .15 each.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Paula K. Lazarus Library of Inter-Group Relations
Nat'l Conference of Christians & Jews
43 W. 57th St., New York 19, N.Y.

SOCIAL EDUCATION

Gavian, Ruth Wood, ed. The social education of the academically talented. Washington, D.C., National Council for the Social Studies, 1958. (Curriculum Series no. 10) 2.00 paper.
How to teach social studies to the superior student: basic principles in teaching, identifying the talented student, and programs for elementary, junior high and high school pupils.

Willcockson, Mary, ed. Social education of young children: kindergarten and primary grades. Washington, D.C., National Council for the Social Studies, 1956. 2nd rev. ed. (Curriculum Series no. 4) 2.00 paper.
Revised edition of curriculum guide for the social studies in the early grades. Has many revisions, new contributors, and up-dated references.

VOTING AND MINORITIES

Price, Margaret. The Negro and the ballot in the South. Atlanta, Southern Regional Council, 1959. 83p. 40¢
Brings the 1956 edition up to date, covering current developments and statistics on discrimination in voting. Three case studies are included: "a northern Louisiana parish, a South Carolina coastal county, and a Deep South Black Belt County".

Rischin, Moses. Our own kind; voting by race, creed, or national origin. Santa Barbara, Cal., Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Fund for the Republic, 1960. 38p. Single copies free.
Concludes that "voting returns will continue to reflect ethnic differences", and that these influences are second only to the economic factor in current and future voting habits of Americans.

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Remarks:

July 18, 1960

American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Sirs:

Will you please ship us 25 copies of your Race and Conscience in America, and bill us?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

July 18, 1960

Professor Walter Bennett
Department of Political Science
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dear Walter:

Do you have a copple of copies of my Gatlinburg paper which you could send to me?

Hope you are having a relaxing Summer. We visited with Ralph for a couple days last month and found the family well and in good spirits.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

July 19, 1960

The NAACP Church Dept.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to receive two copies of your report on the Church Social Action Survey, as written up in The Crisis, June-July, 1960.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

July 21, 1960

Society for the Advancement of Education, Inc.
1834 Broadway
New York 23, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us one copy, cloth binding, of your The Countdown on Segregated Education, edited by Brickman and Lehrer, and bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

July 21, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Muse, Jr., Mgr.
Parnassus Book Service
Route 6A, Box 33
Yarmouth Port, Mass.

Dear Mr. Muse:

Please supply us with the book, Pierce, and others: White and Negro Schools in the South, and bill us for the $6.50.

Your efforts in locating this book for us are very much appreciated. We shall probably be calling on you again.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

August 16, 1960

The Secretary of State
State of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

Honorable Sir:

We would like to request a copy for our files of your latest tabulation of white and Negro registered voters.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

August 22, 1960

C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row,
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us 25 copies of you report on sit-ins, compiled and edited by Jim Peck. We note that you give a reduction on quantity orders, but are not sure if that includes orders of 25. Will you please bill us?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

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$6.25

August 23, 1960

Dr. Daniel Price
Director
Institute for Social Science Research
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Price:

I have noticed the prominent coverage given by some of the press to the study which you and your colleagues have now completed on Norfolk. How can we get two copies?

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

August 23, 1960

Mr. Henry C. Sprinkle, Editor
World Outlook
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Sprinkle:

We would like very much to know the prices for reprints of the article in your August issue, "Methodism's Present Task--A Southern View," by Bishop William T. Watkins. Could you give us prices in quantities of 300, 500, and 1,000 copies?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

August 23, 1960

Dissent Publishing Company
509 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

Please send your Volume VII, No. 3, Summer 1960 to us; we are enclosing 75¢ in payment.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

September 23, 1960

The University of North Carolina Press
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us The Southerner as American, edited by Charles Grier Sellers Jr. Our check is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Enclosure: check, $5.00

September 26, 1960

Miss Florence J. Mitchell
World Outlook
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Miss Mitchell:

Please send us 500 reprints of Bishop Watkins' article, "Methodism's Present Task, a Southern View," and bill us. In your letter of September 6 you stated that the cost would be approximately $15.00.

Please note change of address; we have moved, and thus the delay in ordering.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

October 3, 1960

Miss Virginia H. Ellison
Executive Director
CLEF - Room 428
527 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Miss Ellison:

Thank you for your kind comments regarding our pamphlets.

We would like to receive the bibliography when it is ready for distribution, and will also appreciate a copy of your Projects and Purposes, Number 2, when it has been multilithed.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

October 4, 1960

Institute for Research inSocial Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us two copies of Ernest Q. Campbell's When A City Closes Its Schools and bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

October 5, 1960

Mr. William K. Williams
Florida Council on Human Relations
4241 S. W. 109 Ct.
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Williams:

Thank you for the information on lunch-counter desegregation and human relations councils--it is very helpful.

We would like to order 25 copies of your special report on the Jacksonville Riot; at .20 each this would be $5.00. (This report really gave me chills as I read it....and we talk about the absence of civilization in the Congo!)

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

October 17, 1960

State Department of Education
Richmond
Virginia

Dear Sirs:

Will you please send us one copy of your Bulletin, State Board of Education, Vol. XXXIII, October, 1950, No. 6. We are requesting this because we understand that it contains the up-to-date standards for the accrediting of independent schools. It this is not correct, will you please send us a copy of your standards which are now in effect.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

October 25, 1960

Publications
New York Public Library
Fifth Avenue & 42nd St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

We would like to receive the following publication

Homer, Dorothy R. The Negro: a list of significant books. 8th Rev. ed. 1960. 25p.

We are enclosing .35 in payment.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Enclosure: 35¢

October 25, 1960

Harvard University Press
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us one copy of

Bond, Horace Mann. The search for talent.
1960. 57p. $1.50.

Our check is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

ENCLOSURE:
check - $1.50

October 26, 1960

Mr. Thomas Mullen
F. W. Woolworth
Woolworth Building
New York 7, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Mullen:

We talked by telephone on October 19 with Mr. J. K. Helfrich at S. H. Kress & Company. He informed us that the variety stores were releasing to the press that day, through your office, the names of the 112 cities in which there has been lunch-counter desegregation. Having seen no press report, I have tried to call you within the last few days but have not found you in.

As you may know, we have from time to time reported on developments in the sit-in controversy, and we are constantly being requested by the press, by public officials, and by organizatians for information. We are now in the process of preparing for release a list of the cities in the Southern (not border) states where lunch facilities have desegregated and we want it to be accurate. We would like to ask, therefore, whether the list of 112 cities is now available, and it it is we would greatly appreciate receiving it. If you have decided not to release it at this time, it would be most helpful, in the interest of preventing confusion, if you could supply us with a breakdown of the 112 cities by states.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Special Delivery,
Airmail

CC: J. K. Helfrich, S. H. Kress & Co., 114 5th Ave, N.Y.22

October 26, 1960

Circulation Department
The Tampa Tribune
Tampa, Florida

Dear Sirs:

We wish to subscribe to your newspaper, daily and Sunday, beginning now. Will you please send us your rates for three months, six months, and one year? And begin subscription at once?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

October 27, 1960

The New York Post
75 West Street
New York 6, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

We would like to have one copy each of the series, "The South Revisted," by Anne Waring Warren, which ran July 5-10, 1960. There were five articles in the series. Will you please send the tear sheets, and bill us?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

October 28, 1960

Mr. Francis C. Shane
Executive Secretary
United Steelworkers of America
Committee on Civil Rights
1500 Commonwealth Building
Pittsburg 22, Pa.

Dear Mr. Shane:

We would like to receive two or three copies of the 1960 Program on Civil Rights and ten copies of the Baltimore Urban League report, Strengthening the Family.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

October 31, 1960

Mr. Aaron Henry
636 Page Avenue
Clarksdale, Miss.

Dear Mr. Henry:

We would like very much to receive a copy of your survey on Negro voter registration in 65 Mississippi counties.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

November 8, 1960

The Rev. Galen Martin
Knoxville Area Human Relations Council
Box 1011
Knoxville 1, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Martin:

We would like very much to have copies of the following:

Sit-ins--The Knoxville Story (A Study in Business Morality)
A Chronology of Negotiations Leading to Lunch Counter Desegregation in Knoxville, Tenn.

Do you have these in quantity? If you do, please send us ten copies of each? And let us know if there is a charge.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

November 10, 1960

P.R.O.D. Magazine
c/o Professor A. de Grazia
Department of Political Science
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Professor de Grazia:

We would like to receive one copy of your May, 1960 issue of P.R.O.D.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

November 10, 1960

Mr. Elliott M. Rudiwck
Department of Social Studies
Southern Illinois University
East St. Louis, Illinois

Dear Mr. Rudwick:

This is just to repeat my urgent wish that you let me know as soon as you do which Journal will publish your article, "Negro Police Employment in the Urban South" so that I may order reprints in advance.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

November 11, 1960

Professor Donald Matthews
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Don:

Could you send me a newspaper clipping--or other report--giving the county by county vote in North Carolina last Tuesday. I would be most grateful.

'Twas a mighty victory--in North Carolina. Has there ever been another election with so many interesting twists!

Sorry we missed saying goodbye. It was awfully good to have seen you and Maggie.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

November 11, 1960

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Center
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Many thanks for the Courier-Journal. If you do see a later tabulation of votes in South Carolina, I would love to have it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

November 11, 1960

Professor Walter Bennett
Department of Political Science
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dear Walter:

Could you send me a newspaper clipping--or other report--giving the county by county vote in Alabama last Tuesday. I would be most grateful.

As always, we were glad to see you again and were only sorry that Maxine was not present. Please give her our regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

November 11, 1960

Professor C. Lerche, Jr.
International Relations
School of International Service
American University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Professor Lerche:

We would be most grateful if you could send us a reprint of your article, "Southern Congressmen and the 'New Isolationism'", Political Science Quarterly, September, 1960.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. W. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

November 11, 1966

Professor Gerald B. Berreman
Assistant Professor of Anthropology
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dear Professor Berreman:

I would be most grateful if you could let us have a reprint of your article "Caste in India and the United States," in the American Journal of Sociology, September, 1960.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

November 11, 1960

Professor Allen D. Grimshaw
Department of Sociology
University of Indiana
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Professor Grimshaw:

I would be most grateful if you could let us have a reprint of your article, "Urban Racial Violence in the United States," American Journal of Sociology, September, 1960.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

November 11, 1960

Professor Thos. F. Pettigrew
Laboratory of Social Relations
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Tom:

If you have a reprint of the article which you and Campbell did on Faubus's election for the Public Opinion Quarterly, I would love to have it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

November 15, 1960

World Mutual Exchange, Inc.
International Public Relations
79 Wall Street
New York 5, New York

Dear Sirs:

We wish to subscribe to your American Negro Reference Guide for one year, beginning with Volume 1, No. 1; we also would like to receive the bonus copy of your U. S. Negro Consumer Reference Guide - 1960. Our check for $10.00 is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

November 15, 1960

The Rev. Murray Cox, chairman
State Advisory Committee for U.S.
Civil Rights Commission
2316 Twenty-second Avenue
Gulfport, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Cox:

We noted a report by W. F. Minor in the New Orleans Times-Picayune the last of October regarding a statewide survey of Negro voters in Mississippi which was prepared for the civil rights commission. We would like very much to have a copy of this report and will appreciate your sending one to us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

November 15, 1960

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to receive a reprint, if you have them available, of Robert C. Weaver's article, "Class, Race and Urban Renewal," in the current issue of Land Economics.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

November 15, 1960

The Honorable Wade O. Martin, Jr.
Secretary of State
State of Louisiana
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Mr. Martin:

Thank you for your letter of November 10th, with the information that copies of your latest tabulation of white and Negro registered voters will be available after November 17th. We are enclosing our check for $1.00 in payment; please mail us one copy.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: check

November 21, 1960

Mr. Cornelius P. Cotter
Assistant Staff Director
Commission on Civil Rights
State Advisory Committee Division
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cotter:

In your mimeographed notice to State Advisory Committee Members, a copy of which you were kind enough to send to us, you mentioned an "enclosed transcript of the Gatlinburg Conference" on Problems of Schools in Transition held in March. We did not receive a copy of this, and would like very much to have one.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

November 28, 1960

Information Office
Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

We would like to have a copy of the new report you have issued on the situation of the Negro in the United States.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

December 1, 1960

The New York Post
75 West Street
New York 6, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Your order card quoting price of July 1960 Posts as described in the attached letter has apparently been misplaced. Please advise us total cost of the six papers so that we may forward our check and order.

Sincerely,

Marge Mangerson
Research Assistant

MM:a
Enclosure: thermafax

December 1, 1960

American Jewish Committee
165 E. 65th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

Will you please send us one copy of the October, 1960 issue of Commentary, and bill us? We are very interested in seeing the Ralph L. Smith article on pupil placement laws.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

December 1, 1960

THOUGHT
Fordham University
441 E. Fordham Road
New York 58, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to have a copy of your Autumn 1960 issue of Thought, containing the Donohue article, "Biracial Public School Education in the South." Will you please mail us one copy and bill us?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

December 5, 1960

The Free Press
Glenco, Illinois

Dear Sirs:

Please send us one copy of RACE: Individual and Collective Behavior, edited by Edgar T. Thompson and Everett C. Hughes, and bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

December 5, 1960

Harcourt, Brace & Company
750 Third Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

Please send is one copy of your recent publication, Ralph Lord Roy, Communism and the Churches, and bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

December 6, 1960

League of Women Voters of Georgia
7 - 17th Street, N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear League:

We would like to order 100 copies of your Count Down for Schools; please bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

December 23, 1960

Mr. J. J. Brewbaker
545 Mayflower Road
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Mr. Brewbaker:

In connection with an L Report we are currently compiling centered around the amounts spent by the states in attempting to resist desegregation, we would like very much to include the cost of paying salaries to idle teachers and otherwise operating and maintaining closed schools in Norfolk during fall and winter, 1958-59.

Southern School News, January, 1959, states that the Norfolk board billed the state for $693,000 for these costs, September through November. I wonder if, without going to any trouble, you can advise me if this figure is roughly correct (another source, Robert C. Smith's Commentary article, March, 1959, places the cost at $172,000 a month, considerably less) or, better, give us an estimate of the amount the state (and the locality, if any) paid to the schools affected during the entire five months they were closed, through January, 1959.

Thanks for any help you can give us.

Sincerely yours,

Marge Manderson
Research Assista nt

MM:a

December 27, 1960

Mr. John G. Blount, Jr.
Director, Administration and Finance
State Board of Education
Richmond 16, Virginia

Dear Mr. Blount:

For use in our reference library, we would like very much to obtain authoritative data on the costs of Virginia's tuition grant program. Can you advise us what amounts the state has paid out in the form of tuition grants (from the inauguration of the program to the present) with a district by district break-down?

Thank you for any information you may be able to supply.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM:a

January 10, 1961

Circulation Department
The Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Sirs:

We wish to subscribe to the Charlotte Observer, daily and Sunday. Will you please begin our subscription immediately and bill us for three months?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

January 17, 1961

The Free Press
Glencoe
Illinois

Dear Sirs:

Please send us one copy of Wilson, James Q, Negro Politics: the search for leadership. Our check for $5.00 is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Orders

January 18, 1961

Mr. Igor Rogdenko
36 East Tenth Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Rogdenko:

We are enclosing 50¢; please send us one copy of Unfinished Revolution, as described in the Student Voice, October 1960.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

ENCLOSURE: 50¢

January 25, 1961

Mr. Malcolm Bryan
President
Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta
104 Marietta Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Bryan:

If you have extra copies of the address made by you before the Rotary Club of Atlanta on January 23, we should appreciate receiving one.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

January 31, 1961

Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
105 City Hall
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to receive two copies of Dr. Weaver's 9-page paper, The Changing Status of Racial Groups, as reproduced by MFRC and offered in your report of the NAIRO Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

February 6, 1961

The Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

May we request a copy of your recent report, "Equal Protection of the Laws in Public Higher Education, 1960".

If available, we should also be very interested in having a copy of Mr. Gordon Tiffany's final report to the President.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 14, 1961

Dr. Horace Dawson, Jr.
Assistant Professor of English
North Carolina College
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Dawson:

The News and Information Service of the State University of Iowa has sent me a copy of its press release regarding your doctoral dissertation on the attitudes of foreign students toward racial segregation in the United States. This is a subject of great interest to us and we were very glad to learn of your work. We are pleased, also, that you are now in the South and if we may ever be of service to you please let us know.

It might interest you to know that about 250 foreign visitors a year come through this office. We have many opportunities to observe the truth of your findings.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: News & Information Service
State University of Iowa

February 15, 1961

Circulation Department
THE WASHINGTON POST
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

We are now receiving the Washington Post by subscription for Sunday only; we would like to receive it daily and Sunday. Will you please bill us for one year in advance, from this date, deducting the amount paid in advance for the Sunday only?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

February 17, 1961

The Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee
105 City Hall
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to receive a copy of your supply (as noted in your December Newsletter or Report) of the NAIRO address by Dr. Robert C. Weaver, "The Changing Status of Racial Groups."

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

February 17, 1961

The Society for Applied Anthropology
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Dear Sirs:

Please send us Monograph No. 2, Minority group and class status as related to social and personality factors in scholastic achievement, by Martin Deutsch. Our check for $1.50 is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

February 17, 1961

Yale Law Journal
Yale University
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Sirs:

We would like to receive a copy of "Benigh Quotas--A Plan for Integrated Private Housing," which appeared in your November, 1960 issue. If you have reprints available, please send us one and bill us. If there are no reprints, we would like a copy of the Journal.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

February 20, 1961

NEA Publications-Sales Section
Research Division
National Education Association of
the United States
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us ten copies of your 1961 report, Rankings of the States, at .50 per copy with 20% discount = $4.00. Our check is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Enclosure: check

February 21, 1961

Office of the District Commissioners
District Building
Pennsylvania Avenue & 14th Street
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

A recent newsletter of Congressman James C. Davis was based upon "an official report just made to Congress by the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia."

If you have a copy available, we should like very much to receive this report.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 21, 1961

Mr. Galen Martin
Director
Kentucky Commission on Human Relations
311 Capitol Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Galen:

We would be most appreciative if you would put us on your mailing list to receive any materials put out by the Commission. We would also like to have any materials describing the Commission, detailing your plans, etc.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 21, 1961

Oklahoma Commission on Human Relations
c/o Executive Chambers
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Sirs:

We would be most appreciative if you would put us on your mailing list to receive any materials put out by the Commission. We would also like to have any materials describing the Commission, detailing your plans, etc.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

February 21, 1961

Congressman James C. Davis
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Davis:

We have seen in the DeKalb New Era of February 16 your Washington newsletter regarding "the City of Washington is in trouble." If you have another copy of your newsletter, we would like to have a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

March 27, 1961

Duke Law Journal
Duke University
Durham, N. C.

Dear Sirs:

We would like to have another 100 copies of your reprint, "Dime Store Demonstrations: Events and Legal Probelsm of First Sixty Days," by Daniel H. Pollitt, Volume 1960, No. 3. If you have these available, please send at once and bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

March 30, 1961

Association Press
291 Broadway
New York 7, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us one copy of Paul Ramsey, Christian Ethics and the Sit-in and bill us for the $2.50 plus postage.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

March 30, 1961

UPUSA
Office of Church and Society
Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us one copy of your February issue of Social Progress, and bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

April 4, 1961

Look Magazine
488 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Sirs:

We wish to order 300 reprints of "The Roots of Bias" by the Rt. Rev. James A. Pike, March 14, 1961 issue of LOOK. Our check for $15.00 is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Enclosure: check

April 4, 1961

Look Magazine
488 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Sirs:

We wish to order 300 reprints of "The Roots of Bias" by the Rt. Rev. James A. Pike, March 14, 1961 issue of LOOK. Our check for $15.00 is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Enclosure: check

April 4, 1961

Mr. Jesse DeVore
Public Relations Assistant
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. DeVore:

We would like very much to receive a copy of a mimeographed report, delivered at the Annual Meeting of the N.A.A.C.P. on January 3, 1961, "Racism Within Organized Labor: a report of five years of the AFL-CIO, 1955-1960." If you have extra copies available, will you please send us one?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

May 1, 1961

Mr. James B. Jalenak
Branford College
Yale University
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Mr. Jalenak:

We would indeed be interested in reading the copy or your honors thesis on"Beale Street Politics."

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:a

May 2, 1961

Mr. Billy J. Williams
Research Assistant
Center for Southern Education Studies
George Peabody College for Teachers
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Williams:

Please send us two copies of Keys to Greatness; our check for $2.00 is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

ENCLOSURE: check $2.00

May 3, 1961

The Library of Congress
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

In the May 1 issue of TheAugusta Courier the editor speaks of a research paper published in March by the Library of Congress, entitled "The Power of The President to Withhold Federal Funds From Educational Institutions Which Discriminate Among Students on Grounds of Race." We would like very much to receive a copy of this paper. Please let us know of there is a charge.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

May 4, 1961

Louisiana State University Press
Baton Rouge
Louisiana

Dear Sirs:

Please send us one copy of C. Van Woodward's The Burden of Southern History; our check for $3.50 is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Enclosure

May 4, 1961

Circulation Department
The Augusta Courier
1300 Southern Finance Bldg.
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We would like to subscribe to the Augusta Courier for one year; our check for $4.12 is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Please address as follows:

Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 2, Ga.

To order, check publications desired on above order form, detach, and return with remittance to the Superintendent of Documents. Unless otherwise specified, all publications are paperbound. Supplies are limited, and prices are subject to change without notice.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities

1. **ISSUES PRESENTED BY AIR RESERVE CENTER TRAINING MANUAL.** Hearing before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House (86th Cong., 2d sess.), February 25, 1960. 1960. [46] p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:Ai 7 15¢

2. **COMMUNIST PERSECUTION OF CHURCHES IN RED CHINA AND NORTHERN KOREA.** Consultation with Rev. Peter Chu Pong, Rev. Shih-Ping Wang, Rev. Tsin-Tsai Liu, Rev. Samuel W. S. Cheng, Kyung Rai Kim, Mar. 26, 1959. 1959. 35 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 47 15¢

3. **ORGANIZED COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES.** Contains the texts of many Communist calls, conventions, constitutions, manifestoes, directives, and statements pertaining to the American Communist movement issued or adopted between the years 1919 and 1958. 1958. 153 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/35/958 45¢

4. **HOW THE CHINESE REDS HOODWINK VISITING FOREIGNERS.** 1960. 34 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 44 15¢

5. **INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM (The Communist Mind).** A staff consultation with Dr. Frederick Charles Schwarz, Executive Director of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, in which he presented facts designed to provide further insight into the motivating forces of international communism. 1957. 14 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/76 15¢

6. **THE IDEOLOGICAL FALLACIES OF COMMUNISM.** Staff consultations with Dr. S. Andhil Fineberg, Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, and Dr. Daniel A. Poling. 1957. 25 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/84 15¢

7. **COMMUNIST PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE (BRAINWASHING).** Consultation with Edward Hunter. 1958. 25 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/90 15¢

8. **COMMUNIST LOBBYING ACTIVITIES IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL.** 1959. 12 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/105 10¢

9. **THE COMMUNIST PARCEL OPERATION.** 1959. 17 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/106 15¢

10. **FACTS ON COMMUNISM, Vol. I, The Communist Ideology.** 1960. 135 p.
Catalog No. 86–2:H.doc. 336 45¢

11. **FACTS ON COMMUNISM, Vol. II, The Soviet Union, From Lenin to Khrushchev.** 1960. 367 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/108/v.2 $1.25

12. **LEST WE FORGET! A PICTORIAL SUMMARY OF COMMUNISM IN ACTION.** Consultation with Klaus Samuli Gunner Romppanen. 1960. 48 p. il.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/109 20¢

13. **COMMUNIST ECONOMIC WARFARE.** Consultation with Dr. Robert Loring Allen. 1960. 23 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/110 15¢

14. **WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, Selective Chronology 1818–1957. Volume 1, 1818–1945.** 1960. 232 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/114/v.1 65¢

15. **COMMUNIST TARGET—YOUTH, COMMUNIST INFILTRATION AND AGITATION TACTICS.** A report by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, illustrating Communist strategy and tactics in the rioting which occurred during House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings, San Francisco, May 12–14, 1960. 1960. 18 p. il.
Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/115 15¢

THE CRIMES OF KHRUSHCHEV. Consultations by staff members of the Committee on Un-American Activities, House (86th Cong., 1st sess.). Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:K 52/(pt.)

16. Pt. 1, Consultation with Eugene Lyons, September 4, 1959. 1959. 18 p. 15¢

17. Pt. 2, Consultations with Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Petro Pavlovych, Prof. Dr. Ivan M. Malinin, Nicholas Prychodko, Constantin Kononenko, Mykola Lebed, Dr. Gregory Kostiuk, Prof. Ivan Wowchuk, and Jurij Lawrynenko, September 9–11, 1959. 1959. 69 p. 25¢

18. Pt. 3, Consultations with Gen. Bela Kiraly and Joseph Kovago, September 10, 1959. 1959. 25 p. 15¢

19. Pt. 4, Consultations with Dr. Vilis Masesn and Vaclovas Sidzikauskas, September 21, 1959. 1959. 18 p. 15¢

20. Pt. 5, Consultations with Joseph Pauco, Father Theodoric Joseph Zubek, Nuci Kotta, and Arshi Pipa. 1959. 33 p. 15¢

21. Pt. 6, Consultations with Rusi Nasar, Ergacsh Schermatoglu, Constant Mierlak, Dr. Vitaut Tumash, and Anton Shukeloyts. 1959. 25 p. 15¢

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Order

July 20, 1961

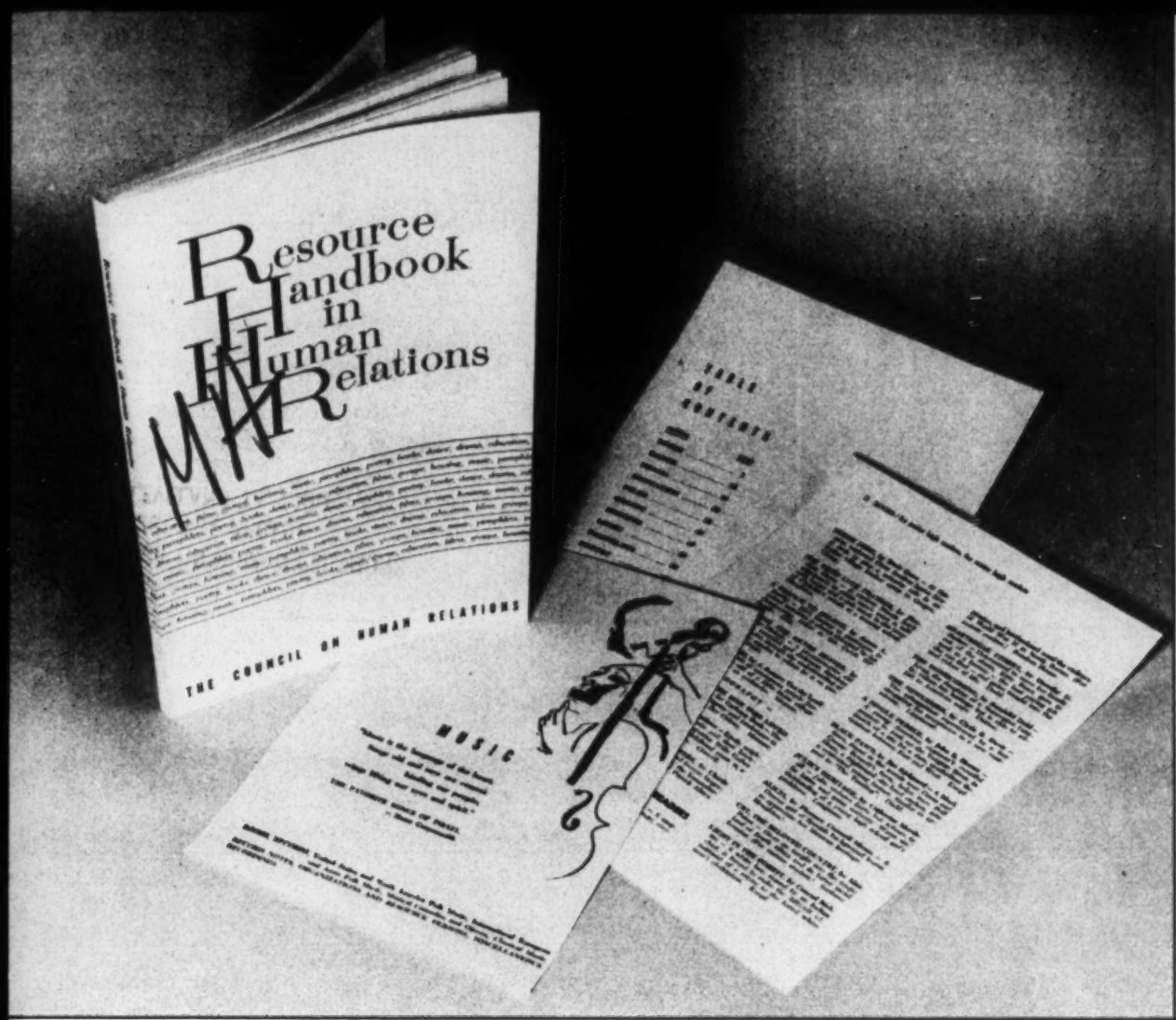
The Rev. Galen Martin
Commission on Human Rights
311 Capitol Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Martin:

In Human Rights News, Vol. 1, No. 3, there is a notice to the effect that a tabular summary of the results of efforts toward desegregation of downtown Louisville eating places has been compiled and printed by the Integration Steering Committee, and that copies are available from the Commission. Will you please send us 25 copies, and bill us if there is a charge. We may wish to order more later, after we see it.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research



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July 28, 1961

Southern Conference Educational Fund
822 Perdido Street
New Orleans 12, La.

Dear Sirs:

Will you please send us two copies of your publication, "Give Daisy a Chance" and bill us for any charges.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

August 4, 1961

Professor Sol Tax
Department of Anthropology
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Professor Tax:

We would like very much to receive any materials you have on the June 13-20 conference held at the University, "The American Indian." We would be particularly interested in the final reports which came out of the conference.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

August 4, 1961

Public Affairs Press
419 New Jersey Avenue S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

We would like to receive a copy of Robert S. Browne, Race Relations in International Affairs, published by you in 1961. There is no price marked on the title page; will you please bill us for any charges.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

August 7, 1961

Miller's Book & Office Supply Co.
231 Peachtree St. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Please order for us, charge to our account and mail to us, the following books:

James Baldwin, Nobody Knows My Name; Dial Press, $4.50

Henry E. Garrett (edited by Dwight Ingle), Perspectives of Biology and Medicines, University of Chicago Press

Richard Gregg, Philosophy of Non-Violence or Power of Non-Violence (I don't remember which title is correct)

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

August 7, 1961

Charles Walker
Cheyney, Pa.

Dear Mr. Walker:

Please send us one copy of your handbook, Organizing for Non-Violence; our 50¢ is enclosed. We noted this in the AFSC Focus, July 28, 1961 issue.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

August 7, 1961

Circulation Department
The Dallas News
Dallas, Texas

Dear Sirs:

We would like to subscribe to the Dallas News for three month, the subscription to begin with Sunday, August 6. Will you please bill us, and begin the subscription?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

August 8, 1961

Mrs. Katherine Hastings
Council of Community Forces
Auditorium
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Dear Mrs. Hastings:

We have read with great interest the newspaper accounts in the Chattanooga Times of the analysis of 1960 U. S. Census figures for Hamilton County, and we we happy to note that the material in more depth and relating to specific areas is available to interested groups. Would you please send us a complete copy? If there is a charge, please bill us. Such a study will be valuable to us for our research files, which are used not only by the Council staff but by newspaper people, writers, researchers, etc.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

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1A. Presents the seven initial steps President Kennedy proposed to resolve the Cuban crisis; and gives a series of questions and answers pertaining to the developments in the Cuban situation. 1962. 8 p.
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2A. Contains the statements made by Adlai E. Stevenson, U.S. Representative in the Security Council of the United Nations, on October 23 and 25, 1962, relating to U.S. charges of Soviet military buildup in Cuba. 1962. 37 p.
Catalog No. S 1.26:82 15¢

3A. LIGHT HORSES. Used primarily for riding, driving, racing, or for utility purposes on the farm, light horses are generally more rangy, capable of more action and greater speed than draft horses. Well illustrated, this booklet contains many helpful pointers on selecting, breeding, feeding, and managing light horses. Rev. 1962. 55 p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.9:2127/2 20¢

4A. RUSSIAN-OLIVE FOR WILDLIFE AND OTHER CONSERVATION USES. Briefly discusses the Russian-olive tree, what it is, its wildlife value, where and how it grows, where and how to plant, and its care and management. 1962. 8 p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.35:517 5¢

5A. CONVERTING FACTORS AND TABLES OF EQUIVALENTS USED IN FORESTRY. Provides members of the Forest Service with conversion factors and forest measurements that are more or less frequently encountered in forestry literature. These are expressed in tabular form where it appears most advantageous to do so; in the other cases a series of alinement charts have been prepared which permit the direct determination of values in multiple form. There are included also certain other tables giving data more or less commonly used in forest calculations. Rev. 1949, reprinted 1962. 48 p.
Catalog No. A 1.38:225/3 20¢

6A. MARKETING MARGINS FOR WHITE BREAD. This report shows the changes in bread prices, margins, costs from 1947–49 through 1961. Rev. 1962. 15 p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.38:712/3 10¢

7A. BETTER LAWNS. Tells how to establish, maintain, and renovate a lawn; gives suggestions for coping with lawn problems, such as weeds, diseases, and insects; and provides descriptions of various grasses and ground cover plants. Rev. 1962. 32 p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.77:51/4 15¢

8A. AGRICULTURAL OUTLOOK CHARTBOOK, 1963. This chartbook carries essential economic data designed to help farmers, and the people who work with them, do a better job of planning production and marketing. It contains data relating to the agricultural situation; population; our foreign trade; commodity trends, marketing developments; and the family. 1962. 96 p. il.
Catalog No. A 1.98:963 60¢

9A. PERIODICALS RECEIVED IN THE LIBRARY OF THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS, JULY 1962. Lists alphabetically the periodicals, both American and foreign, that are currently being received in the Washington (D.C.) Library of the National Bureau of Standards. Approximately 2,000 titles are cited, together with call numbers indicating the location of each in the NBS Washington Library. Although this information was compiled primarily for the use of the Bureau's scientific staff, it is also of value to libraries, scientific and technical organizations, and research workers. 1962. 34 p.
Catalog No. C 13.44:57 25¢

10A. WEATHER SERVICES FOR PILOTS. As every pilot knows, accurate weather information is essential to safety on cross-country flights. In this brief Weather Bureau publication, the pilot is told where he can get aviation weather information, what data are available, how to read aviation weather reports, and how to use forecasts. Examples of aviation forecasts are included, and the pilot is told how *he* can help the weather service. 1962. 12 p. il.
Catalog No. C 30.2:P 64/962 10¢

11A. DEVELOPMENT OF THE JAPANESE PHOTOGRAPHIC PRODUCTS INDUSTRY, 1961. Providing a general review of the development of the Japanese photographic products industry, this pamphlet contains statistics and general information on production, sales, exports, and imports of photographic products, including still and motion picture cameras, movie projectors, and photographic lenses and film. 1962. 20 p.
Catalog No. C 41.2:P 56/961 15¢

12A. TRENDS IN THE OIL, GAS, AND WATER WELL DRILLING MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT INDUSTRY. Contains statistics and general information on the structure of the oil, gas, and water well drilling machinery and equipment industry, value of shipments, domestic drilling operations, raw material consumption, and exports. 1962. 8 p.
Catalog No. C 41.2:W 45/962 5¢

13A. STEEL CHAIN LINK GALVANIZED FENCE FABRIC. This Commercial Standard gives the nomenclature, definitions, and general requirements for commercial standard steel chain link galvanized fence fabric, designed and woven primarily for installation on the premises of any dwelling, building, or structure as a boundary line or for the protection of property. 1962. 10 p.
Catalog No. C 41.25:246–62 10¢

14A. REGISTER OF RETIRED COMMISSIONED AND WARRANT OFFICERS, REGULAR AND RESERVE, OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY AND MARINE CORPS, JULY 1, 1962. Contains listings of Regular and Reserve retired officers of the Navy and Marine Corps, with and without pay, including those officers on the Temporary Disability Retired List. 1962. 425 p.
Catalog No. D 208.12/3:962 $2.50

LANDING PARTY MANUAL. This Navy Manual is published as a guide for the training and operations of landing parties organized by units afloat and emergency ground defense force units organized at naval shore establishments. It contains 13 well-illustrated, fact-filled chapters covering the organization of a naval landing party; drills; ceremonies; equipment and uniforms; interior guard duty; shelter; field sanitation, vector control, personal hygiene, and first aid; marches, security on the march, and outposts; basic combat techniques; combat principles; special operations; physical drill; and small arms marksmanship. Change 1, *just published,* contains revised pages to the basic manual.

15A. Basic Manual (*Limited supply still available*). 1960, published 1961. 655 p. il.
Catalog No. D 207.6/2:L 23/960 $4.75

16A. Change No. 1 (*Just released*). 1962. [36] p. il.
Catalog No. D 207.6/2:L 23/960/ch.1 30¢

17A. WOOD: A MANUAL FOR ITS USE AS A SHIPBUILDING MATERIAL, VOLUME III, TECHNICAL DATA APPLICABLE TO BOAT AND SHIP DESIGN. Because of the many new developments in marine uses of wood, a need has arisen for a comprehensive, up-to-date collection of information based on recent investigations and tests. This publication should prove useful to those concerned with all phases of wooden ship or boat design, construction, or maintenance. A *limited supply* of Volumes 1 and 2 are still available *as listed below.* 1962. 107 p. il.
Catalog No. D 211.6:W 85/v.3 60¢

18A. Volume I, Basic Wood Technology Applicable to Shipbuilding. Rev. 1957. 63 p. il.
Catalog No. D 211.6:W 85/v.1 45¢

19A. Volume II, Techniques and Practices Applicable to Preservation and Storage. Rev. 1958. 67 p. il.
Catalog No. D 211.6:W 85/v.2 45¢

20A. THE AIR ALMANAC, 1963, MAY–AUGUST. This issue of the almanac provides in a convenient form the astronomical data required for air navigation, covering the period from May 1 to August 31, 1963. 1962. p. 241–488+A64, il.
Catalog No. D 213.7:963/2 $2.00

FOREIGN AIR CARRIER REGULATIONS. Issued as Civil Aeronautics Manual 44, this manual discusses operations specifications, airworthiness and registration certificates, radio equipment, flight crew certificates, air traffic rules and procedures, and control of traffic. Supplement 1, containing revised pages to the manual has recently been released. The basic manual is still available as *listed* below.

21A. Civil Aeronautics Manual 44, Basic Manual, August 1959. 1959. 4 p. (Limited supply).
Catalog No. FAA 1.34:44 20¢

22A. Civil Aeronautics Manual 44, Supplement 1, October 1, 1962. 1962. 9 p.
Catalog No. FAA 1.34:44/supp.1 10¢

PRINCIPAL ELECTRIC FACILITIES. Eight maps, issued by the Federal Power Commission, showing generating stations and transmission lines for the areas indicated below. Each map includes lists indicating the name and number of each plant, MW capacity and type, utility abbreviations, and name and type of owner. 1962, based on information to June 30, 1961.

23A. No. 1, Northeastern. 30 x 44 in.
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29A. No. 7, Southeastern Region. 30 x 44 in.
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30A. No. 8, Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico. 30 x 44 in.
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31A. MAJOR NATURAL GAS PIPELINES AS OF JUNE 30, 1962. Map, in color, showing the gasfields and the major natural gas pipelines—existing, certificated or under construction, and pending Federal Power Commission action—in the United States as of June 30, 1962. It includes an index of the operating companies. 1962. 13 x 19 in.
Catalog No. FP 1.13:G 21/2/962 15¢

32A. AGING WITH A FUTURE. This report from the White House Conference on Aging contains a selection of papers defining goals and responsibilities for the current decade. 1961, reprinted 1962. 138 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 1.13/2:1 45¢

33A. A DIGEST OF STATE AIR POLLUTION LAWS, 1962 EDITION. Presents in summary form the essential elements of State air pollution control laws to assist in the consideration of State air pollution control legislation, both existing and proposed. Rev. 1962. 132 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 2.93:962 70¢

34A. YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY EARNINGS RECORD. This booklet will help you to understand the social security earnings records. It explains how the records are kept, how you can get a statement of your social security record, what the statement shows, and other important points relating to your social security earnings record. 1962. 23 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 3.35:93/6 10¢

35A. GUIDE TO FEDERAL ARCHIVES RELATING TO THE CIVIL WAR. *See special block on front panel for description of this publication.*
Catalog No. GS 4.6/2:C 49 Cloth, $3.00

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HOUSEHOLD WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

36A. This card presents in convenient form the weights and measures most useful for household purposes, together with associated weights and measures information of general household interest. [1960.] 11 x 8½ in. [perforated wall card printed on both sides.]
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Catalog No. GS 4.113:946 Cloth, $6.00

38A. PROGRESS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION FACILITIES, 1951–59. This study analyzes progress in the construction of new facilities and the rehabilitation of old buildings during 1958–59. It also identifies trends in new construction during 1951–59. The trends are reported by aggregate gross dollars, public and private control, functional type of facilities, geographic region, source of funds, per student expenditures, and per square foot cost. 1962. 57 p. il.
Catalog No. FS 5.251:51002 40¢

39A. ULTRASONIC MEASUREMENT OF SUSPENDED SEDIMENT. A laboratory instrument for determining size distribution and concentration of suspended sediment in streams was developed, based on the attenuation of ultrasonic energy at size frequencies from 2.5 to 25 mc. This bulletin reports the basic theory, operation, instrumentation, and prospects for further development. 1962. 48 p. il.
Catalog No. I 19.3:1141–A 25¢

40A. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY RESEARCH 1962, SHORT PAPERS IN GEOLOGY, HYDROLOGY, AND TOPOGRAPHY, ARTICLES 120–179. A collection of 60 short papers on subjects in the fields of geology, hydrology, topography, and related sciences. These papers report on the scientific and economic results of current work by members of the Geologic, Water Resources, and Topographic Divisions of the United States Geological Survey. 1962. 196 p. il.
Catalog No. I 19.16:450–D $1.50

OCCUPATIONAL WAGE SURVEYS. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has conducted surveys of occupational earnings and related benefits on an area-wide basis in the various important industrial centers. Recently issued surveys are listed below.

41A. Raleigh, North Carolina, September 1962. 1962. 18 p.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1345–1 20¢

42A. Green Bay, Wisconsin, August 1962. 1962. 26 p.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1345–3 25¢

43A. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, August 1962. 1962. 28 p.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1345–6 25¢

44A. Little Rock—North Little Rock, Arkansas, August 1962. 1962. 28 p.
Catalog No. L 2.3:1345–7 25¢

COUNTY AND CITY DATA BOOK, 1962

45A. This Statistical Abstract supplement provides, for convenient reference, a selection of recent statistical information for counties, cities, and other relatively small geographic areas. The statistics cover agriculture; bank deposits; births, deaths, and marriages; city government; climate; education; electric bills; employment; farm-operator level-of-living; hospitals; housing; income, family and total; labor force; local government finances; manufactures; migration; mineral industries; population; presidential vote; retail trade; selected services; wholesale trade. Also includes maps, explanatory notes; and source citations. 1962. 669 p. il.
Catalog No. C 3.134/2:C 83/2/962 Cloth, $5.25

46A. CLASSIFICATION, CLASS B PART II, BL–BX, RELIGION, SECOND EDITION. The Library of Congress classification schedule Class B, Philosophy and Religion, Part II, BL–BX, Religion, including all additions and changes adopted through March 1960. 1962. 639 p.
Catalog No. LC 26.9:B/pt.2/962 $4.50

47A. QUALITY ASSURANCE PROVISIONS FOR INSPECTION AGENCIES. Describes the minimum requirements for inspection agencies performing quality assurance and inspection functions for National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) contracts for space systems, launch vehicles, spacecraft, ground support equipment or material, parts, components, and services therefor. 1962. 17 p.
Catalog No. NAS 1.22:1 25¢

48A. QUALITY PROGRAM PROVISIONS FOR SPACE SYSTEM CONTRACTORS. Sets forth general requirements for contractor quality programs necessary to insure that complete space systems, launch vehicles, spacecraft, and associated ground support equipment meet the quality requirements of the contract. 1962. 46 p.
Catalog No. NAS 1.22:2 40¢

49A. INSPECTION SYSTEM PROVISIONS FOR SUPPLIERS OF SPACE MATERIALS, PARTS, COMPONENTS, AND SERVICES. Provides the minimum requirements for supplier's inspection systems necessary to insure that materials, parts, components, and services for launch vehicles, spacecraft, and associated ground support equipment meet the requirements of the contract. 1962. 10 p.
Catalog No. NAS 1.22:3 20¢

50A. RECEIPTS AND CLASSES OF POST OFFICES. Lists all post offices alphabetically by States and gives their receipts for the calendar year 1961, class effective July 1, 1962, and salary level of the postmaster effective July 7, 1962. 1962. 263 p.
Catalog No. P 4.13:962 $1.00

51A. U.S. GOVERNMENT PURCHASING, SPECIFICATIONS AND SALES DIRECTORY. Tells what products and services are bought by the military and civilian agencies of the Government and which of their purchasing offices buy them, suggests steps to take in selling to the Government and to Government prime contractors, and lists sources of the specifications that apply to Government purchases. Includes information on Government property sales and a section devoted to the types of property sold by the Government, the methods of sale, the locations of sales installations, and Small Business Administration assistance to small firms in buying property being disposed of by the Government. 1962. 116 p.
Catalog No. SBA 1.13/3:962 60¢

52A. THE SUBCONTINENT OF SOUTH ASIA: AFGHANISTAN, CEYLON, INDIA, NEPAL, PAKISTAN, BACKGROUND. Presents background information on the land, the people, the history, government, economy, and United States relations with the countries of South Asia. 1962. 76 p. il.
Catalog No. S 1.86:69 45¢

53A. STATISTICS OF INCOME, 1960, INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RETURNS FOR 1960. Contains statistics taken from individual income tax returns, Forms 1040, 1040W, and 1040A, filed during the year 1961. Data are shown for sources of income, excludable sick pay, itemized deductions, taxable income, income tax, self-employment tax, tax credits, taxpayments, and overpayments. Significant classifications are size of adjusted gross income and taxable income, tax status, types of exemption, marital status of taxpayer, and States. New information is shown for pension and annuity receipts and cost, depreciation on rental property, depletion on account of royalties, and types of taxes deducted including State and local sales taxes. 1962. 165 p. il.
Catalog No. T 22.35/2:In 2/960 $1.00

54A. RAILROAD RETIREMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE ACT—AS AMENDED. A compilation of laws relating to railroad retirement and railroad unemployment insurance, June 29, 1935–October 1, 1962. 1962. 165 p.
Catalog No. Y 1.2:R 13/962 50¢

55A. THE SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT AS AMENDED. Contains laws of the 65th through the 87th Congresses, May 18, 1917–July 18, 1962, relating to Selective Service. 1962. 154 p.
Catalog No. Y 1.2:Se 4/962 45¢

56A. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TRANSPORTATION IN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION, FINANCE AND ORGANIZATION. This report to the President of the United States by the National Capital Transportation Agency includes a plan for a balanced regional system of highway and modern transit facilities, a program for immediate action to construct the transportation system, recommendations for organization and financial arrangements for the system, and an evaluation of the 1959 mass transportation survey plan. 1962. 92 p. il., 2 maps.
Catalog No. Y 3.N 21/21:2 T 68 $1.00

57A. SUMMARY OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE SELF-EMPLOYED INDIVIDUALS TAX RETIREMENT ACT OF 1962. Summarizes the provisions of the Self-employed Individuals Tax Retirement Act of 1962, in which self-employed individuals may be covered under qualified employee retirement plans. 1962. 10 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.In 8/11:T 19/7 10¢

58A. PATENT PRACTICES OF THE FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION. A preliminary report of the Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights of the Committee on the Judiciary, Senate (87th Cong., 2d sess.), concerning the patent practices of the Federal Communications Commission. 1962. 16 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/2:P 27/26 15¢

59A. USE OF ELECTRONIC DATA PROCESSING EQUIPMENT. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Census and Government Statistics of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, House of Representatives (87th Cong., 2d sess.), October 2–5, 1962, on the use of electronic data processing equipment in the Federal Government. 1962. 328 p. il.
Catalog No. Y 4.P 84/10:El 2/962 $1.00

60A. MERGERS AND SUPERCONCENTRATION, ACQUISITIONS OF 500 LARGEST INDUSTRIAL AND 50 LARGEST MERCHANDISING FIRMS. Presents voluminous data on merger actions of large firms during the 11-year period, 1951–61, since the passage of the Celler-Kefauver Act, and thus affords an insight into the impact on small business of the merger movement. It presents a listing of reported acquisitions of the 500 largest industrial corporations and the 50 largest merchandising firms, and other related information. 1962. 272 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.Sm 1:M 54 65¢

61A. "THE REVENUE ACT OF 1962," COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PRIOR LAW AND PROVISIONS OF PUBLIC LAW 87–834 (H.R. 10650). This analysis is designed to provide a general comparison of prior law with the salient features of The Revenue Act of 1962. Section II of this analysis describes certain miscellaneous amendments made by this new law. 1962. 19 p.
Catalog No. Y 4.W 36:R 32/60 15¢

62A. REPORT OF THE NATIONAL FUELS AND ENERGY STUDY GROUP ON AN ASSESSMENT OF AVAILABLE INFORMATION ON ENERGY IN THE UNITED STATES. This report to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs presents a brief historical and economic perspective, examines current opinion about future consumption of energy, considers one by one the various determinates of supply (reserves, plant capacity, transportation, labor supply and productivity, technology, marketing, competition, and like influences), and then compares the estimated future consumption with the Nation's ability to supply it. It also discusses the economic and social costs of various policy directions and presents the opinions of industry and consumer groups as to what they think national fuels and energy policy should be, in their own words. 1962. 501 p. il. 4 maps. pl.
Catalog No. 87–2:S.doc. 159 $2.00

63A. FREE TRADE, TARIFF LEGISLATION, AND COMMON MARKETS FOR THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE: A COLLECTION OF EXCERPTS AND SELECTED REFERENCES. This compilation is divided into three sections, each containing excerpts providing various points of view and a list of references. These sections deal with free trade and protective tariffs, the 1962 trade expansion legislative proposals, and the Western Hemisphere common markets. 1962. 70 p.
Catalog No. 87–2:H.doc. 598 25¢

Limited supply still available . . .

WOUND BALLISTICS

Edited by Lt. Col. James C. Beyer, MC

Authors Include: JAMES W. CULBERTSON, M.D., WILLIAM F. ENOS, M.D., HARRY C HULL, M.D., and others

64A. This volume reveals for the first time the complete details of the medical studies in wound ballistics and body armor during both World War II and the Korean War. It will serve as an excellent source book for both military and civilian medical educational purposes for data on types and incidence of battle casualties and war wounds, anatomical location of wounds, causative agents and cause of death among battle casualties. It will also serve as a readily available guide for the ballisticians and engineers in other technical services who are engaged in personnel armor design and evaluation. 1962. 883 p. il.
Catalog No. D 104.11:W 91 Cloth, $7.50

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1962—O—669511

February 21, 1963

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Printing Co.
302 Hayden Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McKenzie:

We wish to order reprints of The Unequal Badge: Negro Policemen in the South, by Elliott M. Rudwick.

2,000 reprints, by offset $448.00

We understand that there will be a different paper stock than the original, but comparable in quality.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

· type Reset

Offsett —

1,000 $315

2,000 $448.

Mailed - 2-21-63

Change paper stock a little.

---

send letter of authorization

February 28, 1963

Mr. Meyer Weinberg, Editor
Teachers for Integrated Schools
1424 New Orleans Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Mr. Weinberg:

We received a copy (Vol. I, No. 1) of Integrated Education. Please enter our subscription for one year (check for $3.00 enclosed).

This is a very interesting and well-researched publication which will be valuable to us in our files.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

February 28, 1963

Dr. Kenneth C. Wagner
Industrial Development Division
Georgia Institute of Technology
225 North Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Wagner:

We would like very much to receive a copy of your address to West Georgia College. The write-up and quotes by Marvin Wall were most interesting, and we should like to read the entire speech.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

2-26-63

Close-up

225 No. Ave. N.W.

Things Look Up for Original Thinkin

Dr. Kenneth C. Wagner, chief of Georgia Tech's Industrial Development Division, made a significant statement recently in an address at West Georgia College.

His subject was industrial change in Georgia. As would be expected, he mentioned the usual run of vexing problems in this field—our weak educational system, the need to continue to improve our political and business climate, the need for better industrial training, the need for job retraining, and all the rest.

But nothing he said was more important than his plea for more courageous, fresh, and original thinking.

Georgia, said Dr. Wagner, needs individuals "with the courage to say what needs to be said in order to correct the many problems which otherwise will not only continue to plague us but will continue to depress the state's economy."

Dr. Wagner continued:

"There is a crying need for non-conformity. Not for the 'beatnik' type, which simply reveals a juvenile rebellion which involves nothing positive, but for a solid, constructive type of non-conformity which will prod and push and haul the state of Georgia forthright into the era of clean prosperity which we all have a right to enjoy."

His statement is an entirely sensible one, course. But it is the sort of statement that w Georgians aren't used to hearing.

We Georgians are accustomed to hearin from much of our leadership, advice just th opposite of that suggested by Dr. Wagner. W are used to being told that, above all else, w must conform to old patterns and cling to :ra ditions. We have been urged to war agains change.

And interestingly, Dr. Wagner's employer, the University System, has all along had its part in the war against change. Fresh ideas have rarely been welcomed on our campuses. Our regents, for the most part, have been backward-looking, narrow-gauge men, and our colleges and universities have been molded in their image. If a professor dared to stray too far from the beaten path, there would always be some knee-jerk legislator or politician around to try to get him fired.

This sort of atmosphere, quite naturally, didn't attract many good teachers. A few, maybe, but not many. Faculty salaries could double in this sort of atmosphere and good teachers still wouldn't be attracted.

Higher education suffered. The whole state suffered.

But now, whether we like it very much o not, Georgia is changing. And in this atmos phere of change, we can hope for more ope and original thinking in our University Syste and elsewhere. Dr. Wagner's statement poi in that direction.—MARVIN WALL.

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3-21-63

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March 21, 1963

Southern Conference Educational Fund
822 Perdita Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Sirs:

Would you please send us one copy of a report released by you more than a year ago on hospitals and health care, which included professional opportunities for Negro doctors and nurses and the prevailing admissions policies in southern cities? We did have a copy, but it seems to have disappeared.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

April 1, 1963

Dr. Montague Cobb
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Cobb:

We were referred to you concerning information on a report (released more than a year ago) on hospitals and health care. The report included professional opportunities for Negro doctors and nurses and the prevailing admissions policies in southern cities. Would you be kind enough to tell us the sponsoring agency for the report and how we may obtain a copy?

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

PUBLISHERS OF The Southern PATRIOT

822 PERDIDO STREET, NEW ORLEANS 12, LOUISIANA • JACKSON 2-7326

March 25, 1963

Dear Mrs. Albright:

I am sorry, but we were not the publishers or the source of the report to which you refer in your letter of the 21st.

Dr. Montague Cobb at Howard University probably could provide the information.

I regret we can not be of service.

Sincerely,

Jim Dombrowski

Mrs. Montez G. Albright

April 22, 1963

Mr. Charles Heath
Promotion Manager
Henry Regnery Co.
14 East Jackson Boulevard
Chicato 4, Illinois

Dear Mr. Heath:

Please send us one copy (paperback - $1.65) of Race: Challence to Religion. Our check is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Ordered for Research
per Staige Blackford

Henry Regnery Company · PUBLISHERS
14 East Jackson Boulevard, Chicago 4, Illinois · HArrison 7-5036

hard cover - 4.95
Paperback - 1.65

Dear Religion Editor:

Within the week you will receive a review copy of RACE: CHALLENGE TO RELIGION published for the National Conference on Religion and Race by the Henry Regnery Company.

RACE: CHALLENGE TO RELIGION, being published in paperback and hard-cover editions, contains eleven essays and the "Appeal to the Conscience of the American People" which was adopted at the close of the first ecumenical conference on race in Chicago during the third week of January.

The essays, written by such men as Abraham J. Herschel. Martin Luther King, and Will Campbell, are more than exhortations to the Conference. They, like the "Appeal to the Conscience" were written for all troubled by the moral problems of race prejudice and discrimination.

Wyatt T. Walker of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has written: "If the commitment expressed at the National Conference on Religion and Race is translated into meaningful action, this volume may be come the most important religious document of the century. It marks our nation's first serious grappling with racism."

"Meaningful action" is now being undertaken in ten major American cities. We do hope that you will give the book your careful considerations.

Sincerely yours,

Chas Heath
Charles Heath
Promotion Manager

CH/jb

October 21, 1963

Mr. William R. Hoke
Business Manager
The North Carolina Law Review
University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Hoke:

Thank you for telling us about your new project, a Symposium on Civil Rights and the South, to be published this fall.

We do want reprints, and would like to order nine copies.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

2 WD ✓
MA

The NORTH CAROLINA LAW REVIEW

PUBLISHED BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
CHAPEL HILL

I would order 9 copies

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

The North Carolina Law Review announces a landmark in the history of legal journalism. We are now completing a project which has never before been performed by a law review in the United States. Vitally important for our times, we announce a Symposium, "Civil Rights and the South." In attempting to cover the legal and social problems involved in the current revolution, we have obtained the talents and opinions of men of great prominence in the field.

U.S. Attorney-General Robert F. Kennedy will write the introduction. Other contributors and their subjects are U.S. Senator Sam J. Ervin and Harvard Professor Arthur E. Sutherland on the constitutionality of the proposed civil rights legislation; Martin E. Sloane, of the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency, on civil rights and housing; John G. Feild, of the Potomac Institute, on equal employment; constitutional lawyer R. Carter Pittman, on the import of the Brown decision; Berl I. Bernhard, Staff Director of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, on the Commission after 5 years; Lawrence W. Knowles, former Attorney Advisor of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, now a professor at the University of Louisville, on school desegregation; Charles J. Bloch, constitutional lawyer, on property rights; M. A. Wright, Vice President of the Southern Regional Council, on sociological aspects of integregation; and Paul R. Ervin, former member of the Civil Rights Commission's 50-state advisory committee, on integration in North Carolina.

Since giving advance notice of this Symposium, we have received orders for thousands of reprints. We will reserve reprints for you, in any amount, upon receipt of your order. We anticipate a December publication date. If you have already forwarded your order to us, you do not need to do so again; this letter is intended only as a reminder to you.

The cost of the reprints, postpaid, will be as follows: 1-9 copies $1.50 each; 10-49 copies $1.38 each; 50-249 copies $1.27 each; 250-999 copies $1.14 each; 1000-2499 copies 97¢ each; and 2500 and over 94¢ each. These prices are quoted for reprints shipped to one address; however, if you furnish addressed labels, we will ship to addresses of your choice.

$1.50 × 9 = 13.50
1.38 × 10 = 13.80

Very truly yours,

William R. Hoke

William R. Hoke
Business Manager

October 21, 1963

American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us thirty copies of Martin Luther King Jr.'s Letter from a Birmingham Jail.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Albert

November 12, 1963

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'Rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Sirs:

Please send us four copies of your Race and Intelligence, edited by Melvin M. Tumin, and bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

November 22, 1963

American Library Association
c/o International Research Associates, Inc.
1270 - Sixth Avenue
New York 20, New York

Dear Sirs:

We would like to receive two additional copies of Access to Public Libraries. If there is a charge, please bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Montez O. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

February 27, 1964

Prentice-Hall, Inc.
Englewood Cliffs
New Jersey

Dear Sirs:

We wish to order Racial Crisis in America: Leadership in Conflict, by Lewis Killian and Charles Grigg. Please send as soon as available, and bill us.

If you would also like to send a review copy for our monthly publication, New South, I will be pleased to pass it along to the editor. A copy of our publication is enclosed, for your information and consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

TUESDAY

JANUARY						
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FEB. 1964

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Work Night Comes to the ~~Southern Arts~~ Cumberlands.

Harry M. Caudel

Order book

56 - TUES., FEB. 25 - 310

Ordered: Rich's 2-27-64

UPCOMING RACE RELATIONS BOOKS

(Source: Publisher's Weekly)

ordered by research NM

Beacon Press--Black Religion: The Negro and Christianity in the United States by Joseph R. Washington, Jr. June, $4.95

Negro minister challenges structure and content of Negro church in America.

Cornell University Press--Race and Radicalism: The NAACP and the Communist Party in Conflict by Wilson Record. March 6, $5.95

Examines the changing position of the Communist Party with respect to U. S. Negroes.

Little Brown--A Southern Prophesy by Lewis H. Blair with introduction by C. Vann Woodward. March, paperback $1.95

Reissue of "civil rights classic."

Oxford University Press--Equality in America: Religion, Race and the Urban Minority by Alan P. Grimes. April $4.00.

Prentice-Hall--Black Man's America by Simeon Booker. June $4.95

"Sharp, critical look at the ~~Negrxx~~ Negro today and his bitter battle for civil rights."

Public Affairs Press, 419 New Jersey Ave., S. E, D. C. 3--The South Side in the Segregation Controversy by Peter A. Carmichael. $6.00.

"Scholarly critique of ~~Supr~~ Supreme Court decisions affecting schools."

Quadrangle Books, 180 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago 6--The Uncertain South: Its Changing Patterns of Politics in Foreign Policy. May $6.00

Van Nostrand --A Profile of the Negro American by Thomas F. Pettigrew, May, $5.95.

Harper&Row--A Long Way Home by Charles Morgan, Jr., March 25

Racial Crisis in America: Leadership in Conflict by Lewis Killian & Charles Grigg.

LWD✓

MA

REV. WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH
905 St. Mark's Avenue,
Brooklyn, New York 11213

Should we order a copy? MA

April 13, 1964

ordered 4-21-64 MA

Dear Friends,

May I call your attention to a pamphlet that may be helpful to you in your association with the Freedom Movement.

It is entitled, "One of the Great Companions," and is a description of the life of the great Negro sociologist, historian, essayist, poet, editor and activist—Dr. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois—who died in Ghana on August 27, 1963.

1 Copy - 25¢

When Dr. Du Bois' will was opened, there was disclosed the request for me to take a Funeral Service, which the Government of Ghana and President Nkrumah honored by inviting me to fly to Accra.

On Sunday morning, September 29, 1963, in the Aggrey Memorial Church on the campus of Achimota College, in the presence of the President and high dignitaries of Ghana, the Dean and Members of the Diplomatic Community, and more than two thousand Ghanaian citizens and students, a Memorial Service was held, with spirituals sung by Miss Nadyne Brewer of the Metropolitan Opera.

Both newspapers in Accra, THE TIMES and the EVENING NEWS, printed my address, and President Nkrumah at a dinner at which Miss Brewer and I were the guests of honor thanked me for it and expressed the hope that it might be circulated in America.

I have now had it printed as a 24-page pamphlet with a cover photograph of Dr. Du Bois. Its appearance has been noted in the Negro Press and I am receiving many letters about it.

A distinguished leader in the Women's Peace Movement writes, "It was a great honor for a white man to be asked by the President of Ghana to deliver the final tribute to Dr. Du Bois. It was a magnificent thing you were able to do. It was an inspiration to ask you, and in turn you were inspired—that is plain to see! You obviously rose to the occasion with all the majesty of the rare opportunity."

An executive in the civil liberties struggle writes, "I read the pamphlet straight through and learned a great deal about Dr. Du Bois;" and a Professor at a Southern Negro College comments, "Clearly, your eulogy of W. E. B. is very important for the South, especially for Negro students who have no memory of him."

I believe you will find this pamphlet an important and useful piece of Americana and Afro-Americana. It is available at only 25¢ each, or five for one dollar.

Faithfully yours,

W. H. Melish

April 30, 1964

Public Relations Department
Longwood College
Farmville, Virginia

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to receive a copy of the talk on race in the press which was given by Bob Smith of the Charlotte News during your Southern Institute of Culture this past weekend. Mr. Smith wrote us that he understood the talk would be published. It would be very helpful to us in our research files.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

LONGWOOD COLLEGE
ESTABLISHED 1884
FARMVILLE, VIRGINIA

May 4, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

The Institute of Southern Culture lectures have not as yet been published. We will however keep your letter on file and should they be published in the future, we will notify you. We do not anticipate a publication before the fall of this year.

Sincerely,

John Allen

John E. Allen
Director of Public Relations

JEA/ba

September 9, 1964

National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Sirs:

In an August 5th news clip I noticed reference to "a National Urban League study on health care of Negro Americans." The news report did not include the name of the study.

Would you please send us two copies? And if there is a charge, please bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

September 22, 1964

Commission on Religion and Race
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y. 10027

Dear Sirs:

Will you please send us each of the two directories you have on all Christian and Jewish organizations involved in race relations. It is our understanding that one is alphabetical, and the other is by state, county and city. If there is a charge, please bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Marge

October 13, 1964

The Hon. Henry B. Gonzales
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Gonzales:

We would like very much to receive a copy of the open letter to the Federal Government, signed by the 18 Democratic Congressmen, which urged the Government to implement immediately eight "minimum recommendations" to help keep the peace in a state where "law and order is clearly not being maintained."

As you may know, we maintain extensive files on civil rights, and this document would be most helpful to our research files for our own use and also for the use of others in this field who depend upon us for information.

Very truly yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Memo from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

MA

10-15-64

Les,

Barbara thinks you may already have a copy of this. If you have not, shouldn't we order it? Of Course

I checked with ~~Loyde~~ Lloyd Elliot and he thinks we should have it.

Ordered 10-16-64

copy to LM

Homes Here For Negroes World's Best

Const

10-15-64

Negroes are better-housed in Atlanta, Durham, N.C., and Memphis, Tenn., than anywhere else in the world.

That report from the president of a Negro insurance company appears in a newly published study of the South's economy just released by the University of North Carolina Press. The good housing is credited to the presence of Negro financial institutions here.

"Not only does the Negro financial institution make mortgage loans. It calls to the attention of the white community the fact that the Negro is a good risk for a home mortgage," say Dr. Harding B. Young and Dr. James M. Hund in their study of Negro businessman in the South.

Dr. Young is dean of the school of business administration at Atlanta University. Dr. Hund is on the faculty at Emory's school of business administration.

Their study is one of 14 essays by leading economists analyzing recent southern economic developments and problems.

The overall collection, "Essays in Southern Economic Development," is edited by Melvin L. Greenhut and W. Tate Whitman. Dr. Greenhut is professor of economics at Florida State. Dr. Whitman is Charles Howard Candler professor of economics at Emory.

October 22, 1964

U. S. Government Printing Office
Division of Public Documents
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us as soon as possible the Education Directory: Higher Education, 1963-1964, as published by the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare office of education.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Check enclosed: 75¢

THE UNIVERSITY of NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
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PACKING SLIP

November 20, 1964

Mr. Guichard Parris, Director
Public Relations Department
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

Dear Mr. Parris:

We received today your news release on the survey by the National Urban League of 68 cities. If possible, we would very much like to receive the complete study from which the release was prepared, for our research files.

The information is most interesting and we congratulate you on your report.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research Associate

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

ordered 1-14-65 they are to bill us

December 20, 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: Our Subscribers

FROM: Walter G. Daniel, Editor-in-Chief Walter G. Daniel

We take this means to call to your attention the availability of an INDEX TO VOLUMES 1-31 of the JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION. This Index has been compiled for the convenience of researchers and other persons interested in the publications of the Journal from its inception through 1962. It sells for $2.50 per copy.

You may obtain a copy of the Index by filling out the form below and returning it to us.

We appreciate very much your interest in our publication and extend to you every good wish for the New Year.

THE
NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10014

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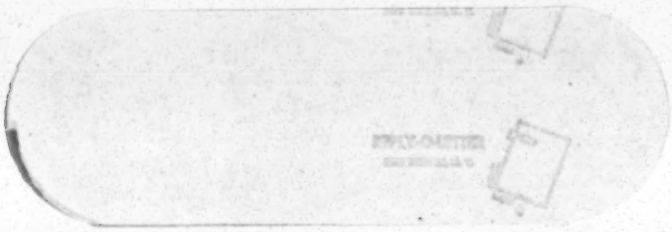
per LWD



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3. To ask you to return the renewal card today. It will save us some of the clerical red tape which unfortunately attends the operation of even a liberal magazine.

With the fast-moving developments we are now witnessing, you will find The Nation's authoritative reports and interpretation of events more important than ever before. And you will enjoy its continually expanding coverage of the arts. We're sure you won't want to miss a single issue. And the best way to be certain you don't, is to mail the renewal card today.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Russell

Paul Russell
For The Nation

PR/1

January 14, 1965

Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station
Nashville, Tenn. 37212

Dear Sirs:

We wish to order the 1963-64 Supplement to "Facts on Film" at $300 as soon as it is available. Please send and bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

LWD

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156, ACKLEN STATION
1109 NINETEENTH AVE., SOUTH
NASHVILLE 12, TENNESSEE

Jan. 12, 1965

Dear "Facts on Film" Subscriber:

The 1963-64 supplement to the Southern Education Reporting Service library on microfilm should be ready for distribution by March 1. Some time ago I wrote to explain that we would take no orders for this supplement until we could fix a price on it relative to its cost of production. By eliminating marginal material, we have been able to hold costs to a level that makes it possible to offer this supplement at the same price of previous supplements -- $300.

This supplement rounds out the full decade following the Supreme Court decision of 1954 in the public school segregation cases. It records the debate in Congress on the Civil Rights Act of 1964. During the year public school desegregation began in Alabama and South Carolina, and the stage was set for the first school desegregation in Mississippi in the fall of 1964. It was a year of intense activity in race relations and civil rights.

The supplement includes all newspaper and magazine articles added to the collection during the year. Editorial cartoons and letters to the editor were eliminated, as were numerous "miscellaneous" items. To have included all of these items in the microfilm would have run the production cost so high that the price might have been prohibitive to many subscribers. As it is, the supplement will fill 19 to 20 rolls of film, and is the second largest for any year. The price of $300 remains considerably below cost.

Please indicate on the enclosed card your intention to order the 1963-64 supplement to "Facts on Film."

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Enc.

February 23, 1965

The Rev. Robert L. Beech
The Delta Ministry
P. O. Box 457
Greenville, Miss.

Dear Mr. Beech:

We have seen, through the good offices of friends, the first two newsletters of the Delta Ministry, No. 1 and No. 2, and have copied them for our files.

We would like very much to be placed on your mailing list to receive subsequent issues, and will gladly pay for this privilege.

Our current publications list is enclosed. If we can assist you by sending you any of our publications, please feel free to check any you would like and return the list.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

HF - fy i

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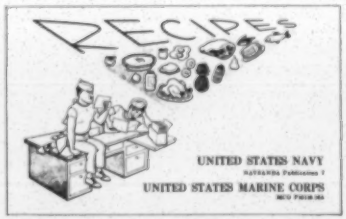

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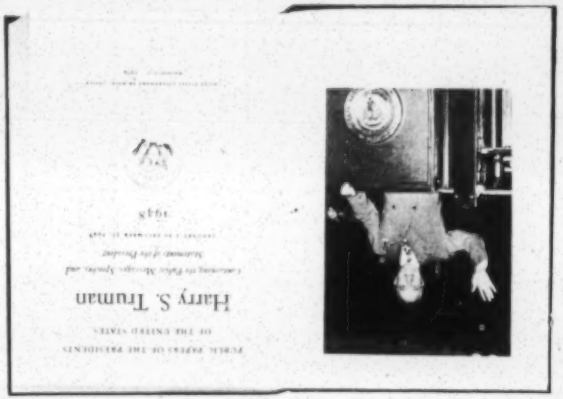

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14Y/S. SERVICES FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN. Each year there are thousands of crippled children for whom pediatricians, orthopedists, physical therapists, public health nurses, medical social workers, occupational therapists, and other skilled workers are working through State crippled children's agencies, to bring better health. This folder tells how this health-building service works. Rev. 1964. 26 p.
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Sincerely yours,

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Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your letter of January 3 has been helpful to me in planning our article on opportunities for Negro school administrators. This is a difficult subject to get hold of, as you point out in your letter, but I feel we're off to a good start.

In order for me to get the feel of the subject a little better, and to add some details to generalizations we've been able to come up with, I'd like to talk with you personally. I'm going to be in St. Louis, Nashville, and Atlanta during the week of March 12. My exact dates are still indefinite, but I expect to reach Atlanta for Thursday and Friday, March 16 and 17. Could I call you when I arrive in Atlanta to arrange an appointment for some time during these two days?

I have letters out to many different sources, but it's virtually impossible to write this story from correspondence alone. If it's agreeable with you, I think a discussion with you would be very helpful to me. Please let me know if this date is convenient, so I can make definite arrangements for the trip.

Thanks very much.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Bloom

Arnold Bloom
News Editor

BUTTENHEIM PUBLISHING CORPORATION

AMERICAN SCHOOL and UNIVERSITY • AMERICAN CITY MAGAZINE • MUNICIPAL INDEX • CONTRACTORS and ENGINEERS • MART MAGAZINE

January 3, 1961

Mr. Arnold Bloom
News Editor
Overview
470 Park Avenue South
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Bloom:

I must, in the first place, explain our delay in responding to your recent letter. Both Mr. Fleming and I have been away from the office lately and, moreover, we have taken some time to seek advice from other people regarding the questions you have asked.

We seem to have no good data on ~~the~~ Negro employment in educational administration or on the opportunities available. From all that I can find out, really no work on this subject has been done. I have not, however, checked thoroughly the reviews, such as The Journal of Negro Education, for articles which may have been written. The one person who is likely to be best able to advise you is Mr. Robert Cousins, Associate Director of the Southern Education Foundation. Mr. Cousins has a working familiarity, which is both extensive and detailed, with this problem. The address of the Foundation is: 811 Cypress Street, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia.

We regret that we cannot be of more help, but if you get to Atlanta I hope that you will stop by our offices and if there are any other ways whereby we may be of service, please let us know. We look forward to the completion of your study.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

LWD ??

OVERVIEW

The Magazine for All Educational Executives

470 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK 16, NEW YORK

MUrray Hill 5-9250

TWIX-N.Y. 1-3687

Jc3-643

December 9, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

We are embarking on a project which needs to be undertaken, but which, if not done well, can be a disservice to our profession. For many years — especially since the Supreme Court's desegregation decision of 1954 -- much has been published concerning the widening of the portals of opportunity for Negro youth. Our concern, however, is with educational administration. We believe that a story on the availability -- or lack of it -- of positions in educational administration for qualified Negroes should be published now.

We would like to take a deep, hard look at principals' offices, the superintendents' and commissioners' offices across America to see if the heart of our educational system -- sound democratic administration of the schools -- is beating with strength and vigor.

Although our magazine is young, our news operation, which has been covering desegregation in depth every month, is ready to tackle the kind of man-sized project I've sketched in this letter. I'm writing to you, on the advice of Dr. Ambrose Caliver of the U. S. Office of Education, for your thoughts on such a survey.

Do you have current data on the number of Negroes trained for educational administration and the number who actually hold such positions? What type of training and on-the-job experience is available to the young Negro teacher who is interested in a career in administration? And what do you feel would be the most constructive approach for finding out the kind and degree of discrimination that may be keeping Negroes from holding executive positions in schools and colleges?

I'd appreciate any information you could send me, and if you think it would be advisable, I could arrange to come to Atlanta to discuss this with you personally.

I suspect that few of our readers are at all well informed on this problem; yet so many of them, by their day-to-day policy decisions, are affecting the "market" of professional education positions for Negroes. Hence, I believe we have a job to do — and with your kind assistance, we could do it well. At any rate, I look forward to hearing from you. It would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Bloom

Arnold Bloom
News Editor

BUTTENHEIM PUBLISHING CORPORATION

AMERICAN SCHOOL and UNIVERSITY • AMERICAN CITY MAGAZINE • MUNICIPAL INDEX • CONTRACTORS and ENGINEERS • MART MAGAZINE

OVERVIEW

The Magazine for All Educational Executives

470 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK 16, NEW YORK

MUrray Hill 5-9250

TWIX-N.Y. 1-3687

file

March 6, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I'm completing final arrangements for my trip South next week and wanted to drop you a note confirming our appointment. The way my schedule has been shaping up, I'd like to see you on Thursday afternoon, March 16. If it's convenient for you, I'll plan to arrive at your office about 2 p.m.

It will be good to talk with you, and I'm looking forward to our meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Bloom

Arnold Bloom
News Editor

BUTTENHEIM PUBLISHING CORPORATION

AMERICAN SCHOOL and UNIVERSITY • AMERICAN CITY MAGAZINE • MUNICIPAL INDEX • CONTRACTORS and ENGINEERS • MART MAGAZINE

April 18, 1961

Mr. Arnold Bloom
News Editor
OVERVIEW
470 Park Avenue South
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Bloom:

I think your article is good and, unlike so many writings in this field, represents new facts and is for that reason especially valuable. Overview is to be commended for undertaking this study. May I order now a copy of the issue which will carry the article?

I have only two questions, both related to galley three: first, I do not have data at hand, but I would doubt that the elimination of Negro one-room schools has "far out-paced" the elimination of such schools for whites. If you have the documentation, well and good. Otherwise, I believe it should be that in both white and Negro education this has been an important and generally equal trend.

Secondly, as you may have assumed I would, I read closely what you attributed to me. The quotation is all right; I believe that the following would be a more accurate paraphrasing of my remarks and certainly a more accurate statement of the situation:

"Leslie Dunbar, director of research for the Southern Regional Council, finds that numerous Negro educators quietly defend the segregated status quo and that few have been conspicuous in the school integration battle."

I enjoyed meeting you when you were in Atlanta, and I hope that the next time will permit a more leisurely visit.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

OVERVIEW

The Magazine for All Educational Executives

470 PARK AVENUE SOUTH • NEW YORK 16, NEW YORK

MUrray Hill 5-9250

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April 13, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Our article on opportunities in educational administration for qualified Negroes is finally taking shape. From the information I obtained in speaking with you and others on my recent Southern trip -- and through countless phone calls and correspondence -- I've put together the enclosed article scheduled for our June issue.

I'd apprciate it if you'd read through the piece and let me have your reactions. Have I correctly conveyed the material you presented me with? Is the overall impression one with which you'd agree? Don't hesitate to criticize sections with which you disagree or which you believe are incorrect.

We feel this article may do much to awaken some educators to a serious weakness in our educational system. Nevertheless, because of our position, we feel that our present unemotional, down-to-earth approach -- with no crusading -- is the wisest one.

Your help in putting together this article has been of great value to us. I'll look forward to receiving any additional comments.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold Bloom

Arnold Bloom
News Editor

BUTTENHEIM PUBLISHING CORPORATION

AMERICAN SCHOOL and UNIVERSITY • AMERICAN CITY MAGAZINE • MUNICIPAL INDEX • CONTRACTORS and ENGINEERS • MART MAGAZINE

March 9, 1964

Mr. George McMillan
P. O. Box 299
Aiken, S. C.

Dear Mr. McMillan:

Les asked me to send you information on parochial school desegregation and some general information regarding Catholic integration pplities. See our L-34A enclosed, and this additional information will update it:

Diocese of Little Rock (Arkansas). Pine Bluff--Annunciation Academy (grades 1-8) was desegregated September 1963 with the admission of one Negro boy to the second grade.

Re Archdiocese of New Orleans: no statistics on Negro enrollment available, but it is generally known that both Negro and white enrollment increased in the Fall of 1963.

South Carolina As a result of the federal district court decision ordering integration in Charleston's public school, Catholic schools in the diocese were ordered (by the Most Rev. Francis F. Reh, bishop) desegregated in the Fall of 1963, on year ahead of a previously announced schedule. Fifteen (of the 202) Negro Catholic elementary school age children enrolled in Charleston parochial schools. All parochial schhols in S. C. are to be integrated Fall of 1964.

The Catholic emphasis at the present time is desegregation of hospitals belonging to the Catholic Church, including hospital staff, nurses training, laboratory technicians, and clerical and administrative personnel. In Atlanta and Nashville, Tenn., for instance, hospitals have been desegregated. In Atlanta this included nursea and patients; in Nashville, patients.

Sincerely,

All Catholic churches, even in Miss., are desegregated.

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

REPORT L-34-A (Revised)
August 19, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DESEGREGATION OF SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

The integration of Negro students into Catholic schools in the South* has followed no announced or discernible plan. Elementary and high schools have, in some cases as early as 1952, acted at the parish level to admit Negro students to previously all-white schools. In some dioceses, explicit instructions to desegregate went out several years in advance of the 1962 order of Archbishob Rummel in New Orleans. In other dioceses, the integration order from the bishop has followed local desegregation of public schools by a year or more.

In some areas where the schools are desegregated in policy, there has been no actual integration due to lack of applications by Negro Catholics. And in many dioceses, records are not kept by race, so it is not always possible to ascertain, from official reports, how many schools are actually integrated. There remain only four southern dioceses out of the total 25 which have either not announced a policy of desegregation or have not had it in effect for some time.

A summary of desegregation in each southern diocese follows.

80-grade high 13

Diocese of Mobile-Birmingham (Alabama). There has been no parochial school integration in Alabama, although Spring Hill College in Mobile has been desegregated for several years. The Catholic schools of Pensacola (included in this diocese) will be open to all races this fall.[1963] 4-2-64 Archbishop Thos. J. Toolen announced that all Catholic schools in the diocese would be desegr. ~ Sept. 1964. (approx 25,000 students) also effects 11 No. Ala Counties

and one school in Huntsville area

admission procedure to be determined by pastor + Rt Rev. J. Thomas Stuart diocesan supt of sch.

Diocese of Little Rock (Arkansas). In Little Rock proper, Catholic high school (for boys) admitted three Negroes and Mount St. Mary's Academy, a high school for girls, desegregated in 1962. In Fort Smith, St. Scholastica, an all-girl high school, has been integrated since 1952 and St. Anne's Academy, a co-educational high school, has integrated. New Subiaco Academy (boys high school) in Subiaco has been integrated since 1959. St. Joseph's elementary school in Paris and Sacred Heart elementary school in Charleston are integrated; St. Peter's elementary school in Pine Bluff opened on an integrated basis in early 1963; Annunciation Academy (Grades 1-8) was desegr. Sept., 1963 with the admission of a Negro to the second grade.

Archdiocese of Atlanta (Georgia). Catholic high schools desegregated the eighth grade in April 1962. On June 10, 1962, the Most Reverend Paul J. Hallinan, Archbishop of Atlanta, ordered all Catholic schools in the archdiocese to admit "Catholic children regardless of race or color." In September 1962, six previously white elementary and high schools were quietly desegregated by 17 Negro Catholic students. There are 18 elementary and high schools within the archdiocese, which comprises a 71-county area in North Georgia. Of the elementary schools outside Atlanta (in Rome, Marietta, Fort Oglethorpe, Griffin, Athens, and Washington) only St. Joseph's elementary school

Rome parochial schools already integrated Fall 1963

---

*The 11 southern states of the Confederacy.

in Athens and St. Joseph's school in Marietta in fact desegregated. No applications from Negro Catholics were received in 1962-63 in the other schools, which continue to have a policy of open enrollment. The Diocese of Savannah announced June 24, 1963 that Catholic schools in the diocese will be integrated effective September 1, 1963. The policy will apply to all grades of both elementary and high schools. Diocesan enrollment in 22 elementary schools and eight high schools is about 9,000. In Chatham County, under the present segregated system, one high school and three elementary schools are for Negroes with an enrollment of 1,000. Chatham County public schools are under court order to desegregate at least one grade in 1963.

Diocese of Miami (Florida). Here there has been integration both in elementary and high schools. The Bishop has given explicit instructions for the admission of students "without exception" as to race. One high school received prominent local press attention in 1962 because of a star Negro basketball player. Another has an enrollment approximately half white and half Negro. Elsewhere in Florida, in the Diocese of St. Augustine Negroes were admitted in September 1962 to the only Catholic high school in Jacksonville, and to Blessed Sacrament (elementary) School in Tallahassee.
11 North Ala counties were ejected by Diocese of Mobile-Birmingham desegr. decree for Sept. 1964.

Archdiocese of New Orleans (Louisiana). In the fall of 1962, all (more than 150) Catholic schools, both elementary and high, were integrated in policy. Orleans Parish integrated 26 schools with an enrollment of 154 Negro children. Outside the city of New Orleans, Jefferson Parish enrolled 33 Negro students in six schools, St. Tammany Parish enrolled two Negroes in one school, St. Charles and St. Mary Parishes each enrolled one Negro in one school. In Plaquemine Parish, Our Lady of Good Harbor School in Buras was first in the state to integrate, then closed because of disorder on the third day. The school reopened on Labor Day with approximately 18 white and four Negro children in attendance. After picketing and reports of economic and other pressure, the white and two of the Negro children withdrew. In March of 1963, it was reported that the school remained open but no pupils were in attendance. East Baton Rouge Parish will begin desegregation of four high schools in 1964, in the 11th and 12th grades. The diocese has about 165,000 members with about 9% Negro Catholics. The Lafayette and Alexandria dioceses remain segregated. No statistics on Negro enrollment available in Fall, 1963, for Archdiocese of New Orleans.

Diocese of Natchez-Jackson (Mississippi). There has been silence on school integration and no known instance. There is one example of desegregation in higher education: the seminary at Bay St. Louis.

Diocese of Raleigh (North Carolina). Segregation was ordered ended here before May 1954, and all elementary schools of the diocese are integrated.

Diocese of Charleston (South Carolina). Our Lady of Mercy Junior College in Charleston is integrated. For six years, St. Anne's

of the 202 elementary

a co-educational elementary school at Rock Hill, has admitted Negro students. In 1962 there were 19, of whom there were five each in grades one, two, and three. Desegregation announced for all schools in S.C., Sept. 1963, when 15 Negro catholic children enrolled in parochial schools in Charleston

Diocese of Nashville (Tennessee). Schools in Nashville and Jackson are integrated in principle but not always in enrollment. There are at least 25 Negro students in grade schools and 40 in high schools. Father Ryan, a boys' high school in Nashville, desegregated in 1954 prior to the opening of public schools to Negroes. Cathedral High School (for girls) in Nashville is now in its fourth year of desegregation. In Knoxville, Immaculate Conception is reportedly open to all. In Memphis and Shelby County, all Catholic elementary schools will desegregate the first four grades in September 1963 as part of a four-step plan to extend through 1966. Two colleges, Christian Brothers and Siene, are already desegregated. Parochial schools in Chattanooga remain segregated, but there are some indications they may desegregate in 1963-64.

Diocese of San Antonio (Texas). Desegregation of the entire parochial school system in this diocese went into effect in the 1954-55 school year. In the Diocese of Dallas-Ft. Worth, Jesuit High School in Dallas admitted two Negro students in 1955. In other high and elementary schools there has been some desegregation since 1956. In 1961 the Diocese of Galveston-Houston integrated elementary schools. In the Diocese of Amarillo, all Catholic schools are theoretically integrated. Actually, there are about 40 Negro students in three Catholic schools; none have been rejected but there have been no applications to the other schools. In the Diocese of Austin, school integration is a local pastoral decision. There are known to be Negro children in St. Mary's Cathedral and Dolores Schools; enrollment forms do not show race, so there may be other Negro students in other schools. The Diocese of Corpus Christi reports that all schools in the diocese are integrated; there is no report on the number of Negro children enrolled. There is still one school, Holy Cross, which is all-Negro, but students there may enroll in any Catholic school in the city. The Diocese of El Paso has followed a policy of open schools for a considerable length of time; there was never any public announcement.

Diocese of Richmond (Virginia). Integration was announced for schools in this area before the Supreme Court decision in May, 1954 and went into effect in September, 1954.

Letter
Austin
Amarillo
Corpus Christi
El Paso
7 Dallas - Ft. Worth
Galveston - Houston
San Antonio

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Pine Bluff, Ark.

Annunciation Academy (grades 1-8) was desegd Sept 4, 1963 w/ admission of a Negro second-grader. Rev. Wm. Beck, supt of schools for the Cath Diocese of Ark., said this had been the first application from a Negro ~~to attend~~ the Academy has no policy on seg.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

New Orleans, La.

Negro enrollment increased in the parochial schools of the Archdiocese of N.O., covering 10 parishes & part of an 11th; total registration rose to 74,283, compared w 73,399 recorded on Sept 30, 1962.

Diocesan officials would not say how many schools enrolled both w & N pupils this second year of desegr; ~~but some increase w is~~ ~~known~~.

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MAY 16 1964

Catholic School Integration

As we approach the end of the decade since the desegregation decree of the U. S. Supreme Court (May 17, 1954), it is appropriate to mention the excellent work the Roman Catholic parochial schools have done in setting an example to others, public and private, especially in the South.

Pioneer was the Texas diocese where parochial schools were racially integrated in 1952, and except in Mississippi and part of Louisiana, they have been integrated or are under orders to do so everywhere else in Dixie.

In Nashville these schools were integrated in 1954, and by 1960 throughout the state of Tennessee; some were integrated also in Arkansas in 1954.

In Florida, St. Augustine's diocese ended racial segregation in 1954, and the Miami diocese in 1960, while northwest Florida (and the Mobile-Birmingham area) desegregated last fall; and South Carolina begins next September.

Georgia desegregated two years ago in the northern area, and in the rest of the state last year.

This is a side of the desegregation picture which is too infrequently publicized by those who delight in generalizing about race relations.

It has been brought about by the strong position on this question taken by the Bishops of the Church and the Pope.

April 14, 1959

Dr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

I am enclosing a reprint of an article about Baltimore schools. Judging from the date, I suspect you have already read it; it showed up on my desk through some unknown channel and I found on reading it that it was right along the line of your interest. So I give it to you for your files.

I am waiting eagerly for the chance to read your revised essay.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosure: "Observations on Desegregation in Baltimore: Three Years Later" by Harry Bard

April 28, 1959

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Last Saturday I attended a meeting of the Association of Social Science Teachers and heard, among other things, a discussion by Dean Bond of Atlanta University School of Education. He was describing research which he has in progress, subsidized by the Office of Education, concerning techniques for identifying talent. I gather that one of his hypotheses is that low standing on various standard tests and even in academic performance is not a reliable indication of the lack of talents.

Probably you know about his work, but I thought I would call it to your attention in case you did not, for I am sure that you are interested in the same inquiry.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

(dictated but not read)

October 13, 1959

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Les Dunbar asked me to write you and inquire if you have received a copy of the paper by Dennis Trueblood on "Identification of Talent Among Minority Groups" ? If you have not, he will send you the copy he received.

Les is at home this week with a slipped disc, and will probably be out of the office several weeks. We are sending some of his mail to him, and he is dictating over the telephone. His home address is 1529 Berkeley Lane, in case you would like to have it.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

ANCHORAGE COMMUNITY COLLEGE
of the University of Alaska in cooperation with the Greater Anchorage Area Borough School District

670 Fireweed Lane
~~150 BRAGAW~~ • ANCHORAGE, ALASKA 99504

FA 2-1007
PHONE ~~FE 3-2359 / FE 3-2622~~

April 14, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am a teacher at the Manpower Retraining Center of the Anchorage Community College, and I teach basic education to adults, many of whom are illiterate or have had just several years of education.

Our situation here at the college with many natives (Indian, Aleut, and Eskimo) coming from small villages into a larger city and the problems of adjustment, I suspect, are similar to those found in many areas of the South.

I have a good friend in Berkeley, California, who worked with the Mississippi Project last summer and found it an extremely worthwhile experience. I would like to find out what opportunities you might offer for participating in such a project in the South, especially in the area of education and group organization.

I have worked as a group leader at a settlement house during the summer two years ago in the Chicago South side, and I have been active with CORE in Berkeley, California, for the last three years while doing graduate work at the University of California and attending Starr King School for the Ministry (Unitarian).

Presently I am working with the Cook Inlet Native Association and the NAACP as Youth Chairman to try and bring about more community awareness that we have a problem of discrimination here too, especially against the natives, as most Alaskans are very much satisfied that it is only "outside" (the lower 48 states) that the problem exists.

I would be available to go to work as early as May 15 and would like to work until the end of August. If I could be of any help in organizing a project, especially in the educational field, I should be especially glad.

Sincerely yours,

Bill Madden

Bill Madden
Basic Education Instructor

BM:sc

please reply via AIR MAIL

18225 Detroit Ave., Apt. 306
Lakewood, Ohio
April 27, 1965

Replied May 24

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W., Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

Our telephone conversation was very encouraging. Sorry to be so late in replying, but we have just returned from vacation, and I've had to catch up with school work.

Checking out my financial arrangements with the school district here, I made the unsettling discovery that I will not be receiving a salary this summer. (I had mistakenly assumed that I was on the regular schedule, but being an Intern-Teacher makes a difference.) Because of my deep financial obligations to Oberlin College, this makes the prospect of volunteer work this summer somewhat tenuous.

I will, however, tell you a little about my wife and myself, so you can asses our suitability for your projects. We both have B.A.'s from Whitworth College, (Spokane, Wash.), and were married this January, after a courtship which endured my Peace Corps stint. Millie graduated as an Art major and elementary school teacher, then went to McCormick Presbyterian Seminary in Chicago, (where her father had gone) to study Christian education. She decided that she would prefer regular teaching, and taught first grade for half a year before we were married.

My duties in the Peace Corps were limited largely to the teaching of English. I was assigned to a village school, and, along with my partner, was responsible for creating the rudiments of a secondary school out of a middle school. I chose the M.A.T. program at Oberlin for my returning milieu, and was also selected to help in the training of the new Ethiopia P.C.V.s at U.C.L.A. Upon seeing Millie, though, I decided that nothing was more urgent than tying the knot, so I left the Oberlin program for a semester, worked in a Denver department store (near my then-fiancee), took the plunge, and have now resumed the M.A.T. program. I am teaching this semester, and will take academic courses at Oberlin next fall.

As a couple, we have certain enthusiasms and idiosynchracies which would be relevant to your programs. Although Millie is a clever and skilled artist, she has little enthusiasm for teaching art, probably because she approaches it subjectively rather than technically. She does, however, love young children, and has a pet theory that readiness must be clearly established before children are sent to school. I prefer working with adolescents, and find the work of PACE in Cleveland and the Cardozo project in Washington to be very exciting. I believe we've barely scratched the surface in introducing innovations which will motivate young people to learn.

Regarding material comforts, I must confess that we are not the to-hell-with-civilization types. Millie has been exposed to as much unsettling poverty in this country as I was overseas, but we both feel that we can only work effectively if our home surroundings are reasonably comfortable and aesthetically pleasing. We also have certain predilictions about oppressively hot weather. (Millie spent her adolescence in Alaska, and I spent mine in Seattle.) Anyplace that cooled down in the evenings would probably suit us perfectly, though, and I am confident that the relationships and satisfactions of a really constructive program would make us forget any kind of weather in a hurry.

Finally, let me describe our financial situation. Under present circumstances, we would be able to arrive at our place of service with $150 - $200 in our pockets, and that's it. Millie could work (she has a Civil Service rating), but would prefer not to since we'll be going through the grind next Fall with her working and me studying. We have monthly car and insurance payments, so some kind of income seems imperative. I don't know what arrangements could be made, but we would both put heart and soul into the jobs at hand if we had enough to meet our obligations.

Be assured that we will do all we can to help. We have both been reading Southern history and civil rights literature, and would be eager to study a locale that we might work in. I also would be able to make a close examination of PACE, hopefully acquiring practical ideas as well as insights into the problems of running Tutor Corps and community action programs.

In honesty, though, my committments are tenuous until I know more about other possibilities, and about my financial requirements. We <u>are</u> committed to the ideals which you're trying to realize, though, and will be eager to learn of what you have in mind.

Sincerely,

John

John Rude

ak
rh

April 29, 1965
Department of Forestry
Auburn University
Auburn, Alabama
36830

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Ulmer:

Your letter of April 26, 1965 has been received.

I am interested in obtaining more information concerning summer work on one of your projects as well as receiving material about Civil Rights.

I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Arthur Gene Hunter

Arthur Gene Hunter

OK
MH

205 Crestwood Drive
Frankfort, Kentucky
April 29, 1965

Dear Al,

Thank you for your mimeographed letter of April 26th. I am pleased to know that there is work available during the summer months for the Southern Regional Council.

If there is need for me to fill out an application, please send me one. I would also like to know a little more about the "constructive programs", which you mentioned. Can you also advise me as to what I can exspect for wages.

A friend of mine, Jim Clay, says that he knows you and wanted me to send his regards. Thank you again for your letter and I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Charles Schimmoeller

Charles Schimmoeller
205 Crestwood Dr.
Frankfort, Ky 40601

6287 - 45th Av. N.
St. Petersburg, Fla 33709

Dear Mr. Ulmer,

I received your communication today regarding Civil Rights. I would not be interested in working on a project this summer as I expect to work for the government soon. I have passed the FSEE and am awaiting an interview.

However, as a former Peace Corps Volunteer who served in the Dominican Republic, I would be happy to receive any materials about Civil Rights.

Sincerely yours,

Rol Erickson

OPR
Dominican Rep

April 30, 1965

Nickolas Atkins
TWUA Rigional Office
2121 Commonwealth Ave.
Charlotte, N.C.

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al,

I'm interested. What is the constructive program you have in mind. How about some info?

Sincerely,

Nick Atkins

Nick Atkins

Ok-rb
Materials only

Mary L. Reed
161 Jefferson 9th floor
Memphis, Tennessee

May 1, 1965

Mr. Al Ulmer,
Southem Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al,

Pardon the hurried note.

I am very fruitfully employed here in Memphis at the Youth Guidance Commission as the Director of the Youth Leadership Council, therefore I think it improbable that I would be able to find time to participate in a summer project; I am conducting a small movememt of my own here in Memphis, as a matter of fact. Not technically am I carrying this out but through day to day contact with the citizens of Memphis, some headway is being made I feel.

As you know, I, too, am a returned volunteer from Nigeria. I don't know how you feel but I and Littleton Mason, who was in the Northern Region,miss it. How about you?

I would be very interested in receiving materials about Civil Rights. I have some such which I obtained from Jacques Wilmore when he was in Memphis for receptions to his new position as Director of U.S. Civil Rights Commission. Anything which you feel would be valuable to me please send.

I hope that you are enjoying your job and that you'll keep me informed on the Civil Right movement.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Reed

Mary Louise Reed
Director Youth Leadership Council

P.S. Please excuse this hurriedly composed missile. (the latter word is a hold-over from my Nigerian students. I always knew what they meant.)

O dabo.
sai an jima

Ok the Materials only

May 2, 1965

Dear Al,

Thank you for your letter concerning the Southern Regional Council. Although my summer plans are already set I would appreciate receiving materials concerning Civil Rights.

Good luck to you in this work.

Sincerely,
Marge Muehlke
(The North Carolina Advancement SCH.
WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.
27101)

Box 1485
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky
40403
May 2, 1965

Dear Al:

I will be attending summer school here at Berea and, therefore, I will not be available for employment. However, I am interested in the Civil Rights Movement. Our campus Human Rights Club meets Saturday, May 8, 1965. I will be glad to present employment information about Civil Rights if you can forward me the appropiate information by this date.

Thanks for writing to me.

Sincerely yours,
Billy Montgomery

1599 Elizabeth Street
Lexington, Kentucky
May 2, 1965

Hello Al,

I received your letter of April 26 concerning work with the Southern Regional Council. I'm not too familiar with the work of the Council, but I'm extremely interested in learning more about it.

My summer begins May 6, with my last final tests being that day. Summer plans include work here at UK in the Department of Agricultural Economics until July 4. During this time I will be completing a correspondence course and working on a special problem.

In July and August I will be in Bogota, Colombia in South America working with a YMCA Work Project.

I'm in the rather unfortunate position of having to make enough money this summer to pay school expenses next fall.

I would like very much to receive information about Civil Rights. I'd also be interested in hearing of the possibilities of working on a project during the last half of May and/or the month of June. If not full-time work, then I'd be interested in work on weekends or part-time. In short - I'll do all I can to help after becoming more familiar with the Southern Regional Council.

Thank you for the letter. I'm looking forward to hearing more about you and the Council.

Sincerely

Brady J. Deaton

4710 St. Anthony Ave.
New Orleans, La.70122
May 2, 1965

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al,

As stated in your letter of April 26 th, I would be very interested in working in a Civil Rights project this summer. Therefore I am looking forward to receiving the necessary forms or materials.

Sincerely,

James L. Deslonde

Box 133
Kure Beach, N.C.
May 3

Dear Al:

At this moment all my summer plans are very tentative. I actually know very little about the Southern Regional Council, so I couldn't say that I have qualifications that your summer projects would require. I am, however, interested in finding some project where I would be a distinct help in the field of Civil Rights.

If there is work involving teaching or tutoring in mathematics or work helping with any sort of physical recreation or sports, I would be qualified. If the work is less well-defined than these, I would be interested in learning of them also.

I would be immediately available and would be free til July 19.

Sincerely,
Wilfred Turner
Wilfred Turner

P.S. I am a returned P.C.V. from Togo.

ok/nw
Materials only

3 May 1965

Dear Al,

Thanks for your letter. I'm to be called up for the draft the latter part of this month so, I can't be too interested in any type of project. Nevertheless, I would greatly appreciate receiving from you any information in regard to Civil Rights.

Best Regards,

Joe Langlois

Joe Langlois
Box 213
New Roads, LA.

ok
AL

N. C. Advancement School
Winston-Salem, N. C. 27101
May 3, 1965

Dear Al,

I am interested in your work in Civil Rights.

Would you please send me what information you have concerning the programs you mentioned as well as information materials about Civil Rights.

Thanks.

Yours,

Paul Goranson

Paul Goranson

RUSSELLVILLE
MAY 4
PM
1965
KY.

CRUSADE AGAINST CANCER
5c
EARLY DIAGNOSIS SAVES LIVES

Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
30303

ATTN: Al Ulmer.

Delmar J. McCarley
P. O. Box 27
Russellville, Kentucky

Dear Al,

Please excuse the handwriting. I would be very interested in any local project this summer. If your organization has no plans for this area, I would like information on how to begin & support a movement here. We on the border-states seem to be in a "wait & see" rut.

Thanks & would like to hear from you again soon.

Sincerely,

MARGIE BALFE
1593 Colonial Terrace #306
Arlington Virginia 22209

May 5, 1965

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Al Almer

Dear Al,

Sorry for delay in replying. Thank you very much for your letter.

I am very interested in the Civil Rights movement and would very much appreciate receiving materials about it.

I may be interested in working in a project this summer. I will probably be going to summer school. However I would like to know what you have in mind.

I will look forward to receiving more information from you.

Thanks
Margie Balfe

XERO COPY

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to obtain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 5, 1965

Dear Billy:

The possibilities for work this summer are numerous. In Atlanta, a self-help program is getting underway and volunteers are needed to staff a playground and a community center. Housing could be supplied and perhaps a minimal salary (approximately $25 per week), if required.

The Southern Regional Council has a working relationship with State Councils on Human Relations in the eleven southern states. The executive directors of these councils can definitely use assistance this summer. The work would range from putting out a newsletter to helping organize local bi-racial councils. Housing and a small amount of money is possible for the right person.

Several local councils on human relations have requested a volunteer to live in the community for the summer and help put ideas into action. Pre-school nurseries, tutorials, surveys of public accommodations, job skill banks are some of the projects at which local councils work. But these projects require more than the part-time, evening work local people can give them. This is especially true in a program's planning and birth stages.

These local councils are spread all over the south, some of them weak, some strong. All of them could benefit from a summer of full-time planning and work by a volunteer.

I am sending under separate cover a broad sampling of SRC publications.

If you think you could spend a month or more this summer in any of the above mentioned programs please write me immediately--or call 522-8764, Atlanta, Georgia.

Sincerely,

Al Ulmer

AU/rh

May 5th 1965
5099 Caren Drive
Virginia Beach,
Virginia

Dear Mr. Ulmer,

I received your letter today and I'm very much interested in a constructive civil Rights program.

Exactly what is the Southern Regional Council and how does it function? By what means or actions does it utilize to accomplish it's goal?

Sincerely
Bobbie Mills

Apartment 202
1717 20th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.
May 5, 1965

Dear Al,

Thank you for the mimeographed letter. I have been planning to write to see what I could do in the Movement - but you know how time passes, and nothing gets done.

I would appreciate receiving materials about Civil Rights, and I would also like to know what is open in summer projects.

I am teaching now, and I will not be free until after June 18. Then I must be in Cleveland on August 15 to take part in a program in education there. This will only give me two months, but I would certainly like to put them to good use. If you have any suggestions, please let me know.

Sincerely,
Joyce Campbell

May 6, 1965

Dear Al,

Thanks so much for your letter of April 26. It's always good to hear from other returned volunteers.

Because of my work here in Memphis and because my husband is involved this summer studying for preliminary examinations in his Doctoral progra,m, I will not be able to leave Memphis.

In addition to working with the Youth Guidance Commission, I do a lot of work with the local NAACP. I am on several committees, on the executive board and I serve as advisor to the Intercollegiate Chapter of the Memphis branch.

Recently the Memphis branch of the NAACP has been involved in demonstrations at Memphis financial institutions to secure employment for Negroes. Also, at least partly because of our efforts, the Memphis swimming pools, which have been closed for two years, will be reopened this summer. Our most recent demonstrations involve department stores which two years ago promi sed to hire proportionate numbers of Negroes. But as yet---NOTHING. Or worse---token hiring by some stores.

So you can see that I am pretty much involved in Civil Rights here in Memphis---or at least as involved as I can be and still hold a job and keep house.(That last bit sounds as if I mean that there are some things I can't do for fear of losing my job, which isn't true. I was referring to the time involved.)

Once again, it was good to hear from you. If you are ever in Memphis stop in to see us.

Sincerely,

Judy Coulter

Judy Draper Coulter

P.S. I applaud your efforts to involve returned volunteers in Civil Rights activities. I have talked to several volunteers who are now deeply committed to the Movement, who were never really aware of the problem previously. Especially was this true at the recent Washington conference of returned volunteers.

I hope to hear from you again.

JDC

4710 St. Anthony Ave.
New Orleans, La.
May 7, 1965

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al,

Today I received your letter and packet of SRC publications. I have become even more interested in joinong one of the mentioned projects this summer. I would especially be interested in working with some aspect of a tutorial program or the self-help program which you mentioned.

On June 19th I will be getting married to a young lady from Georgia whose home is not far from Atlanta. Both of us would be interested in helping with one of your projects. You mentioned some which supply housing and a minimal salary-this because of our recent marri gemay have to be one of the deciding factors in definitely accepting or volunteering a month of service. Both of us would be available from July through the month of August.

I am looking forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

James L. Deslonde

ok
nh

414 Lawrence St.
Lawrenceburg, Tenn.
May 8, 1965

Dear Al,

I just returned from a week of P.C. recruiting in Philadelphia and found your letter. I'm very much interested in the Civil Rights movement and am looking for work for the summer, but before I commit myself I'd like to know something about the projects you have in mind, what types of jobs are involved, where workers would be located, and how much they will be payed. Not that I'm mercenery, but I don't believe my readjustment allowance is going to suffice to readjust me.

Please do fill me in on more of the details.

Sincerely yours,

Jan Knippers

Calvary Baptist
Church
Portsmouth, Va.
May 9, 1965

Dear Al,

I already have a summer job for this summer. I am interesting in finding out about the Southern Regional Council and its work.

Is the Council doing any work in the Norfolk area where I will be working this summer?

Sincerely,

Bob Wynne

WILLIAM R. CLAYTON
POST OFFICE BOX 61
CLEMSON, SOUTH CAROLINA 29631

Mar 10, 1965

Dear Al,

Please send me materials on Civil Rights and some info concerning the Council's projects this summer.

Yours truly,

Bill Clayton

May 12, 1965

Mrs. R.M. Moss
1003 Morrison Ave.
Houma, La. 70360

Dear Mr. Wilmer,

Mike and I would like very much to receive materials on Civil Rights and the work of your organization.

As my husband is a Federal employee, his activities must be limited, and I am hindered by two babies, age 15 & 3 months. Because of them, we are not exactly aggressively involved in Civil Rights work, confining activities to private action and "talks" to schools & parents' groups

about our service in East Africa in the Peace Corps.
We would certainly be willing to offer our home for any workers who might be in this area, and would be willing to try to find others (probably Negro).

If you do plan on doing work in southern Louisiana, it might be well to talk to the local priest of the Catholic Church, as they are definitely committed to a program of integration. I find even the most prejudiced Catholics trying, privately, very hard to change their viewpoints and at least not be involved.

Also, my experience has been discouraging concerning the Negro community. They're not really scared, I think, but decidedly passive, and even when CORE sent busloads in to integrate Woolworth's + movie theaters, local Negroes refused to be involved, or to keep any advantage they might have gained. This may be partly due to the relatively good position of the Negro in Houma. Many, many whites on the Bayou are just as illiterate - even more so - and live in as great or greater poverty.

If we can be of service, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Anne Moss

738 Raleigh Street

Rocky Mount, North Carolina

May 14, 1965

Mr. Al Ulmer

Southern Regional Council

5 Forsyth Street N. W.

Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Today I was in the office of Mr. T. H. Little. He had in his possession a letter from you concerning summer employment.

I am now employed in the Rocky Mount City Schools and would desire summer employment.

Please send me any information you have concerning positions for the summer.

Mr. Little (Volunteer in Peru) is with the NEED, Inc. here.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours truly,

Edith V. Harrison

Edith V. Harrison

Savannah, Georgia
May 18,1965

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

In reply to your last letter pretaining to acquiring a summer-job, I would like to know more about the job. Such things as the type of work, pay, and time requirements would be a great asset to my helping in determinging whether or not I would be interested.

Sincerely,

Willie Fairell

Willer Fairell

kb

PAV
AU

N. C. Advancement School
Winston-Salem, N. C. 27101
May 18, 1965

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Al,

Thanks for the telephone talk the other day. I talked with Mrs. Furman at the Charlotte Council just after we talked. She was most receptive and seemed anxious to find me a place here in North Carolina. There is some sort of Government project coming along that she thought I could fit into but it won't be clear at least for a week. She also mentioned a project needing teachers for the summer somewhere in New York state. I have written to that school already and have as yet heard nothing.

I would therefore like you to still keep me in mind for positions you mentioned in Alabama and in Florida until I can find out for sure the nature of the project Mrs. Furman mentioned and whether or not there will be a place for me. I will keep you posted as soon as I get information myself.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Paul Goranson

Paul W. Goranson

Box 1190
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky
May 21, 1965

Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Ulmer:

I have recently learned, through Bill Montgomery of Berea College, that there are possibilities for summer volunteer work in human relations. I have had no experience in this field except on campus in our Human Relations Committee, but I would like to join one of the efforts in improving human relations. I will be occupied from July 11 till August 6 by the Army College Junior program. School ends June 4 and begins again around September 11. Are there any possibilities for the other two periods?

Since I go to Berea, I think you will not find it hard to believe that I would need some salary in order to pay for transportation to and from the project. You mentioned a salary of approximately $25 per week.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Latham

(Miss) Nancy C. Latham

452 Lakeview Drive
Sparta, Georgia
May 29, 1965

Mr. Al Ulmer
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al,

Thank you for the mimeograph of April 26. I am interested in the work of the Southern Regional Council. However, this summer I shall be in summer school completing my language requirements. After January 1, 1966, my studies will be completed at Southeastern.

Please send me further information concerning the opportunities available for work in constructive programs supervised by the Southern Regional Council. Since I am interested in the council, I would be happy to learn more about it and its work.

After June 4, my address is Box 613, Wake Forest, N.C.

I, too, was a volunteer in Nigeria.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Lester Ariail

Lester Ariail, Jr.

"TERRIFYING AND ILLUMINATING"*

-- David Riesman --
Department of Social Relations, Harvard University
Member, Peace Corps National Advisory Council

One of the great educative experiences in the Peace Corps is that of being faced with impossible tasks. It should be understood that the Peace Corps is no exotic junket, made socially defensible by primarily physical strenuousness. What it does do is to put people into positions of awesome and complicated responsibility.

My experience with Volunteers is quite limited, and I cannot speak at all authoritatively about how they in their own great variety respond to the variety of demands the Peace Corps puts on them. I am sure that there are casualties: young men and women for whom the experience is one of unalleviated failure who return more defeated than they went, as ill at ease in Ethiopia as in America. Others learn to handle the inevitable failures better, partly because they have the happy prerogative of amateurs not to be required to succeed from the start and partly because Peace Corps service is seldom a single assignment, but rather an assortment of successive assignments. In the best case, Volunteers get experience in mastering new situations and in learning rapidly. In terms of developing needed lifetime habits of learning, I am inclined to think that it really doesn't matter much what one learns in this way, provided one gains increasingly the sense that one can learn and that one can go on learning and that one can do all sorts of things which seemed to one's definition of oneself, out of the question. Being abroad for many Volunteers has liberated them from their earlier definitions of what they were capable of.

Paradoxically, such definitions can become especially constricting in precisely those American colleges and universities that have in recent years become the most academically oriented and demanding. For, in these institutions, students may feel that they must continue to play from strength, and to go on

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* The ideas presented here are drawn from two sources: a letter written for the Returned Volunteers Conference of March 1965, and comments made at a conference on the Peace Corps and the universities in July 1965.

doing as impressively as possible the very kinds of things that in high school they had learned to do well enough. In a highly competitive setting, students may fear to try out things that they haven't done before, or haven't done well. In other words, the better the educational institution, the more likely it is to give students the feeling that they are incompetent or mediocre, and that they are not really very brilliant--unless they are fantastically talented. If they are only moderately talented, say in the top one-tenth of one percent of the population, they are likely to come out with the feeling of being only first-rate second-raters. The Peace Corps and like experiences (ACCION, AFSC, PAPAL Volunteers, etc.) may give such students a second chance for self-confidence.

I suppose this is more the by-product of Peace Corps experience than a reason many students have to enter the Peace Corps. A more common but perhaps not unrelated reason is the increasing restlessness which one can observe among able and sensitive students, many of whom have been pursuing their studies under considerable pressure from about the sixth grade onward. At Harvard College, about seven-eighths of the students go on to some form of graduate or professional work; but at present, close to a fifth of the students drop out at some point for a term or more. They may take a job or wander about, possibly get their Army service over with, and then ordinarily they return with stronger motivation and refreshed energies, to graduate and to go on to the next step in their careers. Partly they seek to break the routine of study in this way, but many also want the opportunity for encounters with other kinds of people, other ways of life. Sometimes, of course, for both the students and non-students, the desire to press, extend, and expand oneself takes the form of experiments with drugs, drink, fast driving, sexual conquests, and other understandable but seldom self-fulfilling ways.

Voluntary service, at home or abroad, is something quite different from these other adventures in interruption, with implications that can last a lifetime. This is especially true among the relatively well-off Americans who have been denied the opportunity to extend themselves to the limit, other than in academic competition.

Thus, the students who work in mental hospitals, frequently while continuing their studies, meet an alien culture right here at home, which can be as terrifying and illuminating as any cross-cultural experience. Likewise, those who teach in a Freedom School in Mississippi or in a nearby slum may face dangers considerably greater than they would face in an overseas project. In all such enterprises at home and abroad, students can try themselves out in areas which are not primarily academic, areas where qualities of cooperativeness and human solidarity may be as relevant as ambition and keenness of mind.

I am not suggesting that voluntary service is anti-intellectual. On the contrary, I think that the Peace Corps Volunteers I have known have as a result of their experience abroad become more intellectual, and have often found themselves academically by discovering capacities and interests in themselves they did not know they possessed. Thus a group of Volunteers I recently had an opportunity to see at a Completion of Service Conference in Bogota felt they had become more introspective, more confident of their intellectual powers, and more determined to pursue further education on their return.

These Volunteers, like most of those engaged in community development, had had to find their own jobs. Many had become self-trained anthropologists in villages whose complicated networks of influence, malice, and rare benevolence no one had mapped yet, and where any small mistake could have catastrophic consequences for the Volunteer and his project and perhaps for the whole cadre of Volunteers. Even those who go out to apparently more structured jobs, as teachers do, may discover that the schools to which they have been sent haven't been built yet, or have fallen in, or are embroiled in the kinds of struggles over authority that are not unknown in school systems elsewhere. A change of government in a host country can topple a program, and indeed any one of a thousand things can go wrong, even in the most well-endowed society, and probably do go wrong in the areas where Volunteers work.

In a society where some people desperately want and need them, while others fear and resent them, they have perforce to become diplomats without portfolio, in a language in which they feel awkward, among customs easily and unknowingly violated. They can take nothing for granted, not the promises of officials, nor the smiles of their co-workers, nor yet their own reaction to occasions of betrayal, disappointment, or misunderstanding of their work.

For all this they have been badly trained. It is unlikely that even the best training programs could prepare Volunteers for the chronic emergencies and unanticipated obstacles they are likely to face abroad. Perhaps the early Peace Corps training programs whose Outward Bound components and intense lecture schedules resembled Marine Boot Camps were helpful by virtue of their strenuousness and difficulty. The Volunteers who endured them may have gained self-confidence that they could endure still other hazards. Moreover, Peace Corps training programs bring together Volunteers from a wider variety of backgrounds within the United States than most of them have encountered hitherto. Their first experience with "culture shock" may occur at the training site.

But for college-age Volunteers, the physical hardships turn out not to be a problem: if anything, the reverse, since such hardships provide a self-evident obstacle and one that is readily surmounted. The graver hazards are emotional and interpersonal. They may include the risk to one's psychic balance of living at once alone and in a crowd for two years; the risk to one's self-confidence in encountering one's first significant failure after years of success at home and in school; the risk to one's sense of values of coming to question, in a strange environment, the virtues of democracy, charity, accomplishment, perhaps even life itself. The Colombia Volunteers reported how hard it had been to overcome impatience and not to demand quick results.

How do you train Volunteers for this? Freud once remarked that children are prepared for the tropics and then sent to the polar ice cap. He was talking about children in the comfortable classes who were sheltered in the Victorian era from any knowledge of sex or aggression. Young people in our own society are less sheltered in these respects on the whole, but they are often sheltered by our relative affluence, efficiency, and cooperativeness from what it is like to live in a world of peasant distrust, misery, and fatalism. And yet Volunteers do learn. Many in the Colombia group had begun with a somewhat romantic belief that poor people, such as peasants, were somehow nobler and better than middle-class Americans, while others had begun with the more characteristic almost unconscious pride in their Americanism.

Experience seemed to have tempered the judgments of both groups, leading the first to a somewhat greater respect for certain American qualities and the second to a greater sympathy for Colombians (and other non-Americans). Many had come to a kind of patience, a new attitude toward time. They had come to accept the fact that the Peace Corps had been in Colombia for three years and the per capita income was down and the birthrate up (neither the fault of the Volunteers). As suggested above, many had discovered capacities and interests in themselves that they had not known they possessed. From looking at their pre-Volunteer experience as well as from talking with them, I gained the impression that a number of them had become more sensitive, more aware of themselves and others--for in community development, the principal instrument one has to work with is neither a shovel nor a tractor, but one's self.

Whether the Volunteers' two-year period overseas can also be made more fruitful intellectually is an open question. I've already suggested that a number of Volunteers enter the Peace Corps because they want a moratorium from academic life, and perhaps also from introspection. Can one imagine for such people a dispersed university that would not seem too institutionalized, too much a reminder of what has for the time being been left behind? It seems conceivable to me that one could find roving intellectual ambassadors and bring them into touch with Volunteers at different points in their trajectories. Some Peace Corps Representatives do serve this function, and do so at once with stimulation and without undue intrusiveness. But one might also find a few professors who would be willing to serve as mentors who could periodically help the Volunteers assimilate their own experience, to the extent that they might care to do so. These could be anthropologists familiar with the host country, as in the case of the wandering anthropologist in Ethiopia who encouraged a Volunteer there, bored by routine duties, to record an exotic African language; or they could be men with a particular interest in American values, such as myself, who could talk to Volunteers as I did in Bogota concerning the America they were returning to. Any such effort to make the Volunteer experience more intensely reflective will run into resistance both from the pressure of daily tasks and from any Volunteer's own wish to plunge into activity. For some Volunteers, the keeping of diaries might be a way to keep in touch with what is happening to them when they are out of touch with the ordinary channels through which they shared experience back home. But other Volunteers might find the keeping of diaries a contamination of their relations in the host country. Only experiment can tell what might be done along these lines.

Such considerations raise questions about the great variety of motives that lead people to enter the Peace Corps. Any attempt to institutionalize Peace Corps service or like voluntary service as part of a normal career line will tend to exclude those young people who, at least for the time being, do not care to think in terms of a career line or of any consecutive development in their lives. There should be ample room for these latter who seek a moratorium, as well as for those who, as a kind of voluntary selective service, are willing to give a year or two on behalf of some less privileged task or group, without any commitment to life-long dedication. I have known people who enlisted for a term of voluntary service overseas because they hoped eventually to go into business in the host country and wanted to learn the language and customs; I have known many more who have entered out of an almost masochistic desire to share the hardships of the vast majority of the world. But I think it should be recognized that most people's motives are mixed and that it is all right not to be wholly clear about one's motives and certainly not to be wholly committed either to doing good or to doing well. Experience in my own student days as a volunteer worker for the Grenfell Mission in Labrador made me skeptical about most people who devote all their lives to the service of others in an alien milieu. I have met a few saints in my lifetime, but often their families suffer; perhaps it is better when the saints are celibate. If one episode of service is thought of as the first step toward a more total commitment, those potential volunteers who think of themselves as not that pure may feel put off. So, too, faculty members may see the Peace Corps as taking able students away from further academic work, not recognizing the extent to which the Peace Corps can create academic and intellectual interests rather than dissipate them.

I recognize that some of the value of the Peace Corps for many Volunteers lies in its not being part of a regular academic progression, and that these may want to get away at least for a while from parental and academic authorities. Moreover, they want to plunge themselves fully into the experience of the moment in the countries where they are stationed, rather than to be haunted by a double vision-- of life now and life later on--such as even the keeping of diaries might help engender. One of the opportunities as well as dangers of Peace Corps service appears to be the removal of the usual supports from family and friends, from all the "noise" of the environment here at home. By the same token, some Volunteers may find

themselves disoriented on returning to America because the cultural stream no longer carries them along as it once did; their old distractions have been removed and they are once again alone.

Half the Volunteers so far have concluded that the least bad way of facing the culture shock of returning to America is to go on with higher education. Volunteers themselves, and those who have observed them in the field, conclude that the experience greatly changed them, far more so than would have been the case had they stayed at home. Many return more confident about themselves, more basically serene, more tolerant of others and also of themselves. Even those who consider that they have "failed" in terms of the overseas tasks they set themselves, can appreciate that this was in a way a protected failure, not to be scored against their academic credits, and hence not an omen of later failure in the university. And yet a number of those who have been most dramatically effective in overseas work discover on their return that they have become less avid, less driven, and hence perhaps less capable of their earlier versions of success when they re-enter academic and occupational competition.

Some, who entered the Peace Corps as intransigent radicals, have become more patient with the delays and frustrations of social change, although this does not mean that they have turned conservative and complacent about racism, exploitation, and other faults in American society. Others have been awakened out of their complacency.

They may want on returning to continue, within the United States, the kind of work, for example in community development or in teaching among the less privileged, that they have done in the Peace Corps. I have met some of those of this persuasion, at the Cardozo High School project in Washington and elsewhere, and they have come to recognize that the more developed a country, no matter how unevenly, perhaps the more difficult it becomes to make a contribution. Certainly they are not welcomed at home the way they were abroad. Moreover, though they may enter previously submerged sectors of American society, the euphoria of travel itself and of freedom in a new land in a new tongue, is only marginally to be found in our urban and rural slums.

The returning Peace Corps Volunteer belongs, as yet, to a relatively small elite. He has had a chance for an unusual form of service abroad, and, as a result, he will often find upon returning that he can scarcely communicate with his old friends, whose lives have not been touched in the same way. One might hope that the time will come when this sort of experience will be far more widely shared.

However, as the Peace Corps Volunteer himself becomes less of an oddity, a number of students who pride themselves above all on their uniqueness and nonconformity will regard Peace Corps service as "square," as some already do, particularly as there is a corrosive cynicism among a minority of young Americans which derides helpfulness as both unrealistic and unmanly. In certain circles the fear of conformity can become as oppressive as any Philistine dictation, a kind of snobbery which rejects anything which any sizable fraction of the population regards as acceptable. To be sure, there are a number of responsible people who encourage young people to get on with their careers and not to detour via Thailand or Tanzania; parents, professors, and prospective employers, all can talk this way - persuading some and unpersuading others.

I am not alone in thinking that the greatest impact of the Peace Corps may well be in the United States when Volunteers return. Yet, many have experienced difficulty in bringing to bear on their return the subtleties and self-confidence they have acquired in the "school" of service overseas. They may even be handicapped by the fact of being natives and not coming freshly upon America as they came upon their host country as Volunteers.

Nevertheless, I do think that many Volunteers return with a better sense of the United States, not only for having seen another culture and lived in it intensively, but for having observed themselves and other Volunteers inside that culture, thus beginning to discover what is American about America. To put this in other terms, they have begun to discover the cultural "load" that they have carried as Americans. The rejection of organizations as such, "bureaucracy," is part of that load among the well-educated, and among many badly educated people also. Yet their opportunities for these discoveries would not have been possible, had the Peace Corps itself not been organized. Fear of organization and bureaucracy per se seems to me romantic and nostalgic, no help at all in American community development, which requires different organizational inventions from those that might be workable in parts of Latin America.

Before the Peace Corps began, I used to argue that there ought to be some kind of voluntary service corps of this sort. I was often told that young Americans only wanted status and security, and I have to admit that some of my own surveys had turned up plenty of evidence that this was so. But the early response to the Peace Corps makes clear that there were a good many young Americans who had other values, other choices. Much of our society is like a film negative not yet washed in the proper chemicals. We have very little idea as to what is possible. Some of what I have said may sound as if I regard Peace Corps service itself as fine, but the consequences of returning from it as a route to suffering within America. Such suffering with one's eyes open is perhaps not so bad a fate as complacent sleepwalking, but I am not recommending it. Possibly, the rivulets of returning Volunteers will join up to create larger streams of influence and mutual support here at home, where the urgencies are less clear than in many struggling and impoverished countries, but where tact and enthusiasm, self-reliance and solidarity, energy and constraint necessary in dealing with those countries are no less imperative.

To: Roger Landrum

From: Ross Blount Date: January 19, 1966

Subject: Report on Trip to Beaufort Co., S.C.

Thursday, Jan. 13 - Travel Chicago to Savannah, drive to Penn Community Center in Beaufort Co., S.C.

Friday, Jan. 14 - Tour of Penn Center, trip with Tom Barnwell and Joe McDomick to meet participants in Penn's Community Organization work. Staff meeting with Messrs. Gill, Barnwell, and McDomick to discuss Peace Corps Training. Brief conversation with Mr. Edwards, Farmers' Home Administration Director.

Saturday, Jan. 15 - Trip around St. Helena Island with Everett Gill. Conference with Rev. David Haun on possibilities of part-time work in his church.

Sunday, Jan. 16 - Discussion with Mr. Trask (see comments below) and Everett Gill. Trip back to Savannah, and from Savannah to Washington, D.C.

Monday, Jan. 17 - Conferences with Peace Corps personnel in Washington, trip from Washington to Chicago.

A. General

Prospects for Peace Corps Training in Beaufort County.

On the trip with Barnwell and McDomick, all three members of the Negro community visited felt that the idea of placing PCV's with individual families in the community could succeed. While only one of the three felt that he personally would be able to act as a "host" for a PCV, several other possible hosts from the area were named without much difficulty.

Discussions with both Mr. Trask and Rev. Haun on Saturday and Sunday suggested that there would likely be a general acceptance of the Peace Corps Training Program by the white community. Trask, the son of a leading Beaufort County family, is a graduate of the Harvard Business School and now is operating a local radio station and managing a farm. He gave several reasons for his feeling that a PC Training Program could succeed: 1) Other govt. programs in the County have been successful---such as S.T.E.P., 2) School integration has proceeded smoothly this year and is apparently much less a threat to the white community now, 3) Other programs involving the residence of white young people in Negro homes (VISA volunteers from the American Friends Service Committee) last summer did not meet with any direct conflict from the white community, 4) Two young people from the County have been in and returned from the Peace Corps, and 5) School, church and

civic groups might benefit from the Peace Corps program (e.g., the Southern Baptist Church has a large mission program in Nigeria and might well be interested in having a speaker from the training staff give a presentation on Nigeria). On the kinds of difficulties he would predict for such a program, Trask indicated that difficulties would vary according to how well the white community accepted the project---that the project could likely succeed even though there was not general acceptance by the white community. He concluded that he doubted very much that the animosity of the white community could result in violence or physical injury to PCV's.

B. Difficulties of Training in Beaufort County.

One of the most obvious difficulties would be the latent hostility between white and Negro communities. Public relations implications of some of Trask's comments above would be a way of minimizing such hostility and identifying the program with the whole County and not just one community. In addition, an effort should be made to assure that PCV's live with both white and Negro farmers in the County.

A second difficulty might well compound the first. Historically the Penn Community Center has primarily served the Negro community. In recent years the center has been the site for S.C.L.C. and other civil rights group conferences. As a result, the center is viewed with a good deal of suspicion by many members of the white community and is often "blamed" as responsible for the civil rights activities carried out in the County. If carried over to the PC Training Program, this attitude could cause problems. However, this observer feels that it would be possible to maintain the Training Program as a Peace Corps project and not as a Penn project by utilizing the P.R. support of Mr. Trask and by attempting to work with both white and Negro communities.

A third difficulty with training in Beaufort County would be in the placement of volunteers in the homes of part-time farmers. In June and July most part-time farmers who are not permanently employed in town, etc. will be working long hours for grower in the harvest and packing of tomatoes and other truck crop produce. In such homes it would be difficult to have as meaningful* a contact as would be possible where the hosts were mainly independent full-time farmers (as in, for instance, Montserrat, British West Indies). Implications for this difficulty would be 1) to shorten the length of stay, 2) attempt for at least part of the time to have the volunteer return to be with the host family on weekends (say Saturday through Monday) when the farmer would have more free time and would probably be taking part in community activities such as church attendance, 3) have hosts arrange for the volunteer to

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*"Meaningful" is based on the assumption that one of the important aspects of living with a family would be in observation of and participation in the occupational activity of the family. (Other important aspects would be the observation of and participation in the internal life of that rural family and in the life of the whole community.)

work with relatives or other members of the family who are independent farmers, 4) make arrangements with the growers (both white and Negro) who hire the part-time farmers for picking, packing, etc., to permit volunteers to work along with their hosts.

A fourth difficulty would be the opposite of the first and second above. It is likely that there will be a considerable amount of "activism" by some of the volunteers. Many will have been participants in various civil rights activities and may well see their field training in a Southern community as an opportunity to "do something about racial discrimination" rather than to observe the ways in which a given community is trying to deal with its own problems. Thus there will probably be some problem with volunteers trying to "do something" about discriminatory practices and attitudes. This point is best illustrated by a story told in Beaufort County about a VISA Volunteer there who was teaching in a special summer school for Negro children. The school building being used was closed by a County official. The volunteer was so angered by the incident, he went personally to the County Superintendent of Schools to protest the matter. He was unsuccessful in his protest and his "activism" was interpreted by the Negro planners for the summer project as an insult to their ability to handle their own problems.

Another aspect to this problem is the matter of how far a volunteer will be able to go in participating in the civil rights activities which their hosts may well be planning or participating in. For instance, if there are plans for a picket of a white business establishment or a march on the County Court House, what does the volunteer do if his host joins the picket or march? Such a question would need to be carefully thought out and planned for. ?!

C. Advantages of Penn Community Center.

The most important advantage of Penn Center as a training site is that they have a functioning community service program which would be a useful demonstration of methods of community organization.

Familiarity of Penn community organizers with people in the County would serve as a basis for securing residence of PCV's with rural families in the area.

Penn's physical facilities would be a satisfactory location for the academic side of training. A barn and some land would be available for the growing of crops and for animal projects. Since the climate of Beaufort County is somewhat similar to that of parts of Nigeria, a demonstration plot of Nigerian crops might possibly be set up.

January 25, 1966

Mr. Roger Landrum
Division of Training
Peace Corps
Washington, D. C. 20525

Dear Roger Landrum:

Things have been happening very rapidly the last several days. Much of this discussion has centered around the program of Penn and our relation to the Peace Corps training project. I had wanted to let you know as soon as possible any decision affecting the Peace Corps, and may well have talked with you before you receive this letter.

We have a Program Review Committee which periodically examine our program and make recommendations. This Committee met this past week-end, January 21-22, and composed of persons whom you may know: Harold Fleming of Potomac Institute, Dr. Hylan Lewis of Howard University, Dr. C. G. Gomillion of Tuskegee, John A. Griffin, Southern Education Foundation and Dr. Guion Johnson of Chapel Hill, North Carolina; all but Mrs. Johnson were present. Dr. James Dabbs, Chairman of the Penn Board, is not a member of the Committee but was present for the meeting as well. Primarily, as a result of the discussions of this Committee as well as your letter of January 19 and the proposed visit of George Young last Sunday, our staff realized that a decision would have to be made immediately as to whether we should continue to discuss training of Peace Corps volunteers or decide that we should not undertake such a training. In order to be as fair with you as possible, we immediately contacted George Young to discourage his imminent trip until we could consider the matter further. Monday morning the community development staff and later, the entire staff discussed the matter and then consulted by telephone with Chairman Dabbs and concluded that we should not undertake training of volunteers this summer.

You will recall that at our initial meeting with you, George and Al, that we were certain of adverse community reaction to the Peace Corps training, particularly with volunteers living with Negro families as well as the association with Penn Center. At the time, we felt that in spite of community disfavor, that Penn staff felt the value and the training would be worth undertaking it anyway, but wanted the Peace Corps to be sure on its part that it could withstand strong

criticism which we felt certain would be coming.

Your letter of January 19, in which you indicated the Washington Post story and the resultant directive from Mr. Shriver that before going into the rural South, that there be no likelihood of "profoundly disrupting community peace," and "check out the politics," as well as justify it as appropriate training for work overseas. In spite of the advanced preparation and resources which the Peace Corps could certainly make, I feel from my 15 years work in this community, that eventually, prior to the training period, this area would have to be rejected for those stated reasons. However, if this were the only reason for terminating negotiations, we certainly would have encouraged George Young to come ahead to check out community reaction, but there were even more points for consideration.

The Program Review Committee came up with what to us were some very exciting ideas. One had to do with our present operation of the community development program which would involve much more direct action on the part of the field directors. This is a profound change in our operating philosophy and, while our staff is thoroughly in agreement with it, we must go through the process of changing many of our methods and philosophy. Thus, at this point when we have not evolved a method of community development, we would be put in an untenable position of providing training for volunteers. Frankly, until we have gained some experience and can be more certain as to the effective techniques, we cannot undertake the instruction of others.

The major proposal of the Program Review Committee was that Penn develop a training center for rural community workers, using the campus, our staff and experience. It was stated that training projects exist now for work in urban areas, but those present were unaware of such a training center for rural workers. It is envisaged at this point that there might be as many as 50 persons trained under such a program for career service in Anti-Poverty work in rural America.

It seemed apparent to the staff that if we undertook the training of the Peace Corps, that this would require all of our energies through this summer, and that we could not consider the suggestions of the Program Review Committee. Likewise, because the suggestions seem valid, that to pursue them would likewise require all of our energies.

Thus, the choice seemed very clear to us that we would have to make a decision of, either to pursue Peace Corps training or the suggestions of the Program Review Committee, but that we could not do both simultaneously. Considered in this decision likewise was the concern of the Peace Corps about community reception, and our feeling that the Peace Corps at some point would find Beaufort County an unsuitable location in this regard.

On the basis of the above considerations,=we felt that we should make our decision immediately so that the Peace Corps and the

Experiment in International Living would have adequate opportunity to explore other areas for training. We would have preferred that this not be a unilateral decision, but these matters mentioned above made our decision a very clear and uninanimous one, though far from easy.

While our decision does preclude any training here this summer, I hope that Penn and Beaufort County may be considered as a possible site when we have been able to develop a new technique and determine the feasibility of training community development workers in this country. I do want further to indicate that we are most appreciative of this contact with you and the others, both personally and for the opportunity of restudying our own mode of operation, and I only hope that we can maintain these contacts and relationships.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff
CS/fm

CC: Mr. James M. Dabbs
Mr. Ross Blount
Mr. George Young
Mr. Al Ulmer

COPY

MEMORANDUM

April 22, 1966

TO: Panelists and Discussion Leaders for the Atlanta Peace Corps Conference, Emory University - May 7, 1966

FROM: Roger Landrum, Conference Coordinator, Training Officer, Africa, Peace Corps, Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT: Background Readings for Conference

Enclosed are some reading materials relevant to the May 7th meeting with the applicants and invitees to summer Peace Corps training from the Atlanta area. Also enclosed is the list of panelists and discussion leaders.

Meetings similar to this one have already been held in Berkely, New York and Boston with great success. As you may know, only approximately 50 per cent of the applicants who are invited to join the Peace Corps have accepted their invitations in the past. Many waver because of the difficulty we have had portraying Peace Corps work overseas. We expect this meeting will give the applicants a much more realistic view of the Peace Corps and of some of its people.

The applicants have been sent a packet of readings and will come armed with questions. Many operational questions will be handled by a selection official and the training staff present. But the broad questions, to which there are few - if any - definitive answers, will be left to open inquiry with the panel and in the discussions afterwards.

The agenda is as follows:

9:30 a.m. Peace Corps film, " And What Did You See?" A stark and realistic view of a Volunteer in India and his reflections about his work. Alumni Memorial Building Auditorium, Emory

10:00 Panel discussion on the topics introduced by panel members or the audience. Emory Auditorium

continued -

12:00 Lunch in Emory Cafeteria

1:30 Small group discussions in separate meeting rooms in the Auditorium (exact locations to be announced). Returned-Volunteers will be the discussion leaders for the groups which will be divided according to overseas job assignments and continent.

I am in the process of planning an informal meeting for Friday night, May 6th. This would include the panelists, discussion leaders, returned-Volunteers from the Atlanta area and Atlantans working in community action programs or in international programs. You will be notified either by phone or at your hotel of the time and place. Reservations have been made for you for Friday night at the Sheraton Emory Motel. If you do not wish to stay there, please cancel them. Your per diem and travel expenses will be taken care of by the Peace Corps if you are an employee of the federal government; if you are not, the travel and a $10 fee will be reimbursed for your effort.

We appreciate your willingness to cooperate with the Peace Corps on this important meeting.

ATLANTA PEACE CORPS CONFERENCE - PANELISTS AND DISCUSSION LEADERS

Panelists:

Theodore Banks	Latin American Programs Division of Conway Research, Inc; formerly Deputy Director of Peace Corps/Colombia and Director of Peace Corps/Uruguay
Frank Mankiewicz	Regional Director of Peace Corps Latin American Programs; formerly Director of Peace Corps/Peru; Agency's chief spokesman on practice and theory of community development
Dr. Richard Smith	Office of the U.S. Surgeon General; formerly Peace Corps physician in Nigeria and Deputy Medical Director of Peace Corps
Alan Ulmer	Community Development Office of Southern Regioanl Council of Atlanta; formerly Volunteer teacher in Nigeria

Discussion Leaders:

Dr. Lyle Conrad	physician at the Communicable Disease Center in Atlanta; formerly Peace Corps physician in Nigeria
John Briscoe	Peace Corps Division of University Relations and Training; formerly Peace Corps Volunteer in agricultural development in Mysore, India
Roger Landrum	Peace Corps Division of University Relations and Training; formerly Peace Corps Volunteer university teacher in Nigeria
Joseph McDomick	community development worker for the Penn Community Services Center in Beaufort County, South Carolina; formerly Peace Corps Volunteer in Brazil
Alan Ulmer	Southern Regional Council
Mrs. Robin Ulmer	active in community affairs in low-income areas of Atlanta; for Volunteer teacher in Nigeria and Associate Director for training for a Chile program at Michigan State University

2-5-66

Peace Corps' Daring New Look

by Andrew Kopkind

Whatever else the Peace Corps has been, it is now the last remaining, isolated and beleaguered outpost of the New Frontier. All the other fortresses have fallen to the captains of consensus. The Alliance for Progress is desiccating in input-output economics. White House speechwriters now seek to soothe, rather than stir. The War on Poverty, despite its direction by a last Frontiersman, is more attentive to the politicians, the businessmen and the social workers than it is to the poor.

The Peace Corps retains those paradoxes of style and substance which informed the best inventions of the Kennedy years: it is expectant, contradictory, optimistic, innovative and thoroughly frantic. The gap between the hopes it raises and its own performance is huge, but the experience of frustration seems to energize rather than enervate the Peace Corps (just the opposite is the case at the poverty program). It has an abundance – or in another sense, a confusion – of objectives, but the point of the Peace Corps is that it could, just possibly, foreshadow a new kind of politics for America. It now will have a new director, Jack Hood Vaughn, and in the next year or two the Peace Corps must prove that point or die.

Congress intended the Corps to provide skilled manpower for underdeveloped countries, and somehow to promote mutual understanding. It excited a generation that was "turned off" politics because the possibilities of social movement, of personal effectiveness, seemed remote. In the Corps' first month, 17,000 applications arrived.

The Peace Corps was supposed to help bring about the kinds of small material changes in the lives of underdeveloped communities that would promote stability and "defeat Communism." As such, the volunteers were not much more than young, relatively inexpensive Point Four technicians. Their identification with poverty-stricken *campesinos* or African tribesmen simply made their jobs easier. The model was clear: the wisest colonial masters used natives as agents of their administration.

As "a symbolic gesture of friendship, an antidote to *The Ugly American*," as Associate Director Harris Wofford put it, the Peace Corps has not been very much help. Anti-American sentiment runs high or low and regimes come and go in countries where volunteers work, without relevance to their presence.

Its notions were simplistic and simple, and it was advertised that way. Everyone was supposed to live in

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mud huts, sleep on straw mats, and ride about on llamas. But what some volunteers deprecatingly call "Sargent Shriver's hair-shirt stuff" soon became more or less irrelevant both to what the Corps was doing, and to its appeal. Now there are thousands of volunteer service and community action jobs open to young people. If college kids want adventure, excitement and a chance to have an effect on society, they can go to Mississippi, or for that matter to Berkeley as well as (or perhaps better than) Jamaica or Nigeria. They can build community organizations in Newark or Chicago, or teach in a Freedom School in McComb, without the inhibitions of a government bureaucracy lurking somewhere behind the next palm tree. They are not bothered by congressmen on junkets, or Sargent Shriver on an inspection tour. They receive no boot-camp indoctrination in "American Studies, World Affairs and Communism." They don't have to apologize for working for the government while the bombs are dropping in Vietnam or the Marines are landing in Santo Domingo. Any political "incidents" they cause, or are caught in, are their own affairs.

Peace Corps applications are still coming in, but the kinds of people applying are, in the Corps' jargon, "less highly motivated" than the early volunteers. It was more than just a bad "image." Corpsmen are learning from "the movement," which had preempted so many potential Peace Corps volunteers, what is lacking in the program, and indeed in the whole concept of the Corps. It should be, they thought, a government-sponsored agency for revolution in the "third world."

"Our mission is essentially revolutionary," Frank Mankiewicz, head of the Corps' big Latin American program, said. "The ultimate aim of community development is nothing less than a complete change, reversal – or a revolution if you wish – in the social and economic patterns of the countries to which we are accredited."

Alley Cats and Tame Tabbies

Taking that tack, the Corps began to redesign its recruitment, selection, training and field programs. Outsiders, such as David Riesman and Paul Goodman, were asked what was wrong with the Corps. The answers were fairly consistent: recruitment was narrowly restricted to college types from the middle class. Selection had too much psychological hocus-pocus. It was hard to get the most creative and active people through it. Training was too short, and too much like the highly-structured, authoritarian college life most volunteers wanted to escape. Moreover, it did not make sense to train volunteers mostly on college campuses, when they were soon to be thrown into slums and farms and native villages. The work in the field should not be confined to neutral activities which State Department technical assistance teams had been doing for years, but volunteers should be able to take affirmative action for change, whether as teachers, or poultry experts, or health assistants, or political and social organizers.

The Corps took the advice seriously, in theory at least. Recruiters are beginning to go farther afield than the usual college campuses in drumming up applicants. Teams go to Negro colleges in the South, 4-H Clubs and labor unions to get volunteers and staff. Fifteen mechanics are going to Guinea next month as volunteers, and 16 physicians and their families are now in seven Asian and African countries (the Corps modified its policy prohibiting volunteers from taking dependents). It is still difficult to get older volunteers and blue-collar workers; they have debts, careers and the "responsibilities" of normal American life to tend.

Last October, Corps officials met with groups of young radical "activists," of the right and left, to explore ways of working for what the Corpsmen called "common goals." Carl Oglesby, president of the Students for a Democratic Society, and Paul Booth, the SDS executive secretary, talked with officials about possible collaboration. It was suggested that SDS might help train volunteers in community-organizing projects in urban ghettoes, or perhaps put returning volunteers to work. About the same time, Corpsmen invited Tom Hayden, the former SDS member who is now working in a Newark slum (he recently made a well-reported trip to Hanoi), to come to Washington to discuss a Corps job in Latin America. Officials are still arguing about the necessity, or even the validity, of recruiting activists (even the term is ill-defined at the Corps office). "The decision to entice student 'activists' to join the Peace Corps is a 'high risk, high gain' kind of decision," a training officer said. "When we go on the porch and whistle, we're hoping that a few alley cats will enter the door along with the tame tabbies who've been showing up." But so far, there have been no hard decisions on working with the young radicals, either as volunteers or as trainers.

Like recruitment, training is being rethought. An advance training program gives a volunteer 15 months instead of 13 weeks of preparation: one summer on a campus, then a year of related courses (language, area studies) in his regular college curriculum, and a second summer of training in a cultural setting close to the one to which he will be sent. One group spent a first summer at Dartmouth, the second in French Canada before going to French Africa for assignment. Another experiment was tried at St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland, last year. Volunteers went through a free-wheeling course of seminars and bull-sessions instead of the usual formal lectures.

It is easier for the Corps to juggle its operations at home than to change them abroad. In large measure, the overseas programs correspond to particular needs –

and to particular political styles. Africa needs teachers first of all, simply to lay the basic groundwork for the development of modern communities. Most of the volunteers in Africa are, in fact, teaching. Half the secondary school teachers in Ethiopia are Peace Corps volunteers, and the presence of volunteers in 19 African nations (there are about 2,500 now in that continent) has drastically increased educational opportunities.

But those in the Peace Corps who are most interested in the possibilities for impact overseas look to the community development programs (called "CD" by Corpsmen) in Latin America. Their hope is, simply, "to transform a continent." Whether results will match their rhetoric is another matter, but the rhetoric so far is exciting. Frank Mankiewicz said: "A lower-class man in Latin America believes that he himself is powerless, and his neighbors are powerless, to do anything about their environment. People talk about themselves as abandoned or forgotten. They have lost the belief that they can accomplish anything for themselves. There are exceptions here and there in countries which have undergone some kind of premature revolution. But in most countries, although elections are held and a democratic façade maintained, elections have often been only a contest to determine which group of upper-class partisans will control the country.

"Into that situation we are asked to put Peace Corps volunteers. CD is essentially a revolutionary process, consisting of helping these outsiders to get in. Our job is to give them an awareness of where the tools are to enable them to assert their political power. The only reason that groups take a part in the political, social and economic life of their country is because they are noticed and taken account of."

The method of a community developer in Latin America is no different, Mankiewicz said, than that of a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee worker in Mississippi. If anything it is more difficult: the peasants in Latin America have not reached the cultural and organizational level that even the most deprived American poor have. A volunteer goes into the unspeakable slums of Latin cities, or to the utterly cut-off villages, and must make "immediate, visible common cause with the people he is there to work with." His first job is to get to know the people and the setting of their lives; then he raises questions: who has the power? how did they get power? how can others get what they want? what do the people want?

The volunteer starts building a community. At first it is nothing more than a group of people who want to do a particular job – build a school, play basketball, make handicrafts or simply talk about their problems. After a while, they begin to see ways in which they can use the power which they have as an organization. "The thought will occur to do something else," Mankiewicz said. They may go to the Ministry of Education Office and demand a new school or more teachers, or they may form political movements. Throughout, the volunteer plays a subordinate role; he offers himself and his resources (which often amount to little more than a mediocre college education and standard American cultural insights) to the people to do what they want with them. He is not so much an organizer as a catalyst. He infuses the community with what Mankiewicz calls "the revolutionary spirit."

There will soon be 4,000 volunteers in Latin America; half of them are in community development. Perhaps there will be double that number (in 18 countries, including Caribbean nations) before very long. What that means for the continent is difficult to say. There were only a few hundred civil rights workers in Mississippi for a few months in the summer of 1964, but they transformed the state, and in many ways the South.

Last month, the first large-scale study of the effect of volunteers on a closed society in Latin America was published. The Cornell University "Peru Project" studied the effect of 50 volunteers in two Indian villages in the Peruvian Andes. The progress the villages had made over two years (the study ended in 1964, in the very early stages of the evolution of community organizing theory and technique) was "incredible." According to a complex scale the investigators used, development levels of the villages had almost trebled. Future growth tends to be geometric, and the possibilities are staggering. So effective was the organization, and so determined were the volunteers to get the Indians to think and act for themselves, that one of the villagers' first acts was to kick the Peace Corps out of town. Officials in Washington couldn't have been more pleased.

"Once the people in power take notice, the task of any community development organization or technician is practically done," Mankiewicz said. "You cannot control it from there on. Democracy does not guarantee good government, only representative government."

More Than a Nice Bunch

Promotion of social revolution abroad – assuming that it is possible, which is yet unproved – raises enormous questions for American policy, and makes the Peace Corps too politically vulnerable. Ironically, it has had little trouble so far; the Corps pleases conservatives because they think it is a cheap way to make friends for America. It pleases liberals because they think it is a *good* way to make friends for America. But in fact, as Deputy Director Warren Wiggins said recently in a speech at Stanford University, "Our relevance to the world is not that we are a nice bunch of people offering low-paying overseas fellowships."

The Peace Corps officials who speak most intensely about revolution, deny that the volunteers are in any sense exporting it. Revolutionary changes come from

the people in their own lands; the volunteer opens up the possibility of change, of participating in society, of a better life. His presence is a revolutionary force, like the Christian missionary's presence many years ago.

But it may be naïve for the Corps to leave the argument at that point, as many do. What a volunteer, or a missionary, may do affects what form the "revolution" will take. A Nigerian recently wrote to a volunteer who had lived in his town, "The only whites I had ever known were reverend fathers in school who interpreted everything I did as a sure sign of fast-approaching eternal damnation." Missionaries who value activism, social and political mobility, and an open society will find their charges developing quite differently from those whose values are passivism and other-worldliness.

A Convenient Cover

In many cases, the results of community development may run directly counter to the objectives of State Department policy. Jack Vaughn has often said that if the Peace Corps had sent 450 volunteers to the Dominican Republic in 1962, as it was asked to do when Trujillo was overthrown, the military adventure of April, 1965, might not have been necessary. That might be true. If Vaughn is right, the Peace Corps approach to development will always result in "nonviolent" change. It seems logical, however, that when revolutionary forces are put in motion, the forms they will take are largely unpredictable, and uncontrollable. The Dominican uprising of last spring might have been bigger (and perhaps successful) if the volunteers had done a better job.

At such junctures, there would certainly be a clash between the Peace Corps and the Administration's "real" foreign policy experts. It is still unclear what Corps officials would do if volunteers participated themselves in the protest activities their work encourages. Wiggins once said that the Corps does not want "those who don't know where to draw the line, and who try to become political activists abroad." It is doubtful whether anyone in the Corps knows where to draw that line, and it will test the Corps' political sophistication and courage when a decision has to be made.

As it is now, the Corps is a convenient "cover" to forestall criticism of US policy. The Peace Corps, foreign aid, food for peace and the small kindnesses GIs extend to distressed peasants are the "good parts" of that policy. They comfort the minds of those who are put off by the military interventions, the irrational anti-Communism, the dictatorships supported, and the napalm raids. They are a built-in alternative policy, which allows *rapprochement* after the Marines leave. (The volunteers in the Dominican Republic were welcome all during the US intervention; they were the "other Americans," the "*hijos de Kennedy*.")

The Peace Corps cavalierly dismisses those who would shun it. A memo on a recent recruiting drive in Berkeley describes as fools or knaves the serious critics of foreign policy, and the Corps' ambiguous role as a distraction, or a kind of comic relief. Such ideas may fit Shriver's view of liberalism, and his patronizing opinion of the new radicals as fascinating and instructive curiosities who protest too much, even if that is their charm. But criticism of the Corps in the "activist" generation is more general than Corpsmen realize.

The Peace Corps answers critics who would shun it as an agency of US foreign policy: "If you want to change it, join us." Like the "hair-shirt" ads, that carries a great deal of sophistry. The Peace Corps is not going to bring "peace" in any simple sense; if anything, it may cause more wars than it prevents. But there are implications in the Corps for long-range changes in the conduct of US foreign policy, and for many people they constitute the Corps' significance.

"I am not alone in thinking that the greatest impact of the Peace Corps may well be in the United States when volunteers return," David Riesman has said. Now there are 18,000 returnees; by 1970 there will be 50,000 and in 1980 there may be 200,000 or more. It is a good Peace Corps game to conjecture about their influence in America. They will be very different products than their middle-class contemporaries who stayed in college or went into business or a profession with no comparable experience, nothing to "stretch" themselves (in a current phrase) out of the familiar conformist mold. Volunteers go through a process of radicalization: they are forced, in their two frustrating, difficult, often baffling, and only occasionally "successful" years abroad, to explore the roots of their own ideas about things. They begin to see that language is bound up with society and politics and class, that culture is not something to be exported or imported, that the poor are nasty and brutish and so are the rich. It can be a shattering experience, but it is almost always an educating one. Volunteers are much less the "tame tabbies" when they return; they have had an effect in a very direct way, and they are not willing to settle for the same alienated, voiceless status their fellow-Americans seem to enjoy. Half the returnees go on in college (education is said to absorb the "cultural shock"), many go into community activities similar to their Peace Corps work. Hundreds get on the Peace Corps staff, others take various government jobs.

Most of the returnees will be post-radical. They do not have to buy credentials by joining the front lines in a march or a sit-in. They have gone, to borrow the title of a current SDS monograph, "from protest to radical politics." It would delight SDS to know that as their own paper was being written, the Peace Corps' Warren Wiggins was delivering a speech called "From Applied Altruism to Nation Building." It amounted almost to the same thing. Wiggins may have failed to

realize, however, that protest remains inextricable from the kind of "existential politics" both he and the radicals are developing.

Like the returnees, the Peace Corps officials have been "stretched." "I've changed a hell of a lot in the past five years," Wiggins said. In his Stanford speech he admitted, "We have been surprised to find that we are more than we thought. We might not have looked and we might not have noticed the difference except for the movement."

As an institution of government, the Peace Corps was uniquely conceived, and Corpsmen want to build its "nonstructure" into a permanent form. Last year, they recommended to Congress (which approved) a five-year limitation on staff jobs, the first such instance of premeditated self-liquidation, Wiggins said, since the federal government began. There is a volunteer forum, run by returnees, once a week in the Washington office. Bureaucratic procedures have been stood on their head: staff meetings include anyone the director wants, not just line officers. Much Civil Service "job classification" nonsense has been thrown out. There is fluent communication between the lowest and the highest officials, and between staff and volunteers. Outsiders make frequent (and frequently critical) evaluations of programs, and their criticisms are taken seriously. It makes the atmosphere in the agency offices different from any other large bureau in Washington.

Not only Peace Corpsmen hope that their way of running a bureaucracy, as well as their ideas about politics and society, might influence other parts of government. But so far, the effect has been small. What it would mean for the Peace Corpsmen to be running, say, the State Department is anybody's fantasy. Could the elements of fluidity, participation, communication, and innovation work in an old-established, highly-political setting?

The only model available is discouraging. Jack Hood Vaughn's brief career as Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs was not a very happy one. As far as anyone can tell, he could (or would) do little to make a difference in the altogether disastrous course of Latin American policy since the assumption to power of Undersecretary Thomas Mann. Vaughn arrived at State to take Mann's old job only a few weeks before the Dominican intervention; it illustrated the opposite of almost everything he has been saying about Latin America for years, but he obviously had to defend the policy (some of his friends say he did as little defending as possible). Senator Robert Kennedy is supposed to have stormed out of Vaughn's office during a briefing before Kennedy's Latin tour; the story is that Vaughn took the Mann line, that the Dominican affair had not seriously impaired US-Latin American relations, and Kennedy violently disagreed.

Even if it is true, Vaughn is understood now to have returned to his old, *simpatico* self. He began community development at the Peace Corps, when he was regional director for Latin America. Before that, he was an AID director, a USIA officer, a teacher and a professional boxer (26 fights in Mexico as Johnny "Chopper" Hood). His political philosophy is somewhat on the sentimental side; like his former colleague at the Peace Corps, Bill Moyers, he has the air of a failed preacher (Vaughn is the son of a Montana cowboy). He told the Rio de Janeiro Conference last November that he wanted to "put love back into the Alliance for Progress." He seems to have the notion that social revolution in Latin America may take place in a political vacuum, devoid of the effects of a hundred years of party-building and revolutionary theorizing. When it comes to *specific* revolutions, Vaughn is usually against them. He told Peace Corpsmen that the Charter of Punta del Este (establishing the Alliance) was "almost the greatest thing written since the Bible." "It's revolutionary and it's right and it's progressive and it's Christian and it's modern and it's tough and it's almost unobtainable."

That is also a good description of the Peace Corps. It would be a mistake to think that the Corps had "arrived." It has only recently started moving in a recognizable direction. It still must answer a lot of hard questions, and fill in its rhetoric with results. Is it going to recruit slum kids and farm boys and plumbers and fishermen as well as a "cross-section of highly-motivated, middle-class college graduates"? It hasn't made much of a start yet; the 12-page application form is enough to put off almost everyone but college types.

Will the Corps train volunteers in slums and Freedom Schools and migrant labor camps, and the like? What will happen if trainees "don't know where to draw the line," as Wiggins said. Can the Corps withstand the political pressures? Will the most progressive people in the Corps have to go underground to work for the changes they want?

Breaking the Pattern

Can it really make a dent in the pattern of bureaucratic organization, as Wiggins hopes? The concept of "institutionalizing anti-institutions" is novel and necessary (the student radical groups are hung up on the very thought of building an organization bigger than a loose cooperative of a few hundred young people). The Corps needs to go a lot further than five-year limitations and volunteer forums.

And finally, it has a job cut out for itself convincing Congress and the public that revolution, not the traditional notion of stability, is a valid objective of US policy. The old idea of what is the "national interest" dies hard. But the Peace Corps could be the first break in the old politics of nationalism. Foreign service officers go overseas as Americans. So do volunteers, but

they stay to work as men and women. Most of them, by the time their two-year stint is up, realize that they have done little to help America; later, they may understand that they have done a lot to help themselves, and the *campesinos* or the slum-dwellers, or the tribesmen, or the Indian chicken farmers. What they are doing is not internationalist, in the sense of the United Nations – a confederation of representatives of parochial nations. Rather, it is nonnationalist. It has less to do with nations and their foreign relations than with people and their human relations. That is a point the Peace Corps needs to make.

A QUESTION OF VALUES

Address of

Warren W. Wiggins
Deputy Director - Peace Corps

at

Hanover College
Hanover, Indiana
April 4, 1966

Thank you, and good morning.

I understand that Hanover is the oldest private four-year college in Indiana. Because the Peace Corps is only five years old, by appearing here we gain a little instant tradition. But we gain more than identification in our association with your college, because there have been quite a few Peace Corps Volunteers from this campus. I would say that it is a very good campus for us; there are eighteen Hanover Volunteers now in service with the Peace Corps and another eleven have already completed their work and returned.

So thank you for inviting me here today. I, too, am honored.

This is a day when a number of you are rewarded for academic and leadership achievement; your performance in this college is to be recognized.

Honors Day addresses often are devoted to urging you on to greater things and mine will not really be an exception although I do hope to avoid some of the platitudes that seem to be ever present.

I think today is a good time to urge you to continue your education. In some ways, you may now have to begin it. For until now the emphasis has been on your education -- essentially on what you could do for yourselves within a specific context.

Soon there will be a new context in which to choose a task.

I think there are some unclaimed jobs open to you and the stakes are rather high.

Who, for instance, will take responsibility, if you don't, for finally controlling a technology that now nearly controls its makers?

Who will finally decide that human beings should again speak to each other and live with each other instead of retreating further behind gadgets and devices?

Where will the cycle be broken that generally means that a child must begin life with most of the same prejudices and blindnesses that his parents had? Will your generation produce a significant number of leaders that admit their own failures instead of passing them on as traditions?

Can we recapture control of our own age which we call modern just because it is new?

These things are threatening and they are the kinds of things that you and I can do something about. At stake is human society and human values and I think an examination of what is going on in this world should cause a bit of alarm.

We are starting to conquer space.

Yet, when the lives to two men were in danger trying to come back, thousands of television viewers objected to having a re-run of "I Love Lucy" interrupted by the reporting of the dramatic events. And while we

explore space, some still debate the morality of conducting nuclear tests above the atmosphere.

We can effect military destruction, I learned last week, at about the rate of one-tenth of the cost of a decade or so ago; but we still cannot adequately feed much of the world's population.

The loss of life in Viet Nam is much lower than in Korea or World War II because of advances in medical treatment but around the world millions still die yearly of diseases we have long known how to cure.

Universal education is nearly a reality in this country. Twenty-five per cent of the people your age finish at least one year of college and 70 per cent graduate from high school. But we find at the same time many of the brightest college students openly and violently dissatisfied with their institutional experience.

I don't want to go on with statistics and instances. What should concern us are the values implicit in all of this. People starve when they needn't and men fight when they shouldn't but the prior question is still "Why?"

What are we going to do? What are our values?

Most of your parents have already decided what they will do. Some have settled into a comfortable life of two cars and two point eight kids and a television set. How may of your peers will probably choose the same path which often seems to express a central value structure of our society?

And if you try to buck it, you will not win a lot of popularity. How many honors days are there for those who question our contemporary, majority-held values? Such people are usually honored posthumously -- if at all.

Are we a smug nation?

Are we satisfied with the way things are? For how many of our graduation seniors this year are the predominant goals comfort and security? Are we on dangerous grounds as we consider questioning some of the values of our contemporary society in the United States?

As we move toward our goals in the United States, how many other people of this earth are beginning their terms of hell?

How many of us as a result may have begun our own sentences in hell as well?

Far too often those values that made us human beings have been lost. We sometimes seek to purchase comfort at the cost of our integrity.

We no longer even fight wars as human beings. We are able to kill at a range of hundreds of miles, never seeing our "enemy," never thinking about him as a person.

We are now able to destroy without seeing the damage we cause. We know how to take a life without having to look at the broken body.

And we have done much more than put war at arm's length.

The human condition has been reduced by many of us to sets of figures and institutions.

We are charitable through united funds and community chests. Many of our people are spared ever having to see a crippled child or a blind old woman. Many of those who give happily to a fund drive, cringe at the sight of a beggar.

For many students education is simply the memorization of what have been called "cepts;" You get 120 credit hours and you are educated. Professors appear; examinations are graded; but the process of formal education contains little human emotion.

And where in all of this is there time for the examination of values?

Where is the room for the one who would question? What happens to the one who would suggest change?

How often in your home or college education were you told that there is room to think differently? That there is a need to question? -- not just question about the answers to a problem or the process by which a problem is solved' but question the values that underlie our current society?

I think the central thing about values ought to be that they are something you have to feel and understand and arrive at for yourself. In many ways, anybody else's values may be useless to you and, just as importantly, yours may be useless to anyone else.

That may seem trite, but wars have been fought over the failure of one people to allow another their own values.

The world has had, and now has, many people who think so highly of their own values that they will kill or censure to force them on others.

So far, I propose two precepts: First, that you must question and search for the guidelines by which you will rule your life, and second, that as a matter of principle, to feel a compulsion to impose your values on another is hopeless and wrong.

We all have heard of imperialism. Cultural imperialism, the imposition of values, is as bad as the military kind. It is as insulting and self-defeating whether involving two people or two nations.

For example, the problem was well stated by the perceptive Catholic thinking, Father Gustave Weigel. He wrote of the failure of our society to learn anything about other peoples.

He said "...The Latin American does not envisage life as we do. The values so attractive to Americans are at times repellent to the Latins... By and large the American believes that life is for work, with the work occasionally interrupted with leisure so that future work be more efficient. The Latin American thinks that life is for leisure, interrupted occasionally with work so that leisure itself be possible. The American wants to produce but the Latin American wants to enjoy."

Are we unwilling to consider for a moment that their way might be better? Better for them? -- even if not, per chance, better for us? Are we willing to ask ourselves that kind of fundamental question?

I think such questioning is what some Peace Corps Volunteers do and it is probably at the heart of the so-called (and mis-named) Peace Corps re-entry crisis.

Young people, never having to question themselves in their homes or colleges, never being asked to challenge the very basis of their lives, ask the hard questions.

We have learned that quite by accident, the Peace Corps is structured to bring people to just that point. In that way it may be unique.

The finest examples of young Americans, 23 years old, college graduates, trained in home and church, and at the peak of their physical and mental abilities, enter the Peace Corps and begin to lose the surface trappings of twentieth century America.

Overseas, the Volunteer has left behind the safety structured world of the campus, the dorms, the deans, the "do's and don'ts."

Left behind is the family and familiar religious and social institutions.

The Volunteer is far away from the material aspects of his normal life -- those things which can be worn, driven, or shown off at a dance.

The familiar community is gone and with it the influences, pressures, and repressions.

All the Volunteer has is his own set of values. The supporting system, the protective shield is missing.

The result is remarkable. Functioning in a new context, working in

a new field, the young man or woman has a new testing ground in which values held either work or fade away. Some values are strengthened, others dropped.

Of course this is happening to the Volunteers' new friends and co-workers as well. The object is communication and not a cultural battle.

For these reasons, Volunteers cannot have private cars. They live in the same kind of houses and eat the same kind of food as their hosts for two years. Not only do we have them speak the same language, we try to teach them to work in the value systems of their hosts.

From the American Volunteer, the hosts learn new ideas and methods. To an Andean Indian who has lived in a mud hut just as, for centuries, his forefathers have, a cement block school is a challenge to values.

And the Volunteers begin to wonder about things they have taken for granted all their lives.

The Peace Corps Volunteers are certainly not alone in that experience. I believe that those young people who have lived for a summer or a year in the Mississippi Delta or in a Cleveland slum have had the same thing happen.

And, when at the same time, they confront the kind of material existence that many of our fellow human beings lead, I think they are shaken to their very souls.

I guess I believe in that happening. I am impressed with the capacity of the Peace Corps to disturb the patterns of lives -- the pattern of values. I think all too often our churches and schools seek to reinforce

contemporary or historical patterns rather than to disturb them.

Last week, I read a letter in a New York paper in which the author suggested that most American people are afraid of life as it really is. "They want instant, magic solutions to all their problems and they don't want to have to think," she said.

If that is the case, we should all be trying to shake people up instead of working to make life even more pleasant; instead of longing for a quick and uneasy peace, we should seek a confrontation.

This human condition we have talked about should be made real until not thinking about it would be impossible.

Heartbreak and pain are nonetheless real because we don't look at them. Hunger hurts no less because we don't think about it. People who can't read are living, breathing human beings, not statistics.

And, if you can forgive me for another statistic, there are 11 million functional illiterates in the United States. How many of us know any of them? What are we going to do about it?

One returned Volunteer explained the impact of living for two years in Africa. He said one stops interpreting everything through the pattern of one's own American existence and intellectual traditions.

Another returned Volunteer is Albert C. Ulmer of Indian Rocks, Florida who joined the Peace Corps after receiving his masters degree from Florida State University in 1961. After two years as a Volunteer in

Nigeria, he went into civil rights work in the south. After attending a conference of Volunteers who had returned to America he wrote the following letter to the former Peace Corps Director, Sargent Shriver:

"Dear Sargent Shriver:

Sunday evening I left the Returned Volunteer Conference....If there was any theme evident during this weekend's workshops and speeches it was 'get involved' in this time of change. I had come to the conference hopeful of the chance to talk about ways Volunteers could work in the civil rights movement, especially as it exists in the south. There was not a large representation from the south however and many of the problems we discussed in the local community workshop I attended were those of the future, not of the present.

Monday evening my work took me to Selma, Alabama. I drove a car from Montgomery Airport taking great care not to exceed the speed limit because a Negro minister was one of our passengers and if we were stopped the chance of being charged with some fictitious violation was more than good. Another man, also a minister, rode with us. His name was James Reeb.

The march, they say, was a success for both sides. A remarkable engineering job, said others. I'm not sure I know if the march was either, in fact, I'm not exactly sure why the march was. I do know, however, that all the men who are qualified to vote in the south cannot do so and that

policemen wait like hungry animals to pounce on their prey, clubbing and kicking.

But you know these things I'm sure, as do many other people in the establishment, whatever that is. The question is, what are you going to do about it?

You and many others at the conference mentioned the necessity of our working within the establishment, the government, politics, etc. I am not sure I want to, or even if I could if I wanted to, for the establishment here in the south is what we are fighting, not joining. But you are part of a larger establishment, one which has the power to change some of the things so very badly needing change here in my homeland. I guess in a way as a Volunteer in Nigeria I helped make you a part of the establishment.

You asked at the conference what we were doing now that we were home. Well, last Monday night I took Reverend Reeb to Selma so that he could march in protest to voting discrimination and repeated police brutality. They say he is going to die tonight and I'm kind of wondering what, if he dies, we can say he died for.

What I guess I really want to know is what you and the rest of whatever the establishment is are going to do about voting and police brutality here in the south, because we're outnumbered here and we need your help."

Signed: Al Ulmer

That kind of experience puts you out where not too many of us are. You voice new thoughts and are willing, perhaps, to explore new ideas.

Those who have done so have not always been popular even when they were right.

Our society, including "the establishment," does offer the opportunity to question even if it does not always encourage it. It tends to honor, however, only those new ideas and thoughts are well within the context of the majority. Those who venture outside are often dismissed, or ignored, or worse.

If you go beyond, if you become an advocate of change outside of the respectable limits you enter dangerous territory. At the worst, you may discover why we burned witches in Salem.

A recent issue of Presbyterian Life discusses Elijah Lovejoy, a Presbyterian minister who questioned slavery and defended his freedom to say so. It cost him his life, too.

Our society is not comfortable with zealots. We are embarrassed by the deeply committed and involved. Emotion is not in vogue... especially if involved in raising questions about values.

But we need more people willing to commit those sins.

This is Honors Day. We need not only to consider and be thankful for those of you who have achieved excellence in the pursuits that are clearly a fulfillment of the contemporary value system. We also need

broadly to consider the bestowing of honor on those whose achievements are not to be found as a fulfillment of the contemporary value system but are to be found in the questioning and modification of our current goals.

And here - in this thought - those who are honored today have a unique role. Recognition by the bestowing of honor gives exceptional opportunity to the recipient to influence others. Some take honor and with it, reinforce not only the frame of values represented by the society, but rededicate their own lives to the perpetuation of these values in the furtherance of which they have excelled.

But there are those, who with the receipt of honor, grow in strength and independence and provide a new leadership - a leadership respected in part because it was honored - a new leadership that dares to risk past honor in the hope of future gain for society.

Many such individuals previously honored are now abroad in the Peace Corps. There also are a far greater number working here at home - alone and in organizations, trying to introduce new perspective in old values.

The reward for all of these - at home and abroad - will be a world more fit to live in. Their monument will be children who love instead of fear.

Their honor will be found in the lives of human beings who have learned how not to fight and how not to starve. Their followers will be legion.

I hope you will be among them.

Thank you.

Melvin Manthey
611-Hanwick Rd
Melbourne Village
Fla.

Dear Mr. Ulmer.

I was pleased to get your letter.

I cannot make any promises, but I can listen to what your project is like.

at present I have two or three jobs lined up. one in africa. But one never knows until one is definitly one place or the other.

My African project was a real success, and I was offered a job by the Television gov. as well as Nielson Television. Lets hear

Sincerely
M.V. Manthey

PS (over)

I am not retired and need to earn funds.

The South VIEWED from Nigeria
Through a Magnifying Glass Darkly

A short talk given by an ex-Peace Corps Volunteer in Nigeria to a group of Southern churchwomen at the annual meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned, October 22nd, 1964.

Thank you Mrs. Tilley. I have been asked to speak to you this evening about my experiences as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Nigeria, West Africa. I thank you all for this opportunity. In order to best utilize the time given to me I will attempt to answer a statement made by Dr. Sam Proctor, a man many of you know. Dr Proctor is a former Peace Copps Director in Nigeria and is at present working for the National Council of Churches. He said he thought the Peace Corps placed people in situations forcing them to question certain aspects of American society they had previously accepted. Dr. Proctor continued, saying perhaps this questioning had even enabled these people to gain an "insight" into some of the situations and problems our country is involved in today.

I am wary of people who have gained "insights" into problems or of those who are enlightened in some area of life. Therefore, to come before you today and speak on the insights I gained while in the Peace Corps is repugnant to me, as I am sure it would be to you. I will attempt, however, to tell you of several impressions I gained during these past two years. I mpressions gained mainly by making comparisons between the American and the Nigerian way of life.

I am a Southerner. My home is Florida. I attended grade school, high school and college in the South. I left the South three years ago and now I have come home. Perhaps I traveled too far, or stayed too long, or maybe I went to the wrong contries. Or maybe a Southern writer was right when he said, "You can't go home again." When people ask me, "How does it feel to be back?" I know I should answer, "Fine, it's great to be home" but I can't.

I was in the Peace Corps for two years in Nigeria, West Africa teaching science and English in a Secondary School. Contrary to popular opinion I neither lived in a hut nor slept on a grass mat. I was a teacher and I lived as a Nigerian teacher of the same educational level would live. This level, though perhaps austere by ameican standards, is middle class or higher by Nigerian ones. My job was to teach. It was not to try and win friends and influence people for America. If in the process of teaching adequately and being myself these were fringe benefits, good, but my primary responsiblity was to teach. However, it is impossible to live in a foreign country and not feel what is going on around you, the people , the noise, the poverty, the heat, the sickness, and the people. And it is also impossible not to compare new things with things you have experienced in the past.

Quickly, and therefore with a chance of error, let me summarize Nigeria. A large country ten times the size of South Carolina with 20 times the number of people, Nigeria boasts one-fifth of the population of Africa. Its 40 million people are divided into nearly 250 tribal and linguistic groups, the main tribes being Hausa, Ibo, Yoruba, and Fulani. It is an ex-British colonial possession with a three party, democratic, bi-cameral governmental system. Recently Nigeria has become a republic composed of four autonomous regions; North, West, East, and Mid-west. The religion is mainly Islamic in the North and West and Christian in the East and Mid-West. Vestiges of the old religions some describe as Pagan remain throughout the country firmly intertwined with intricate and social and family customs.

That is the cold factual Nigeria. But there is another and it is the Nigeria of extremes. It flows as costal river swamps rises sharply to the rain forest, levels to the semi-arid mesa and finally ends in the desert of the North. Nigeria contrasts the sky scrapers of Lagos, the capital, with the oval clay-mud huts with thatched roofs less than ten miles away; the elegant homes of the ministers of state with the tin roofed cement block houses of the civil servants. Everywhere is new contrasted with old, rich with poor and sick with strong.

Nigeria is hot. Lying ten degrees from the equator the heat is omnipresent and omnipotent. Relief comes with the fury of the rains and last 4 or five months but the humidity remains in the ninities during both the days and the nights. People are everywhere. City streets are filled with milling crowds, come to the city to find work that isn't there. Taxi horns blare, noise is constant and even the warm nights find people on the streets, sleeping in doorways or on the streets themselves. Burned out lepers - fingerless - babies with swollen stomaches and reddened hair, mothers nursing children standing at their breasts, with a waiting infant in their arms.

I could continue to tell you more about Nigeria but that is not really what Mrs. Tillion asked me to do here tonight. These things we have just mentioned will be valuable for us though as we begin to try to make comparisons or speak of impressions. And so, how does America look from this country Nigeria? Take a magnifying glass and place it on Bull Connor or George Wallace or Ross Barnett, then glance at the shiney new cars, the ranch type houses, the tall apartment buildings. Then using an old game let me ask you to color them white. Now turn your manifying glass and place it over the city slums, the share-cropper's shack, the road gang, or Martin Luther King behind bars. Color them colored. And lastly, look at a pledge we as Americans make at ball games, scout meetings and before class begins. Focus on the second sentence of this pledge and read, "One nation, indivisible, under God, with liberty and justice for all." You should be getting an idea by now what America looks like from Nigeria. Do you know the way it sounds? It sounds like "hypocrisy". This word is being spoken and written along with adjectives such as repulsive and brazen and some people elsewhere are saying "I told you so". The papers I read after the Birmingham riots and bombings had front page pictures blown up to huge dimensions depicting our law enforcers with their knees on necks and their hands holding clubs and leashes. The caption at the top of the page said, "Democracy?"

We have urged that foreign peoples adopt our philsphy of democratic life. Nigeria is one new "developing","emerging" nation to have done so. We have urged that all peoples have individual liberties and the right to vote. We insist that other countries establish constitutions with civil rights spelled out. And yet we send to Africa Senator Allen J. Ellender, a Louisiana Democrat and ardent segregationist who goes around telling anybody who will listen that Negroes are incapable of self-government, at the same time we are aiding these countries to the tune of 500 million dollars a year.

But democracy in America is "under God". Missionaries are throughout Africa trying to save the souls of the heathern African, when only recently the denominstions they represent refused to believe he even had one. The Lagos Time, perhaps the most influential publication in Nigeria said in an editorial which appeared after the Birmingham riots:

"One disturbing paradox emerges from the current race crisis in the United States, and that is, some Houses of God, which are supposed to be free to all comers, irrespective of the color of skin, are now being used in the foolish campaign aimed at showing the Negro that his God is different from the white man's God. Thirteen churches, in a report on my desk, rejected Negro goups seeking admittance, four received them and there were no reports from others..... these churches were described as "white churches". White churches and black churches in a country built on the concept of equality of the human race? The very idea is revolting."

How many church organizations concern themselves with what is a crisis of immediacy in the religious, political, and sociological life of our time? Very few. And the others? They concern themselves with the sin of drinking, juvenile delinquency, discussions on how to attract more young people into the church, the decline of moral standards, and so on and on.

So the principles we declare present in our own country and that we urge on others do not in fact exist in some areas---notably Mississippi and Alabama---also in isolated rural areas throughout the South. And we, a nation that insists it honors God has some church leaders that also insist on separate Gods to honor. A folly sure to plague Christianity for many long years to come.

Many things have happened since I left Nigeria. Our nation has belatedly seen fit to pass a civil rights bill guaranteeing equal rights to all. After 175 years of thinking it so, we finally acted to make it so. The racial problem has served as the magnifying lens

for our country in the last year and one-half much the same as distance has achieved the enlarging effect for others in the past, men such as deToqueville and Mrydal. Looking, we find the problems sharpening into focus. The solutions remain blurred. School drop outs, vocational education and re-training, welfare services, urbanization, automation, and delinquency need our special viewing. But none of these economic, political and educational problems of our country loom as large as civil rights and race, and I doubt if any can be overcome without first ending unjust race relations.

Begin We Americans, are only now, beginning to study ways of alleviating the causes of the problems rather than just solving the problems. We must hurry and we must be thorough in our haste. Educational theories, concepts of work, and application of Judeao-Christian principles to daily life are only a few things needing prompt attention.

From Africa the goal of American man appears to be a ranch-type house, two cars, a pool, and a boat to ski behind. Our waste looks wanton, our affluency incomprehensible, and our concern for world morals naive and misplaced.

Perhaps in the future our nation's image will improve. Perhaps we will become the leader we think ourselves in the quest for the good life for all. Perhaps a healthy respect for human dignity will supplant the boat and the car as our number one want.

A re-evaluation of oneself from time to time is a good thing. Examining ones stated goals and actual actions to see if they are in accord is commendable. Today our country or at least part of it is practicing introspection, and we, for we are our country, are turning the enlarging properties of the civil rights issue on our naked selves, probing and peering into what at times seems to be a Pandora's box of social ills.

These are some of the impressions I gained during my stay in Nigeria. We are a strong and an influential nation, but we must re-dedicate ourselves to the fulfillment of our country's promise as a nation which can contribute much: religiously, intellectually, politically and economically to a larger common good for all men.

Home[redacted] AGAIN

The telegram from Sargent Shriver impressed my parents and me with its length. One page of yellow telling me of my acceptance into the Peace Corps for pre-selection training at the University of California at Los Angeles. The Clearwater Sun devoted a quarter of a page to the announcement of my selection. The article said I was the son of Mr. and Mrs. Albert C. Ulmer of 317 10th Avenue, Indian Rocks, Florida, a graduate if Clearwater High School and Florida State University and that I would teach Biology in Nigeria, West Africa.

Fifty-five of us Peace Corpsmen flew from New York City in late December of 1961 across the Atlantic Ocean and into Africa. Into is not an inappropriate preposition in this context, because one doesn't ~~xxxx~~ tour across, or go on, or visit this continent. One goes into it. Into people, milling about, talking, laughing, begging. Into heat, heavy with warm smells, clinging to your back, trickling to your groin. And into living. Not stainless steel living but struggle living. Children standing with their mouths on the full, elegant, naked breasts of their proud mothers; their older brothers, weaned, standing close by, stomachs beginning to protrude and hair to redden, beginning to look much like other victims of protein deficiency. Lepers, burned out, with palms stretched forward for daily droppings, only palms. Open sores and torn shirts, now and again ~~the~~ a strong urine smell striking your nose -- and stomach. Mud houses ring Lagos, the capitol, mocking the splendor of the Federal Palace Hotel, the grandeur of Parliament members' homes,

the storied ex-patriot's retreat. It is a land of contrasts: tin roofs - tile roofs, marble - mud; chandelier - bush lamp.

The train taking me to Enugu, Capitol of the Eastern Region where I was to teach, bridged the coastal river swamps, climbed and entered the canopied rain-forest, emerged onto the level semi-arid mesa, touched the beginning of Northern Nigeria's segment of the Sahara Desert and then, turning South, re-entered the periphery of the rain forest and left me.

The Peace Corps had been invited to Nigeria for a specific reason. It was to release Nigerian teachers not having graduate degrees, allowing them to take advantage of scholarship opportunities which would enable them to finish their education without draining the schools of desperately needed instructors. I'm not sure what image you have of the Peace Corps. I hope none. For it is NOT made up of people who want to be stereotyped. I lived in a concrete block house, not a mud hut, slept in a net-enclosed bed, not on a grass mat, and though my standard of living might have appeared austere by American standards it was comparable to that of a Nigerian graduate of a University. A young Nigerian man cooked and kept house for me. At the beginning this bothered me. But my job was to teach and having a cook-steward gave me more time to devote to teaching which was why I was there.

An old man, Mr. Nnaji, and I became good friends. Every day during the school term Mr. Nnaji would bring me either fruit, greens, or yam and we would drink a beer together sitting on the porch watching the sunset. He would speak of the days when the first missionaries came

to Emene, or of elephant hunts in which whole villages participated, or of punishments meted out equally to thieves - all men who stole. Before I left Nigeria he adopted me into his family.

I booked passage on a French mail boat leaving Nigeria the end of November, 1963. I sailed, numbed by the announcement four days earlier of President Kennedy's murder. If it is possible for a man to live white and die thought of as black, he had done so. I doubt if many Nigerians will ever believe he did not die because of his belief in the equality of men. The heads they will carve from ebony blocks in his likeness will be brown.

I took nearly eight months to come home. It was quite an Odyssey; twenty-five countries in all, cars, trains, boats and bicycle. Towards the end the ruins began looking like ruins and the romantic cities, like cities. but the people continued looking like people and I stayed and looked and talked. My money lasted well, but finally went, and I came home.

New York City and they were searching my baggage for the first time. The tempo was fast, faster than I had remembered. Cars, big shiney, and fast were everywhere. Glass and concrete and steel, so much more glass than I had remembered. And the people all walked fast. There was no milling about, no casualness that the clothes suggest, everyone walked in a straightline, straight ahead. Then I was moving. A bus hurried over broad hard clouds of concrete and I was thinking metal, glass, concrete, and squareness. Miles of cemetry were on my left and Biff-Burgers, Dandy-Dogs, Superettes and Creamettes flashed by to the right..... all cold.

We had had an orientation class before leaving America to prepare us for the phenomenon referred to as culture shock. Before we left Nigeria two psychologists flew from Washington to warn us of a similar effect caused by returning to the United States. They had been right

to do this.

Washington, D. C. How strange to feel awkward here in my own country's capitol, sitting on the grass and watching the drab green three buttoned suits go by with men in them, brief-cases holding hands. Eyes straight ahead and slightly up, striding straight ahead and somehow slightly up.

"We'd like to have you come on deck with us but were PHAsing that aspect of the program out." "It's important to know your degree of committment otherwise we can't tell just how you'll relate to the job."

Glass, metal, concrete....cold.

The two years are gone now, having passed quickly, been enjoyed, and now become cocktail patter.

"Oh you've been in the Peace Corps. How exciting! you 'must' tell me about it sometime. Perhaps we could have lunch next week?".

But there is much to tell. I doubt if even two lunches would present enough time.

Nigeria is a large country, the size of Texas and Arizona combined. Africa's most populous nation with nearly 50 million people, it represents the diversity of this continent with it 250 tribal and linguistic groups. The religion is mainly Islamic in the North and Northwest and Christian in the East and Mid-west. Vestiges of the old religions some describe as Pagan remain throughout the country firmly intertwined with intricate social and family customs.

My school had only 60 places available each year and each year over 600 young men applied for entrance. It costs a student approximately

180 dollars per year in tuition alone to attend the school. The money sometimes smelled of earth and the shillings were often rimmed with mold. If civilization is a race between education and disaster as H. G. Wells suggests, then the latter is winning.

Once I walked through a small village and counted twenty-seven people with goiter. One of our finest students died in the local hospital. In three days a doctor had seen him twice, once to pronounce him dead. For fifty million people there are 1,575 doctors at present in Nigeria.

Laborers make approximately fifty cents a day. Government workers recently struck for a minimum monthly wage law, asking for $15.85. it was difficult to select one beggar out of the ten odd in front of the Kingsway store to give to. Each white-robed nub-armed man must have surely glimpsed Hell already if hopelessness is the essence of it.

There is more to tell . America looks a special way from Nigeria. Take a magnifying glass and place in on Bull Conner or George Wallace or Ross Barnett, on the shiney cars, the ranch type houses, and the tall apartment buildings. Color them white. Turn your magnifying glass and place it over the city slums, the sharecroppers' shack, the road gang or the electric chair. Color them colored. And look at a pledge we Americans make at ball games, scout meetings, and before class begins. Focus on the second sentence of this pledge and read, "One nation, indivisible, under God, with Liberty and justice for all." You should be getting an idea by now what America looks like from Nigeria. Do you know the way it sounds? It sounds like "hypocrisy." The papers I read after the Birmingham riots and bombings had front page pictures blown up

to huge dimensions depicting our law enforcers with their knees on necks and their hands holding clubs and leashes. The caption at the top of the page said, "Democracy?"

Missionaries of practically every denomination are in Africa. Their contributions are controversial. A discussion of the role of proselytizing Christianity would require several volumes. Education, social change or custom-shattering, societal regrouping, and racial and political consciousness have all received stimulation in varying degree from missionaries. Whatever their role, a disturbing paradox shadows American missionaries. The denominations they represent often have "white" and "black" churches in America. Souls, colorless and strived after in Africa, are found to be brown and anathema to good shepherd-flock relations in America. And occasionally separate Gods are honored in this nation that honors God.

One day I heard one student ask another if his dress shorts were clean enough for chapel. "Why, they're as white as God," was the reply.

Two years is not a long time. But for two years I lived in a sort of never never land with many other Americans. We had interesting, challenging jobs with guaranteed salaries, adequate housing, and the respect of the community. And Negroes and whites acted like people with one another. There was AN easiness. NOW A TENSION HAS REPLACED THAT EASINESS. I'm more aware of being white in Atlanta than I was in Enugu. Maybe that is why I am looking for changes for the good and why I am disappointed when I find the numbers and changes small. But I said that two years is not a long time. And since changes rarely take place suddenly, perhaps it is presumptous of me to have expected them in such a length of time. I guess changes are more often moods of factions of people and that they must grow and gain popular concensus and acceptance. If this is so, then the mood should

Many of these battles are being won. A small squad of non-violent soldiers have accomplished this with little aid from many others who wear the same "colored" uniform. But some skirmishes aren't going so well. We seem to be segregating ourselves more. Gradually our cities are darkening until ghettos will soon be a Southern word, also. Optimists in the South say we have cause to hope because black and white of this region share the same values and have the same loyalties. INSERT ~~But this kinship of values and loyalties is to an extent a product to attend the same school, live in the same neighborhoods or work side by side with whites.~~ A lot of desegregation and equality of opportunity has taken place in the last two years. This satisfies too many people's political morality, and somehow we feel good because one Negro goes to law school and we forget the minute amount of realized integration and are blind to the situation of all the other men and women who stayed home.

This year segregationists and states righters joined hands and "hearts" with a property - right over human-right faction and now pass under the guise of a national political party. Proposition 14 won in California and fair housing and open occupancy lost consistently wherever the decision was offered to the voter. Market researchers in their efforts to exploit consumer demand have actually created a "Negro market," or at least reenforced a myth. We have Negro markets in Negro communities and Negro block voters in Negro ghettos with Negro leaders. People say they see a new Negro in the South. Perhaps he is not new, perhaps they are just seeing him for the first time. And they are seeing him as a consumer market, a section of fans, or a significant sector of a television audience, not as a part of "their" community.

INSERT PAGE - 8

But this kinship of values and loyalties is to an extent a product of living together, sharing activities, participating in community life, equally. The changes I am conscious of are the ones I hear and read of, not the ones I see. To have the same opportunity to attend the same school, live in the same neighborhood, or hold the same job, does not mean that Negroes are going to the same shcools, or living in the same neighborhoods or working side by side with whites.

have a feel or a taste or a trend, and we should be able to judge its direction, speed and force.

In 1961 .24 per cent of Negro students were in bi-racial situations in the South. It is not small wonder I grew up not having a classmate, churchmate, playmate, or friend who was a different color. Today, 1964, less than 2 per cent of Negro students are in bi-racial situations in the South and the increase this year was decidely less than last year's. A return to my high school verifies this trend nicely. No Negro students. A plan for desegregation has been presented to the State school authorities for next year.

Jacksonville, Florida was the scene in August of 1960. Fifty or more white men and boys paraded though the downtown area armed with baseball bats and ax handles. This year there was a change... the scene moved to St. Augustine.

There were signs on the restrooms of some service stations two years ago. They read "white ladies" and "colored women." Many have come down, some remain, and others have been replaced with numbers. "1, 2, 3, and 4" are on the locked doors. Entry is gained by asking for a key from an attendant.

Three years ago the war for equality was being waged on many battlegrounds. Campaigns were mounted to end denial to Negroes of their equal right to register and vote, to demand equal service at lunch counters, to force desegregation at Southern bus terminals, to force segregated Southern public schools and colleges to accept qualified students, to end racial discrimination in housing and employment and to secure legislation outlawing discriminatory racial practices.

It took the Birmingham riots and the murder of our President, but a Civil Rights Bill was passed. Most authorities say compliance has been good. But how many restuarants and hotels have actually been tested by integrated groups? The bill is not strong enough but chances for strengthening it were forfeited by having no choice in the last election. School integration will reamin partly paralyzed by tokenism, the newest method of defiance. Employment limps along pleading, "We'd hire Negroes, but we can't find any qualified ones," and all the while employment remains chained to education. Housing is making some gains. Negroes are now allowed to stay on the beach where I once lived after 6 p.m. A new phenomenon called "tilting," (where one "superior" Negro family, in a block is acceptable, but three or four Negro families causes mass white exodus), has touched a new nerve of prejudice in white suburbanites and ghettoization is something the future holds for us. And the discouraging thing is that laws can't make integrated school districts in segregated housing areas and people with jobs paying half salaries can't buy houses in all white suburbia. And if they save and can, watch out for tilting! So there we are, black and white encased in plastic cases. Maybe green's A solvent.

Voting and registration are encouraging. Ballots were cast with intelligence and purpose. Politicians heard men like George M. Coleman, World City Editor, say, "Stop giving us that 'Someday' and start talking in terms of 'now'.....Our dead black heroes on three battlefields..... Our valiant people, who have helped make this a better country, deserve it." Four Southern states, Tennessee, Arkansas, Virginia, and Florida cast their electoral ballots decisively influenced by the Negro vote.

I mentioned a tension. Though I don't like it, it is necessary. Whenever justice begins to replace the status quo, and honesty gains on expediency, a tension develops. Sadly, tension can birth violence if politicians talk and law enforcers turn. Police brutality is now called misconduct and is therefore improved. High school teachers don't show pictures of lynchings to their favorite students in my home town any more. But an Atlanta Negro was shot from a passing car by three white men yelling "nigger," as they fired.

The mood seems to be one of slowness, of self-interest, of talking and writing. I read recently that the South had seen the crack in the wall of never and when the wall crumbled we in the South would show the rest of the United States, indeed, the world, how good men can treat one another. I hope this is so. But subtilty and ingenuity mixed with apathy and self-interest makes a strong patch. Yet, a sufficient number of hands wielding a large enough crow bar could make the crack a crevice and eventually the wall would go. I hope it is soon, for we in the South are lucky. Our wall doesn't hide a Harlem. Not yet.

I measure the mood another way. I wonder if Mr. Nnaji came to visit.....I wonder how we'd treat him?

MEMORANDUM

TO: Roger Landrum

FROM: Joseph Grimsley, APCR for Community Development

SUBJECT: Training for Community Development

Field Training, Puerto Rico

Michigan State did its field training in Mexico last year. It was an excellent program.

"Haphazard placement" comes from placements which have no relationship to the actual job overseas nor which present possibilities of testing a PCV's real potential in community development. Often, PR does not know what was taught and emphasized in training, and thus does not realize how to test this knowledge in two or three weeks in Puerto Rico.

I have sat on Puerto Rico boards and, in both cases, I felt that field training feedback was virtually useless, since they usually said such things as: "He was playing with the kids at the school when I arrived; his landlady says he comes in late; he wasn't around when I arrived; he was really enjoying himself."

Frankly, for our purposes, we prefer the continually supervised and full feedback from a program like that at New Mexico. Several different approaches should be used, but I would like to see field training for community development actually test each step in cd as it is taught. P.R. is too out of touch with some cd training - albeit they are often poor - to accurately relate field experience back to classroom lectures, and vice-versa. In-house is fine, but even this approach is separated in P.R. Also, P.R. staff is too small and too involved with continuing good relations in P.R. to really test our PCVs' real potential by asking for results instead of just an experience in another culture.

Question: Does the P.R. field train for cd purposes, or for exposure to Latin culture? To me, cd is a process that includes much more than anthropological experience.

Community Development Foundation

The Foundation works largely in the US in training its cadre, but it has several international contracts by which it offers training in cd to social workers, extension agents, and others.

Bill Edwards says he hears they are bad, but some informants have seen results of their training course and report favorably on the impact. Also, they do have a publication.

There is a cd arm of the UN, CREFAL I believe, which has a program in Mexico and Venezuela.

Qualified British and American community developers

I have read materials of many British and American writers, but all this information is now in PDO/LA's cd library. Also, people have mentioned names to me, but I don't remember any specific ones. However, just within the PC, we have some people approaching professionalism in cd. I strongly recommend their continued and expanded use in training programs:

John Arango - New Mexico
Ron Schwartz, Jack Donoghue - Michigan State
Bill Edwards - URT/LA
Dave Boubion - PCR/PANAMA
Jim Pines - PDO/LA
Carsten Lien - URT/LA
Bill Toland - Baylor

I suggest that PC look beyong itself also for "outsiders." Cd is 25 years old and there are people whose teaching and field experience and reputations are tops.

And too, we need a PC guideline which standardizes our approach in Latin America. There is no reason to have a good program of cd in Honduras and Panama without also having a good program in Costa Rica and Guatemala. Training and supervision are important, thus the staff role is crucial until the PCV is trained and in the field long enough to learn his community.

Training for cd

Keep the social group workers and anthropologists away from cd program guidance. They are excellent components of a cd training program, but if they serve as coordinators, they often by-pass cd methodology and process in efforts to teach group social work or cross-cultural experience.

If a technical cd center for training is discussed, I feel that the idea has merit but should be carefully considered for its effect on current PC cd thinking. Project-oriented cd has failed and nearly every country is now going for pure cd. In this, projects get built, too, and usually there are more of them. But the process is honored and the people learn cd, too.

I strongly suggest that technical cd components be prepared and given to each training instructor by URT - leaving no room for deviation. Material could be shipped and stored for next year.

Never will there be enough camps to handle all cd PCV's, thus the component idea has more validity for standarization. The same goes for the cd component itself. The technical studies camp would better serve programs involving school building, school feeding programs, or nutrition and well drilling, etc. Cd may be helpful for these programs, but only incidentally. When cd is the vehicle, I disagree that we need another entré. The good Volunteer does his job because he structures his job mentally by means of cd theory and practice. Thus, in my mind, a cd Volunteer's job has structure as if he were in a classroom each day. Until others realize the difference between this and "cd is anything," the Peace Corps will continue to falter.

ISSUES RAISED FOR DISCUSSION AT PREVIOUS PEACE CORPS SEMINARS

Should the Peace Corps emphasize its first purpose (helping countries meet their needs) over the other two (promoting mutual understanding)? Are the goals inconsistent? Should they be changed?

How much must a Volunteer maintain the "Peace Corps image," regarding allowances, housing, mode of travel, etc.?

To what extent must the Volunteer adopt the manner of living of his host country, and to what extent is he a "cultural imperialist"?

Can American methods of teaching and discipline and nursing and farming and community development be transferred to a foreign country?

Does a teaching Volunteer in Africa or Asia have the opportunity to be an "agent of change"? Is he as valuable as a community development worker in Latin America?

How revolutionary is the Peace Corps as an agency?

How much is the Peace Corps contributing to "peace"?

To what extent does a Volunteer act as an agent of the United States Government and its foreign policy?

What should be the Volunteer's stance in relation to staff members of the American Embassy, or AID?

Should the Peace Corps be in Vietnam?

Should the Peace Corps strive for more amateurism or more professionalism? Would either impede its success?

What kind of "success" can a Volunteer expect to have? What will others expect?

What should be the nature of a Volunteer's relationships with the elite of his host country, or with expatriates of other nations - both on and off the job?

Can a Volunteer become involved in local politics?

Why should young Americans want to go overseas when there is so much to do at home - in VISTA, in community action programs, in civil rights?

Have today's applicants volunteered because of any of the considerations noted above, or did they do so for distinctly other reasons?

Thomas S. Page, RE. 7-4091
Peace Corps, Public Information
Washington, D. C.

PEACE CORPS ANNOUNCES 11 TRAINING COURSES FOR COLLEGE JUNIORS

May 20 is the deadline to enroll in 11 Peace Corps training courses for college juniors to be held this summer at U.S. universities, the Peace Corps announced in Washington, D.C.

Peace Corps officials advised that students enroll immediately because of the time required to process the applications. "The sooner the better," they said.

The courses -- 10 starting in June and the other in July -- are designed to enable future Volunteers to integrate Peace Corps training with their senior year of college. Each course runs 10 weeks.

Juniors qualified to enter the Advance Training Program will be prepared for assignments in 14 countries. The assignments cover community and agricultural development, secondary education and teaching English in French-speaking West Africa.

In their final year of college, the trainees' courses of study may be tailored to fit their Peace Corps training. The ATP enrollees will complete their training in special field programs the summer of 1967.

A Peace Corps loan fund for ATP enrollees helps cover the loss of income trainees might have otherwise earned from summer employment. Trainees may borrow up to $600 at low interest rates to pay expenses during their final year in school.

ATP was begun in 1964 as a solution to the increasing difficulty in preparing Volunteers for certain assignments. Some Volunteers, for example, must learn two languages to handle their work effectively. ATP gives the Peace Corps 15 months to prepare the Volunteer instead of the normal three.

Courses to be held this summer:

1) Bolivia Community Development. Studies include community development theory and practice, Spanish, Bolivian national and sub-cultural studies. The training will take place at the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana, beginning June 19.

2) Colombia Community Development. Studies include community development theory and practice, Spanish, Colombian national and sub-cultural studies. Beginning June 19 at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

3) Peru Community Development. Studies include community development theory and practice, Spanish, Peruvian national and sub-cultural studies. Beginning June 26 at the University of California, Berkeley.

4) Brazil Community Development. Studies include community development theory and practice, Portuguese, Brazilian national and sub-cultural studies. Beginning June 19 at Sacramento State College.

5) Teaching English in French-Speaking Africa: Gabon, Togo, Ivory Coast, Cameroon and Senegal. Studies will include West African national and community development, French and African languages, African classroom and curriculum. Beginning July 5 at Dartmouth College.

6) Kenya Agricultural Development. Studies will include Kenyan national and village studies, Swahili, topical agricultural development, with practice in mid-western Indian reservations. Beginning June 20 at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee.

7) India Rural Community Development (Poultry and Health). Studies include Indian national and rural community studies, language, community development theory and skills, with participation in projects on mid-western Indian reservations. Beginning on June 19 at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

8) Thailand Rural Community Development. Studies include community development theory and skills, Thai language, national and rural community studies, participation in Missouri community development projects. Beginning on June 19 at the University of Missouri at Columbia.

9) Philippines Secondary Education. Studies include Philippine national and community studies, a Philippine language, classroom and curriculum, with practice teaching in the St. John's area. The training will combine teaching and community action experiences with the St. John's College seminar approach to learning. Readings will concentrate in American and Far Eastern classics. Beginning on June 25 at St. John's College, Maryland, adjacent to Annapolis.

10) Turkey Community Development. Studies include language, community development practice and theory, national and rural community studies and participation in community projects. Beginning on June 26 at the University of Kentucky at Lexington.

11) Thailand Secondary Education. Studies include Thai language, national and sub-cultural studies, classroom and curriculum, with practice teaching in slum schools. Beginning June 24 at Northern Illinois University at DeKalb.

Further information may be obtained from the Peace Corps liaison office

on campus or by writing Room 722, Division of Public Affairs, Peace Corps,

Washington, D. C. 20525.

#1174

MEMO

To: The Class of '66

From: Jack Vaughn
Director
Peace Corps

Subject: Some Jobs That Need Doing—in Asia, Africa and Latin America

PEACE CORPS: 1966

A Directory of Training Programs Scheduled for Summer 1966

PEACE CORPS FACTS

4th ANNUAL PEACE CORPS REPORT

November 1, 1960

Mr. Robert Stowell
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Robert:

I wish you Godspeed on your Beauford self-survey. I do not know who here at SRC qualifies as an "expert" --as you put it--on self-surveys but I suppose, through our Consultant Service Program, we might help. Why don't you let me know when you would like someone to come in and we'll see what can be done?

We are sending under separate cover the requested 10 copies of the Greenville report; two copies of A Second Look at Atlanta--John Constable says he sent you some about a month ago, and, unfortunately, we have only a handful left; and a few other things as mentioned below. We no longer have any but one or two file copies of Your Community Looks at Itself.

The Jacksonville report is long gone; I am forwarding you our only copy on loan: please return. I included in the package some materials also on loan dealing with Nutley (N.J.) and Minneapolis. The thermofaxes on Arlington and Oak Ridge you may keep. The Shreveport survey is on loan; it is our only copy. Under the sponsorship of the American Jewish Committee, a community audit of Greater Miami was completed in early 1959; write to Seymour Samet, A.J.C., 1208 Congress Building, Miami.

Met 12-15-60

From old correspondence here I note that there was interest in 1955 in self-surveys in Charlottesville and San Antonio; what may have come of them I don't know. You might, if interested, write to the people who wrote to us: Mrs. Alfred Fernback, Community Services, Extension Division, University of Virginia, Charlottesville; Theodore Freedman,

Anti-Defamation League, 2405 San Jacinto St., Houston 2, Texas.

I have had some small part in the launching of a statewide study of race relations practices in Texas. A number of study commissions have been organized, each surveying one area, such as schools, churches, recreation, etc. There is some material available on the plans and methods of the commission; write to Harold Kilpatrick, Texas Council of Churches, 504 West 24 St., Austin 5, Texas.

You are right in guessing that we cannot advise about home improvement financing. I have two suggestions. One is that you outline your problems in letters to the Columbia offices of FHA and VA and ask for any materials they have. The other is that you write to Robert Thompson, Executive Director of the Atlanta Urban League, 239 Auburn Avenue N.E., Atlanta 3; Bob knows the ins and outs of housing better than anyone I know. Generally of interest is a pamphlet, The Case of the Blighted City, by E. C. Banfield, one of the case studies in American politics put out by the American Foundation for Continuing Education, 19 South LaSalle St., Chicago 3; and Phylon for the First Quarter, 1958 (order from Atlanta University, $1.25).

There are so many biliographies. I am forwarding one, The Negro American, which you may keep. Melvin Tumin has been sort of official bibliographer of the desegregation controversy, publishing a digest and a supplement under the title Segregation and Desegregation; order from ADL, 515 Madison Ave., New York, 22. Every year, in connection with its Institute, the Race Relations Department at Fisk prepares a detailed bibliography which you could get by writing. The old standard is E. T. and A. M. Thompson, Race and Region, University of North Carolina Press, 1949, now out of print, I believe, but maybe available at your library.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

Dear Leslie Dunbar,

You will probably hear from me fairly often in the next months. I am helping here at Penn in several capacities, particularly in organizing a "self-survey" of the Beaufort area which will serve as a prelude to the recommendations of the consultants this summer for a Beaufort Pilot Project.

We will need considerable help from SRC. Last night the local council on Human Relations agreed to sponsor the survey, and a steering committe is being organized. At some point, perhaps fairly soon, we wish to avail ourselves of the services of an SRC "expert" in self-surveys. Can you perhaps suggest what would seem to you the most useful time for such a consultant to meet with the committees? Of course, we realize that any such service by SRC will be dependent upon arranging a time for it, etc.

Now as to literature which we will need. What we have now is the SRC manual, the "Second Look at Atlanta," and the Greenville report. We should secure ten copies of each of these now, and perhaps more later--that is, I forsee that each "chairman" of each working committee whuld benefit by having a copy--particularly of the Greenville report.

The only other self-survey we know of in southern town at Penn is the one in Jacksonville. Is a report available on that? What about surveys made in the North--are there any useful reports from there? Can we secure these materials trhough you, and if not, where?

Now into another area. Penn is planning a workshop type of conference on financing for the poor--where can poor people without a steady income look for funds to make home improvements, etc. This is somewhat out of SRC area of interest, but perhaps you can put us in touch with either printed material on this subject or suggest people whom we might consult. Perhaps there IS no place for those with no collateral and without a steady job to find financial help. This is of immediate interest here as we also are launching a campaign to build sanitary privies and septic tanks here on the island. (The incidence of worms is more than 25% here and up to 89% across the river in Bluffton among Negro children). Perhaps Harold Fleming will have some ideas on this subject. The shell home racket is receiving much publicity lately due to the very high interest rates being charged--well, you know the problem.

As I am engaged in locating various materials in relation to research on problems in the South, perhaps you can advise me if there are any special "bibliographical" aids or a general study of how to go about finding materials. This is a lot of advise to ask in one letter, and I thank you in advance for your helpfulness.

Sincerely,
Robert Stowell
Robert Stowell

Oct. 21, 1960

February 6, 1961

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Harold has shown me your letter of February 3, and we have discussed it. I'll be glad to be of such help as I can. Whether I am made a member of the Advisory Committee, or act just as a friend, I suspect that I shall have to operate by correspondance or telephone. My load is such right now that I cannot undertake additional travel and simply could not get to a meeting this week or next. Let me know what I can do.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:A

(To be routed in order numbered)

Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

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LWD

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LWD -

Reaction, please.

HCF

2/3/61

Dear Harold Cutris:

The Times article was valuable to me too. I found out that I am eighteen days older than you are.

So, if you ever need any advice, see me!

See me anyway.

Fondly,

Lil

PORTRAIT BY WINOLD REISS

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

St. Helena Island

FROGMORE, S. C.

(over)

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

February 3, 1961

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We have just been advised by the New York Times to "see Fleming." Strange...that idea has occurred to us at times in the past. Congratulations to you and SRC on the good spread.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which is going today to members of the Advisory Committee on the South Carolina Research Project, setting up a meeting next week to suggest names for the research director. I called this meeting after this morning's telephone conversation with Marion Wright, in which he passed along the information that the sponsoring foundation would like to know who would direct the project.

It is obvious that the Advisory Committee, as it now stands, lacks the contact with persons qualified to undertake this job. It would seem essential that some person be added to the committee who could help in locating personnel and who could serve in an advisory capacity on research methods and techniques. Would SRC consider making available the services of Les Dunbar in this capacity? If not, do you have any other suggestions as to who could fill this role?

When a date has been set for the meeting of the Advisory Committee (from the three dates suggested), I will call you to see if Les or someone from SRC could join us. I think it would help a lot.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es
cc: Marion A. Wright

MEMORANDUM

Frogmore, S. C.
February 3, 1961

To: Members of Advisory Committee,
South Carolina Research Project
Dr. H. V. Manning, Claflin College
Rev. I. D. Newman, NAACP
Mr. W. E. Solomon, Palmetto Education Association
Mrs. Alice N. Spearman, S. C. Council on Human Relations

From: Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.

Last week Marion Wright and I were in New York, talking with foundations about support for the two-year research project for South Carolina. A formal proposal has been submitted to one of these foundations. It has been the reaction of the foundations that they would want to know who the research person would be who would direct the project.

At our last meeting, several names were mentioned, but no procedure was worked out as to how the person should be approached. Therefore, I am suggesting a meeting of this Advisory Committee, to work out some sort of priority as to the research director and means of getting a tentative agreement with him.

I am suggesting that we meet at 10:30 A.M. on one of the following dates: Thursday, February 9, Friday, February 10, or Monday, February 13. Will you please indicate on the enclosed post card your preference? I suggest that we meet in the office of the Palmetto Education Association in Columbia, if that is convenient with Mr. Solomon.

In the meantime, let us all be thinking of persons who might undertake this work.

Courtney Siceloff

cs/es

bc: Harold C. Fleming
Marion A. Wright

Fellowship Sam. Churchman

Rough Copy

PROCEDINGS, SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE IN NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
December 27-29, 1962

"The South: The Ethical Demands of Integration"

(portion from the floor, not picked up adequately by tape recorder)

Conference called to order at 9:00 a. m. by the Rev. Charles Jones

Introduction of Dr. M. L. King, Jr. and his address

Questions

1. How do you get the ministers to sit in together and work for brotherhood and good will?

2. What is the role of the college student in the South and the college in the struggle toward integration?

3. Friends who strongly support civil rights think white students should not participate in down-town sit-ins because Negroes could do it better themselves. What do you think?

4. Especially on Southern campuses, there is a small minority of Negro students or white students who attend such conferences as this; they are the already committed. We cannot seem to attract those students who are not committed. How can we appeal to and reach the students who are not only not committed but even opposed?

5. Is it true in some situations that things must get worse before they can get better, and is this what scares some people off?

6. This calls for a presupposition of when things are good, when they are worse, and when they are better. The standard should be the moral and religious idea of what is righteous. It may be easier for some to face a physical beating than to leave the issues beneath the surface and to face the constand debasement of segregation. What is good, and how can we decide when things are getting better?

7. What concerns me are the factors of poverty and ignorange of many people (both white and Negro) who have an educational level of about 7 years. We should be trying to lift the educational level. I believe the question of integration is frequently used as a scapegoat because of the fears people have as an outgrowth of ignorance. The biggest payroll in the County is public welfare checks (South Georgia). In trying to lift the level with vocational training schools, there is a holding back of people who are likely to be hit hardest by taxation to support such training. I believe these people and politicians use integration as a smoke screen to evade having to pay additional taxes.

(cut off of further discussion)

Case History I: Employment - The Greensboro, N. C. Experiment

Discussion:

1. It seems that a considerable amount of the burden for finding employes rests with community groups; should not management find its own employees?

(I noticed that the tape ended here, so I tried to get both questions and answers. MA)

Henderson:
There would seem to be an excellent opportunity to make employment an issue in political campaigns.

Bell: It takes a great deal of sophistication and know-how to do this. Don't think it could be done widely soon.

Henderson: We could expect at the municipal and state level some leadership on this level in merit employment. Negroes are going to face the necessity of making this a ~~policy~~ political issue.

adjournment for lunch

2:30 Token desegregation in employment: major next steps

Henderson: One of the important next stages is following up on breakthroughs. We are going to have to have specialized agencies dealing with the area of employment. We held a community conference on employment opportunities in Nashville. There is enough evidence to suggest ~~that~~ the kind of follow through that is necessary: education, vocational training, community education. We are going to have to think in terms of getting certain specialized community groups working on this in order to deal with a very complex problem in all phases.

Marion: The problem is so broad and has so many facets; it is impossible to single out any one as most important. Political factors are involved, human factors are involved--Employers who will hire people on the basis of merit. We should offer encouragement. We should present facts to show that industry after industry that has done this has not suffered in any way. Many businessmen fear boycotts, etc. The practice of fair play will not undermine business or send them into bankruptcy. Personal relationships are important: the way Negroes respond to these opportunities. Miss Siler has given a picture of what these people are up against. Another side of the picture (not so much in the South so far) is that I have heard of Negro girls going into an office and white girls wanting to make them feel at home and going out of their way to be kind and show favoritism.

~~Break~~

2:45 p.m.
Bell: All the agency efforts often seem to me a lot of time wasted. The only thing that will help is a pinch in manpower. When this becomes so great that it really hurts, industry will have to reach out for manpower.

Nelson: what you find happens, particularly in firms that have union contracts and seniority rights, they have to take back employees in the order in which they were laid off. The practice is already established and it will continue. A big change in hiring practices can take place through one or two routes: expansion programs or new hiring procedures.

Bell: the probability is that you will not get any significant degree of integration. You may get better paying jobs for Negroes which may turn out to be Negro jobs. The better jobs are filled from the white colleges. We may end up 25 years from now with an industrial South and as much segregation as we have now--with a fairly rigid pattern of segregation.

Questions

1. Are the men in business saying the same thing to school boards in regard to improving Negro schools as they are saying to the school board about white schools? (curriculum, training) There seems to be much talk and effort to gear white schools to meet this educational and technical training gap; how do you get Negro schools geared too? I come from an area (Father Gibson) where Cubans are there in mass. Nobody has to fight to get them accepted. Yet they have a language barrier in the schools. They say Negroes are two grades behind because of color; how many grades are Cubans behind because of language?

Nelson: This is a very difficult question to answer. We have worked very deligently with local school officials in making our needs known, and in advocating vocational type courses. We worked through the city vocational schools and offered integrated vocational schools at the plant after school hours (4:15p.m.) These were open to everybody. The percentage of people who took advantage of these courses was a disappointment. The people who most needed did not take advantage of the courses.

2. But what is said to your school boards? This problem will ever be with us until we get one school for all the people. The only way we are every going to be able to get these jobs is to get to the school boards and insist that they teach the same thing to Negroes as they do to whites.

Herbin: I have heard it said that when schools open, people do not apply. Business, vocational, etc. schools need to get out and do specific recruiting. Because of the long history of segregation and the discrimination practices that have been taking place in the past, this has to be done in order to get Negro youth to realize that you mean this. Increase the motivation of Negro youth and there will be plenty of applications.

Affirmative action in the community is needed to put pressure on the school boards.

Long: We already have two very good responses, and a very real and very accurate picture. There are cases were through ingenuity and good will of the people in the community you have new opportunities open. There are no cases where any large scale break-throughs were made where the greatest discrimination ~~xxxxxxxx~~ involved Negro workers. We cannot expect management to make appeals to school boards. This will have to be done by Negro leadership or inter-racial group leadership.

Question: About the ~~xxxxxx~~ Greensboro Community Council: is it really integrated? how does it function?

It is composed of representatives from social agencies and the Chamber of Commerce and it functions very effectively on a number of levels. We have never been able to get the community to recognize that discrimination in employment is a community problem. ~~x~~ The problem is simply not recognized as the important place it occupies.

This question was raised at the last meeting of the Mayor's Community Relations meeting, "Have our public school teachers been acquainted with industry enough to teach children these things they need to know?"

3:00 Case History II: L. W. Dunbar presiding (tape)

Questions from Audience

1) Has any thought been given in Charlottesville to what may happen to the Negro school teachers?

It has been said that in five years Charlottesville will have a single racial school system(I do not agree with this); The only really serious problem that remains is the problem of integrating the teaching staff.

If we have a single school system as far as students are concerned, we will not have as far as teachers are concerned. We should face up to and examine the consequences. People who have thought about it think we could not accept an integrated teaching staff--"community not ready."

Coe: It may have been traditional, but when you come up to modern methods of selecting personnel, you find school boards going by test scores. The Memphis school board used temporary principles because it did not seem possible to find acceptable permanent ones. I would only have hired 20% of the Negro teachers if we had gone by scores on the tests.

A.W. Here again is negative thinking. Segregation presents problems in this area: total teaching problems, including white teachers. Negroes know about the cultural lag that exists among Negro children. By and large teachers of white children need education on this problem. While you are looking for Negro teachers who can pass these qualifications, send the white teachers back to school to learn to teach compensatory opportunities.

S. Williams: In order to help Memphis become completely desegregated, and so Memphis will not have to hire unqualified teachers, I will volunteer to go to Memphis and teach.

There are two kinds of justice: justice on the square and justice on the triangle, which is the kind you have to give to people who have been denied justice for so long.

Spearman: There are ethical demands for looking at the poverty and illiteracy in the South, the low socio-economic levels. Hopefully people religiously motivated would be expected to take some action in this area.

Braden: I think this was a very good report and success story in many ways. Could we have comment from the panel on how you move on from there to real integration. Certainly there is a changing climate among whites. People want to stop thinking about this. A few more Negro students each year is not the whole answer. I don't think it (this method) is going to grow into real integration. The Louisville plan is better than yours. With that sort of a transfer plan we certainly do not have integration in Louisville. This is documented by the Report of the Civil Rights Commission: we have a resegregation process. We haven't found the answers to this yet. Could we ask school boards to adopt a policy of integration? There are certain things the school board could do which would help though not solve the problem entirely.

Could you have a school board adopt a policy that it is a desirable thing to have a mixture in our schools. Once adopting such a policy, they might redraw the districts. In Louisville, most Negroes still go to formerly all Negro high school. Negroes can apply to go to other high schools and some of them do. You can live anywhere in the city and go to Negro high school, but not to other high schools.

Andy Young: Negro schools may be more lenient to unprepared teachers and give some "triangular" justice for them too. Most of the good teachers have gone out of the area to get more pay.

A. Williams: That is true; the best graduates are going to New York.

Coe: I think there is something constructive that can be done. I haven"t been successful in selling the Memphis school board on it. If school boards really want to improve qualifications of teachers and set minimal limits and then help them by grants to go to summer school, we would have improvement. We ought to have a sort of dedicated campaign to improve teaching in the South.

Harding: I am not patient enough to wait for the revelation to come tonight. Ministers of communities gathered together and decided to get up a petition for an "open occupancy law." One asked, "Is this really what we should be doing?" We have most of these landlords in our churches. We are going to counsel with them to see if we can change their hearts.

I came here to hear some word from the church about the church on these issues. I haven't heard much yet. You cannot be Christian in abstract, you have to see the problems. What is the word of the churchmen to these concerns?

In Charlottesville was there anybody that was saying, "these people are our brothers"? Were there any church people saying this? There is no point in the church going to city council before going to itself.

Gaston: There have been a few ministers among the white ministers; one very out-spoken. His congregation asked him to leave partly on account of the race issue. Most ministers avoided the issue and when called together by the Council on Human Relations explained to us the difficulties of losing their congregations if they got too far ahead of them.

Virginia is a backward state (I am from Virginia). What the politicians of the state decree must be. So we have poverty and economic deprivation. I think we should take a good, hard look. The Negro institutions cannot afford to set the same standards as the white institutions. I think we should think about and do something about.

Dabbs: Certain NAACP has tried, but not too diligently, to persuade certain Negro students to apply to shite schools. They told them: desegregation has occurred and you can go if you wish to make the fffort. What motivation could we use? What are the reasons which would move these people to participate in integration? If we could understand this, we could understand the whole problem. We are trying to do in this conference what has not yet been done in America.

Gaston:

LWD: It seems to me there are two questions of particular urgency: 1) why wont you who came together herefor this particular purpose face the ethical questions involved? 2) Mr. Dabbs' question could be extended this way: are there some ethical demands of integration that are peculiarly the obligation of the Negroes of the South?

? The City Council of Oak Ridge has been concerned about certain teachers recognizing their ethical responsibility to handle problems that they will meet in integrated schools. "Why bend over backwatds to give Negro children every advantabe?" Some unprepardness amon g our teachers. Need on the part of school boards and PTAs to prepare teachers to handle problems. What has been done? Any suggestions?

7:40 p.m. Case History III: "The Role of the Church in Desegregation Efforts in Atlanta

The Rev. Sam Williams; chairman, Dr. Herman Long

Inquiry: J. Metz Rollins and Will D. Campbell

Questions from Floor

Father Gibson: This may not apply to Atlanta; I am speaking of Miami, but this can be true of any community where an effort is made to desegregate. Speaking of the church in this context, I have been amazed and aghast to see that we who constitute the Church we have been talking about have sat around and and permitted men to raise a great hullabaloo about who is going to drink beer or whiskey. It is true that thereis a great need for dealing with Truth. I have not read, nor have I heard, where the church has spoken out against any school superintendent who has got on the stand and lied that the schools were not segregated. I wonder if the church is conscious of, if we know what we are permitting the public officials to do to our children by swearing a lie. I have not heard of a single Jewish Rabbi, Catholic Priest, or Protestant minister making a protest. How does the church live with this? Is this what the church should do?

_____: We must try to bring the people to the pulpit. I feel that we have sold the church short. I could recite many things that could be said about the church. I wonder if the white churches have been adequately canvassed? The discussion has been unfortunate in that we are pitting the white congregations against the Negro congregations. I come from a city of "token integration". When a new Negro family comes to the town, they are called on by both the white and Negro minister and there is some anxiety about which church the family will join. The white church and the Negro church may be content with token integration, but I am not sure either church is ready to go beyond token integration.

Morris: Responsibility. As I read history, the Negro is using his opportunity and responsibility by being the catalyst of change by presenting himself at the lunch counter and voting booth. He is leading us into freedom. He is not going to do this in the church because rights are not involved, and that is why there haven't been many kneel-ins. "Why bother?" Unless the Negro will go to the white church, the church will remain the most separated hour of the week. The Negro American has a special opportunity, and I belive a responsibility, to confront the white churches and force them to make choices. I don't think the manifestos would have meant one whit if the press had not made a big think of them. Most ministers would not have told their own congregations they had signed the thing. The Manifesto spoke only in minimal terms: "we don't want to talk about segregation or desegregation, but the deeper issue of preserving the public schools." We can't expect much of the church; we are not turning much out of this conference that would be of any help. The Keeper of the Holy House is surrounded by a horde of rats; haviang chased the rates out, we come back. The rats in the

The rats in the church will only budge when we speak words on Brotherhood and creedal and theological traditions. I don't think we are going to provide ourselves with anything that people will understand or can use.

I would like to emphasize one poiit. The church is the 40,000 people in Montgomery; furthermore, we have been talking about the church as an institution. I don't think God gives one damn what the church as an institution says. God cares about poverty and the social conditions of people. The people now operating in the structure of the community are carrying out the mandate of the church. Ralph McGill has done something. This is the Church in operation. The church operating in a building is a bunch of pleasantries; the church operating (through the people who make up the church) out in the field is what counts. Charley Jones came out of the church--a white church. And here we are, a group of Christians who are concerned. It has been said, "You burn prophets at the stake." But we do produce the prophets and they do come out of the church.

I have a concern; I fear that we are not quite at the point where this conference was supposed to be taking us. Don't you believe that our thesis is a challenge to any group. But what can I do about it when I get back (to my community)?

_____(man from Oak Ridge) At the risk of non-theology, I would like to make a suggestion. In all of the talks that have been made, there have been allusions to the power structure. But no one has spoken to this specifically. I believe the church and the ministers have a very easy access to reaching persons who are the "power structure". If we could get to these persons and make them realize their responsibility in these areas, we could accomplish a great deal. The community power structure is still working on the baais of expediency--"get the job done with the least trouble and the least noise."

Harding: I would like to make a couple of responses. For one thing, I feel that we have been captured by the whole thing of our American society and we have accepted phrases like "the cominant group" and "the Negro church". This is blasphemy, prolonging the sin of both the Negro and white Christians. The Christian Church has not yet come to the point where it is ready to take up the cross and follow Christ. The Christian Church in its Manifestos on the matter of race has been faced with this and has avoided the issue. If the Negroes had to go against Negro society to face this we would be just as slow as the white churches are. Worship is part of the churches' life. If we are really thinking about the church and take seriously the New Testament, the church in the New Testament.....they were doing all the things which we say the church should not be dodng, yet they were the church. They were not thinking whether they were doing the right thing, but what their relationship to the Lord was. The sin of one is the sin of all.

I am quite amazed at the innocence of the Negro race. Not enough has been said about the failure of the Negro church. It has done an excellent job of preaching to everyone: you are as good as anyone else. Not enough has been said on the subject: this is yodur brother:

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

January 22, 1963

MEMO

TO: THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

FROM: Montez Albright

The date for the next meeting of the Executive Committee has been set for Tuesday, February 19th.

The meeting will begin at 10:00 a. m. in the Conference Room of the Council, and will adjourn at 3:30 p. m.

Please let us know if a travel advance or other arrangements we can make here will be helpful to you.

your brother; love him. This is the failure of the Negro church. It is easier for the white community to accept the Negro church if they were not on the same level. This came about by raising the Negro people through education.

I thought for a while you were saying the white church isn't going to do anything and we can't wxpect it to do anything. Don't think you are really saying that. If you are not, what you are saying is making us all very uncomfortable: that we have to take much more seriously ~~[illegible]~~ putting the squeeze on the white churches. We can't go along any longer with theological rationalizations and avoaiding the real issue.

The meeting has had an outcome that was not expected, but which has been so provocative that it has distrubed all of us and the ways in which we have responded at being disturbed have been quite revealing.

We have been responding in psychological ways that have been very revealing. And for that reason I ask that something that is of essence has not been expressed, that there is something in the response that needs to be expressed in a useful way; we could take five minutes more.

I have an example which disqualifies your thesis that no organized church has done anything. The Pulaski Heights Church in Little Rock, Arkansas, has done what you say no church has done or will do. The basic thesis seems to be the practicality of segregation or desegregation in the church. The vigor with which the church has been condemned tonight suggests respect for it. The present analysis is a source of hope for me because I feel that the church today is better than in any period I have known about. One reason for my thinking that ~~it~~ is that the church found it more difficult to respond to your questionnaire. I believe the sit-in movement has caused the church to recognize that it is saying the same thing that it has said with out the conviction and firmness thatit might have been said in the past. Do you believe that the church has responded as in the years past, and that this response is wavering.

SW:

Most of you want to act as individuals, but are not brave enough to say that what we need to do is pull out of this institutional church and act on our own as individuals. Go back home and start behaving as a Christian. Go back to challenge and maybe get shot. But don't expect your church to support you or to be with you when you do it.

The church has not confronted the basic issue of segregation in moral terms. This has left only the alternative of the church serving as a institution. This has left us with the challenge that individuals who are its mission can go beyond what the church as an institution can do.

Announcements: executive Committee at breakfast, Sat. morning

Saturday Morning, December 29
9:15 a. m.

Reports from the Action Front: Mississippi and Albany, Ga.

Andy Williams: Albany
Miles Lovelace: Mississippi

10:10 Summing Up
James M. Dabbs: Insights for Task Ahead

(Discussion to be confined to what has been discussed this morning.)

Questions & Comments on Summation

Sam Williams: I would like to explain more fully my quotation of yesterday from Aristotle on Justice. There are two kinds of justice: distributive justice and rectifying justice. You will have to do a little more for the person who needs the latter kind. Negroes were slaves for 244 years. For 344 years they have been on the receiving end of justice in this country. If you treat him only in the way you treat white people, this will be distributive justice. You must spend more on him (in the schools) so that he can compete with the group that has been preferred all these years. I do not accept that it is my job to prove to you that I am acceptable. The Christian does not say that you must reach a certain level to be acceptable. If you were to raideNegro standards tomorrow morning you would still have trouble getting accepance in this country--because of race. The Christian point is that if he is in the image of God even though he lives in a slum you must accept him as a brother.

This is not to say that I am advocating that Negroes be given material things, but that society should rectify its own injustices. Negroes should work as hard as they can to improve themselves, but I'll not accept the thesis that I must improve myself before you will accept me.

Question: how to prepare a student body for receiving a Negro student?

Answered by Lovelace

I attend a desegregated high school in Durham. When you go to school you don't look for people to be nice to you or to respect you. You want them to be really truthful and hop e that they will see you for what you are as an individual, and not as a member of a race.

Why Negroes won't go to integrated schools?

I think we must inspire Negro students to apply. I think the main reason for Negro students going to an integrated school is that the students know they are not only opening the way for themselves and other Negroes but for all oppressed people all over the world. So ~~tell the Negro~~ their children won't have to live in shame and degredation and sin. We want peace in the world, and we must first have peace here, and in our own hearts and lives.

We want better education so that we can be a success in life.

Teachers are not as qualified.

Swartzkoff: The term "Negro acceptability" is offensive to me. I am more profoundly concerned about my acceptability to the Negro community. We live in a repressive society. We need to make peace and to work toward the re-establishment of peace and justice. This society has not deserved or warranted this high and mighty attitude of putting the responsibility on Negroes to vote, to get jobs, and to advance like other people.

Rillma

Robbins: I think this is the danger of this thesis you advance about personal thinking. The emphasis is on personal relationships in the South. I agree with the basic premise of the aggressive approach. Negroes have to develop a sort of hard-nosed attitude which means you don't go looking for acceptance. You don't reject any conception that integration will be anything in which I will find acceptance. In the process of integration we are not goting to achieve it easily and Negroes will have to be aggressive and they will have to forget any consideration of fedlings. There are those who say, "ease up; you ought not to keep the pressure on." The Negro has got to feel that he is doing this by himself and hope that people will come forward and help him.

Meredith's attitude is an example. It is wonderfulthat some people came up and ate with him, but he should not give a hoot what it does to the State of Mississippi or the University. You have to be hard-hearted, cold, and calculating. This attitude was summed up by one of the sit-in students: "It was great, because for the first time I got the white folks on the run."

Dabbs reply

Braden: I wonder whether we can make the assumption that I think you were making in your presentation, that the objective of the organized civil rights movement in the South (the Negroes of the South)--whether the objective is integration into the southern culture. Can we make this glib assumption? Is this the objective. I think there is a tremendous thing that integration be the goal. There are other trends (if you have read Baldwin's article) and attitudes that I have heard reflected among the young Negroes in the movement. "I want my right to decide whether I want to be integrated, but don't know whether we want to be integrated." We white people have to do something mighty quick to make this society something the Negro would want to be integrated into.

We may have touched on one of the keys in the "community of suffering" in Chapel Hill. The white students who go to challenge and share find this; perhaps the community of suffering may be the bridge. Can we really assume that this is the goal? What can we do to make it the goal?

It depends on what one means by integration. We must either have it or chaos. What I would like to do is find what is possible here in the modern world. Certainly whites have to move to positions they have never moved to before; they have to accept what the Negroes offer: a new view of the life here. If you don't take your image from the South, you won't find it in America. I don't think the sit-iners know what they are doing, but they are doing it anyhow. The "fellowship of suffering" is now out of print. Suffering is suffering, wherever it is. We are the only region in this country that has undergone intense and long suffering.

Harding: Integration into the life of the South. Assumption ~~xjat tje Megrp os gpomg omtp tje ;ofe pf tje~~ that the Negro is going into the life of the South. The Negro is part of the South amd tje Southhas been created by the South. The Negro is said to be a part of the South, but this is not quite accurate; we must open our eyes to see how the Negro has been a part of the South and ~~why~~ how this can be esperssed. What we must look at too is that the culture must need some drastic changes: in militism, export of labor, etc.

My experiences are obviously different from both Negroes and whites in the South (I am a northerner). I have also found ~~e fe;;pwsjo½ wotjom tje omstotitopm pf tje ejircj tjat jas beem~~ a fellowship within the institution of the church that has been a gift of the Holy Spirit. I echo the words of someone who rode in the car with me last night, "I am tired of being a white man in this situation." He was tired of churchmen getting together and accepting the categories of white and black. Any churchman should be a member of the household of God. Race and other things are immaterial. All who are brothers must work together for an opportunity to be free men. All members who are convinced members of the household must work together to build this society. We must work for the elimination of barriers. May we see ourselves as God sees us.

Ashby: participating in conversations this morning: what the South needs, what the white man needs, what the Negro needs. What WE need in moving forward into area of integration. "glad welcome and full participation of the Negro. Committees come out of with a strange feeling about the conference itself. We have not received insights about things that I can do in my community. Wonder whether this has been in part possible. Because we have a desegregation ~~kmly~~ but ~~xnxx~~ not an integrated gathering. The issue of guilt is beside the point. ~~The~~ Iquestion ~~xx~~ whether there has been ~~Negro~~ full participation of any of us. We still live in a segregated society. ~~Rny~~ When Negroes talk I can sense and feel these things.they are not talking about. Have we reached the point where we really need each other in the local community? (not desegregated, but integrated). We have been pretty silent. Maybe there needs to be some kind of fusion here. If we need each other. I have a profound respect for ..... and a recognition of one of the things that divides us is that we are segregated religiously. We have to figure out how to move back to these very deep religious concepts.

Cabarac: The Church has not led in any place. We have talked about the faults of industry, state in providing job opportunities; school integration. We have not yet put our own house in order: in church construction and church schools. It is pretty difficult for us as a religious body to convince others as long as we do not have a concrete witness in our own life.

Hughes: I have been concerned all through the consultation . My interpretation has been that this consultation should be concerned within the fundamental problem of how you get to integration in a real~~y~~ society. ~~This~~ Questions as to how we move beyond that to full acceptance of each other both white and Negro. Are we ~~xxx~~ in a situation in which real integration has to be left to uncautious, unplanned activities? Where no one can deliberately promote integration but it must be a by-product. Are we still in such a rush to break up the situation that there is no room to give time to reconciliation or real integration? Must it be left to appear automatically or spontaneously? Can we expect in the immediate future any effort along this line? Are we in a situation where only the movement of protest can be effective? If so, ~~th~~ there is no hope in a consultation such as this.

One thing we must recognize is that there are two aspects of integration: physical and psychological. We have learned that direct protest, collective action of social unite can bring about physical integration. When re-segregation sometimes takes place, the related psychological integration has not come about. In order for physical desegregation to be successful, the changing of social values must take place. In the Conference we should recognize that this is a role we can play in trying to prepare the masses for accepting the psychological integration. Many people will accept social change of physical integration. But they still ~~xxxx~~ are trying to hold on to certain values that they have. There is a relationship as far as the psychological development toward integration that must move along with it. Think this is a facet that we have overlooked and that this is a role we can play.

Spearman: ~~Xxy~~ I believe this will tie in with what was the purpose of the Conference. We have pretty admirably indicated the very lack in this room of having learned the fundamentals of religious teaching. We have assumed that we are the only Christians, and that we exist outside the church and that there are no resources there for the South. ~~X~~ I agreed with Sam Williams but wanted to ask him, "where is your faith?" ~~X~~ I do have faith in the people in the church. I have had opportunities to come through to certain attitudes. This adds to my sense of humility and sense of opportunity. What is our responsibility to these people in the church who have not had these opportunities? One of the things we want to act on is to create a region that can have something to share with the rest of the world in race relations. Are we forgetting the poverty and the misery of many people when we ask people in the church to work with us for a desegregated or integrated society? It is not a Christian attitude to try to push them around and substitute our attitudes for theirs. There is a concern in the church for misery and poverty. Could we not create a program of integration in action? We can't get many people in the church to go into action on the sit-in level.

There are potentials for getting church related people into action in some of these concepts which have meaning to them. This is not a civil rights approach, but we can make some basic attacks on some of these basic flaws in our society. If we don't, we are really missing the boat and lacking in creative imagination.

Harding:

Regarding action, we are all students here. We have to keep defining "what is it we want? What will satisfy you?" That is what I am also trying to do: integration into the culture of the South. The basic question is whether the white man has integrated himself into the culture in the South. If the whites have humility to accept this new creative culture. The South is what whites and Negroes together have done, out of the circumstances in which they have lived for the past hundreds of years. The South did, by the grace of God, create people like James Meredith of Mississippi and the student movement. I don't know whether we can accept this, but it will be easier if we can.

Jones: We are now at the point where we are ready to hold a consultation.....

12:15 Close of conference; luncheon at Holiday Inn.

PREDOMINANTLY WHITE HOTELS ACCOMMODATING NEGRO GUESTS March, 1963

The predominantly white hotels listed below are reported (either by newsclips or by individual informants) to accept overnight guests without regard to race. Most of them were desegregated during roughly the last three years; some, however, have never been segregated. Hotels largely for Negro guests are not listed here; many also accept whites.

If you have positive information regarding non-segregated predominantly white hotels not listed below, we would be grateful if you would report their names to us, with documentation (either a reliable news report or information from a reliable individual). Be sure, if possible, that all facilities in those hotels you report to us are open to Negro guests--coffee shops, swimming pools, etc., managed by the hotel.

ARKANSAS
Little Rock: Marion Hotel, Grady Manning Hotel, Lafayette Hotel(there is still some question about the Albert Pike).
FLORIDA
Miami Beach: Most hotels. Hollywood: At least one major hotel (probably the Hollywood Beach, but this is not confirmed). West Palm Beach: Town House.
GEORGIA
Atlanta: Peachtree Manor Hotel, Hilton Inn.
LOUISIANA
New Orleans: Airport Hotel.
KENTUCKY
Louisville: All hotels. Berea: Major hotels. Mammoth Cave: All hotels.
NORTH CAROLINA
Greensboro: Holiday Inn. Durham: Jack Tar Hotel, Holiday Inn, Washington Duke Hotel. Chapel Hill: Carolina Inn. Asheville: Battery Park Hotel, George Vanderbilt Hotel.
OKLAHOMA
Oklahoma City: All. Tulsa: All.
TENNESSEE
Gatlinburg: Some, depending on season. Johnson City: Inns of America. Memphis: Peabody Hotel. Oak Ridge: Holiday Inn. Townsend: At least one hotel (near Gatlinburg).
TEXAS
San Antonio: All. Houston: Rice, Shamrock-Hilton, Lamar, Texas State, Ben Milam.
VIRGINIA
Richmond: Jefferson, John Marshall, Richmond. Roanoke: Roanoke Hotel. Norfolk: Golden Triangle. Williamsburg: All.

May 30, 1963

Dear Les,

As retiring "acting administrative assistant" I would like to make a few suggestions:

1. That Mildred's "tickler file" be enlarged to include reminders, two months in advance, of the dates when the various foundation proposals are due.

2. That a policy be established for office personnel participation in insurance and retirement benefits, so that some are not included imme diately, some in three months, and others five or six months afterwards (as Mary Godwin).

3. That Barbara attend the Executive Committee meetings. I don't think you realize how valuable this is in giving a person a feeling of what the Council is. The minutes do not do it. I also think it would be of great morale and other value if one or two members of the non-professional staff (in some kind of ratation system) be invited to attend at each meeting.

4. That we have occasional staff meetings, even if they have to be held during lunch hour.

5. That the manual typewriters be serviced (or at least oiled and adjusted) at least once a year. This is just ordinary maintenance that prolongs the life and efficiency of equipment as well as the temper and strength of the user.

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

ordered 11-27-63

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COrtlandt 7-6270

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Richard Haley
assistant to the director
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Now CORE presents
an All-Star Jazz 2-Record Album
for only 5^{00}
thanks to the contributions of its friends in the record industry.

Dear Friend:

Here is a great way to help CORE. Even Southern senators and other people who aren't "with it" are going to find it hard to resist!

Instead of selling something ordinary at the regular full price -- or at double or triple the price, as fund-raising theatre parties do with tickets -- CORE offers a unique two-record jazz album for only HALF what you would expect to pay. And it's an album that ordinarily would not be available at ANY price -- for it brings together prized collector's items never before assembled in one album.

For only $5 you get <u>two</u> 12-inch long-playing records that would ordinarily be priced at $10 -- a parade of memorable performances by such all-time stars as Dinah Washington, Steve Allen, Duke Ellington, Maynard Ferguson, Miles Davis, Erroll Garner, Stan Getz, Chris Connor, Art Tatum, and many others.

Yet most of the $5 goes directly into the CORE treasury for such sorely needed purposes as providing bail bond for college students and other freedom fighters jailed for peaceable stand-ins, sit-ins, and wade-ins...conducting workshops in CORE's widely publicized techniques of non-violent resistance to segregation and persecution...conducting Negro voter registration drives in areas where Negroes never dared try to vote before.

How can the CORE treasury make such a big gain for such a small price? The answer is that hundreds of people in the recording industry have donated their time and talents free of charge to make this album possible -- as their contribution to the growing fight for freedom and equality for all Americans.

(continued on back page)

So when you are "Groovin' High" with Dizzy Gillespie...or accept Harry Belafonte's invitation to "Lean on Me"...or brush up on your "Cannonology" with Cannonball Adderley...you'll make an amazing discovery. The music sounds even better when you know that the dollars you paid for it are out there somewhere on the picket lines or at the lunch counters or in the jails, fighting for your America.

Look over the complete contents of the album on the inside pages of this folder. See how many of the selections are truly great moments in jazz that you've heard -- or heard about -- and wanted to own. To collect the 24 records from which these classics of jazz are taken would cost you over $100 -- if you could find them all. But now you may have the cream for only $5.

But be sure to mail the order form below with your check right away. This offer is good "for a limited time only." Not because we're running out of albums...but because America is desperately short of time in which to wipe out second-class citizenship for its millions of victims of racial discrimination!

Sincerely yours,

Marvin Rich

Marvin Rich
for Congress Of Racial Equality

To obtain your TWO-RECORD ALBUM

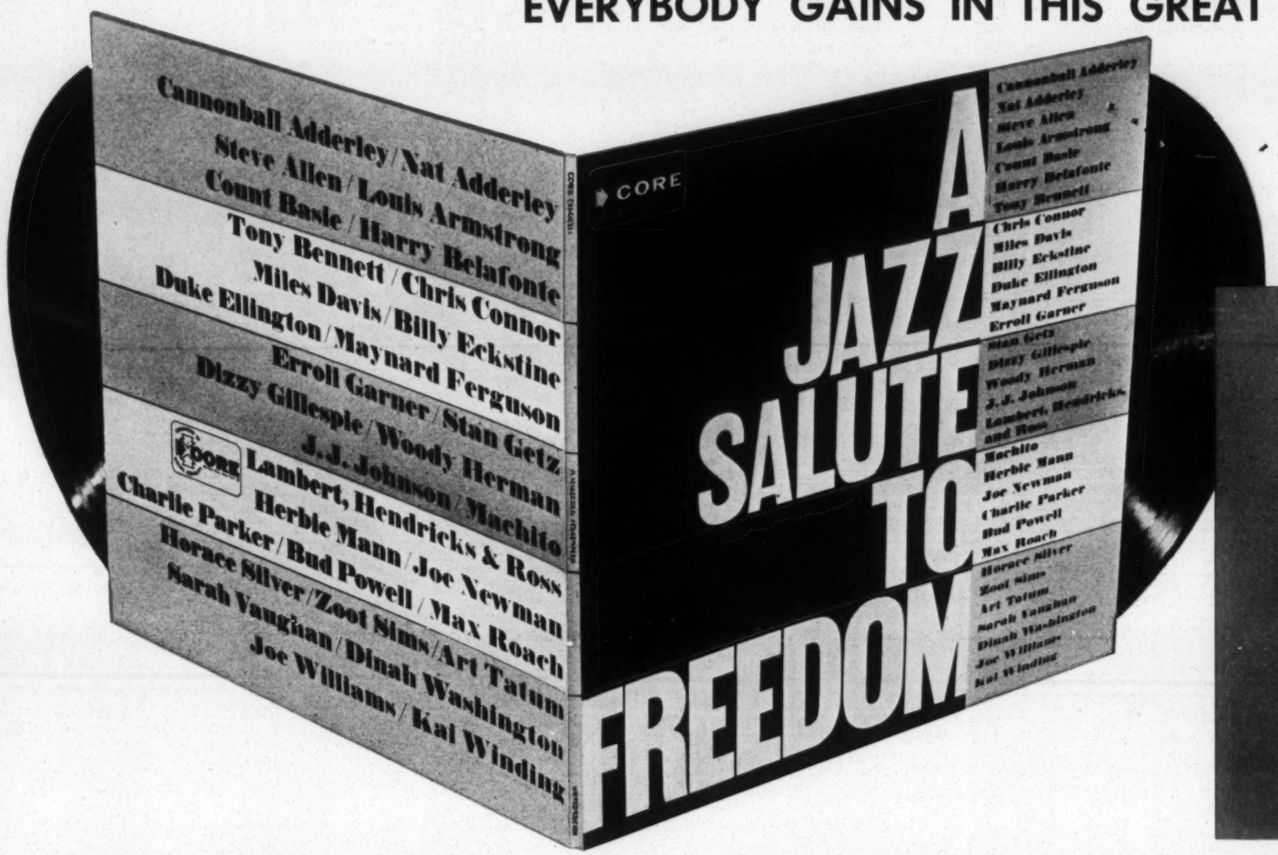
"A JAZZ SALUTE TO FREEDOM for only $5.00

just tear out and mail this order form with payment

(Order for your friends too – everybody will want one of these great "collector's items" albums)

Enjoy 31 Top Jazz Artists in CORE's Own Limited Edition Album

EVERYBODY GAINS IN THIS GREAT OFFER FOR A GREAT CAUSE!



YOU GAIN an all-star jazz record album destined to become a prized collector's item . . . yet you pay only HALF what you would expect.

YOU GAIN the satisfaction of knowing that you have also made a solid contribution to the fight for racial justice and equality.

CORE GAINS much-needed funds to organize the growing Negro revolt against second-class citizenship and channel it into effective direct non-violent action.

AMERICA GAINS a better chance of arriving at a peaceful solution of its most urgent national problem.

"A Jazz Salute to Freedom"

An all-star collection of jazz classics especially assembled for CORE. A record rarity that ordinarily could not be made available at ANY price . . . and would cost you $10 if it could

Special price to friends of CORE—only **$5.00** *for two 12" long-playing records—and all profits go to support CORE*

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HERE ARE JUST SOME OF THE GREAT RECORDING ARTISTS YOU WILL EN

STEVE ALLEN: I Thought About You — CANNONBALL ADDERLEY with MACHITO and HIS ORCHESTRA: Cannonology
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LOUIS ARMSTRONG and DUKE ELLINGTON: Cotton Tail — JOHN COLTRANE QUARTET: Exotica
WOODY HERMAN SEXTET with NAT ADDERLEY: Lullaby of Birdland — CHARLIE PARKER and MILES DAV
ART TATUM: Dark Eyes — DIZZY GILLESPIE and CHARLIE PARKER: Groovin' High — J. J. JOHNSON and KAI WIND
JOE WILLIAMS with COUNT BASIE and HIS ORCHESTRA: Everyday — SARAH VAUGH
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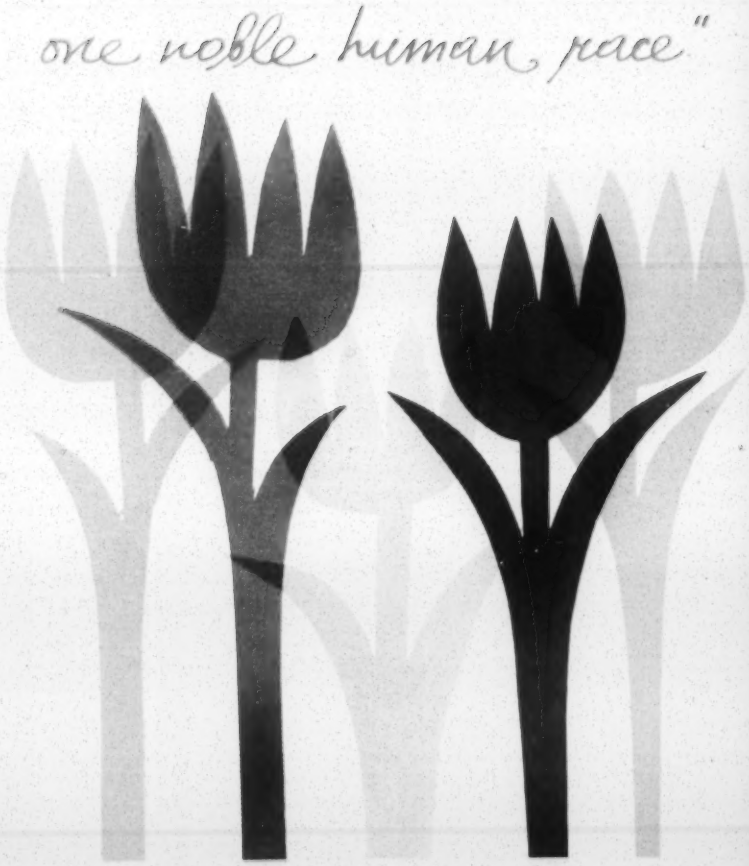
ANNOUNCING

CORE HOLIDAY CARDS FOR 1963

Sponsoring organization for the famous Freedom Rides, CORE, the Congress of Racial Equality and its affiliated local action groups use direct, but peaceful, action to achieve a fully integrated America.

When you use CORE cards, you not only send a message of Brotherhood . . . you *further Brotherhood* by helping finance CORE's interracial work.



CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CORE

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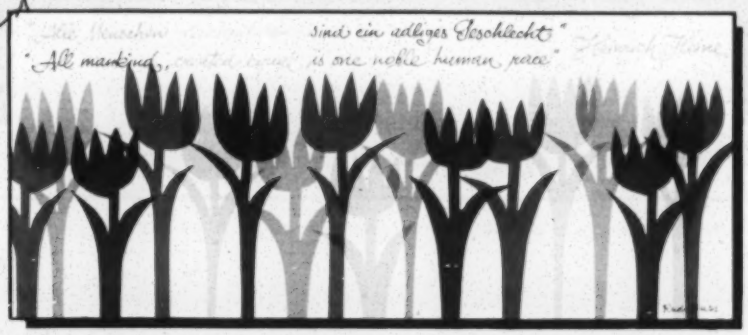

1

A quotation from the 19th century lyric poet Heinrich Heine inspired Rudi Bass to create this unique 8½ x 3⅝ card reflecting the equality of man: "*All mankind, created equal, is one noble human race.*" The message is incorporated into the design in both English and the original German. There is no text on the inside fold, making this a card for *all* seasons, and any occasion.

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2

CORE's most popular card to date; WORLD BROTHERHOOD painting by Gilbert H. Harris. Reproduced in full color, 7 x 4⅜.
The quotation is from Anne Frank: "*I still believe that people are really good at heart . . . if I look up into the heavens, I think that it will all come right, and that peace and tranquility will return again.*"

Message inside:
Holiday Greetings and Best Wishes for a New Year of Brotherhood and Peace.

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Up to November 15th only, one-line imprinting of name can be offered at $4.50 for the first 100 cards and $1.50 for each successive 100 or part thereof. **Please print clearly** and allow two extra weeks for imprint orders.

3

Adapted from woodcuts of Mary, Joseph and angels by Albrecht Dürer, this 3½ x 8⅝ card illustrates a line from one of the oldest Christmas carols, which is printed on the front: "*Angels we have heard on high, sweetly singing o'er the plains.*" The angel motif is repeated in ochre and grey on the inside fold, with the message: "*May the joy of this day be with you throughout the coming year.*"

Post-paid prices, with envelopes: small pack (15), **$2.25;** large pack (50), **$5.95;** economy pack (1

Quaker House 1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA, DRAKE 3-7986
ATLANTA MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Oct 11, '64

Dear Montez:

Thanks you for returning to me the chapter on Race and The Church of my manuscript "A Lover's Quarrel with The Church."

I appreciate your kind words of encouragement. Thanks you too for calling my attention to the error in the foot-note.

I did not mean to seem overly optimistic as to the response of local churches or even the leadership of the denominations on a national level. I think they will continue to drag their heels in large measure. Nevertheless there is real progress in terms of the number of churchmen who are making witness on the level of experienced and expressed brotherhood. The enormous need for reconciliation now the legislation is there is more likely to come from committed churchmen than from other sources, speaking generally, because of the nature of the sustained inner motivation.

Wish you were in one of our two current seminars. You would contribute so much.

Faithfully,
John

SATURDAY

JUNE						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
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2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
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30						

15

JUNE 1963

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Memo from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

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Becker, Birth & Death of Meaning
5.00

Haugen, Dixon, Dickel
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Reactions

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Directory of Equal Opportunity Employers in Metropolitan Atlanta

Federal agencies and institutions, and firms listed in this directory have Federal Government contracts or have signed "Plans for Progress".

They are required to provide employment opportunities solely on a *merit basis* — without regard to race, color, religion or national origin.

This pledge applies to all employees and applicants for employment in connection with:

- Hiring, Placement, Upgrading, Transfer or Demotion
- Recruitment, Advertising or Solicitation for Employment
- Treatment During Employment
- Rates of Pay or Other Forms of Compensation
- Selection for Training, Including Apprenticeship
- Layoff or Termination

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Students seeking employment are advised to confer with their counselors or placement officers.

Persons needing vocational training may enroll either at G. W. Carver or Smith-Hughes Vocational School.

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(For addresses consult Telephone Directory listing under United States Government)

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Air Force Dept. of The
Army
Atomic Energy Comm.
Civil Service Comm.
Coast Guard
Commerce Dept. of
Community Facilities Adm.
Comptroller Gen of The U. S.
Courts of U. S.
Emergency Planning Ofc. of
Federal Aviation Agcy
Federal Bur. of Investigation
Federal Communications Comm.
Federal Deposit Ins. Corp.
Federal Housing Adm.
Federal Mediation & Concilliation Serv.
Federal National Mortgage Assn.
Federal Power Comm.
Federal Probation Ofcr.
Federal Reserve Bank
Federal Trade Comm.
Genl. Acctg. Ofc.
Genl. Servs Admn.
Health Education & Welfare Dept. of
Social Security Admn.
Surplus Property Utilization Div.
Vocational Rehabilitation Ofc. of
Housing & Home Finance Agcy
Interior Dept. of the
Interstate Commerce Comm.
Justice Dept. of
Labor Dept. of
Marine Corps
Military Traffic Management Agcy
Narcotics Bur. of
Natl Labor Relations Board
Navy
Penitentiary U. S
Post Office Department
Railroad Retirement Bd
Referee in Bankruptcy
Secret Service Div. of
Securities & Exchange Comm.
Selective Serv. System Ofc. of
Treasury Dept.
Urban Renewal Admn.

Veterans Adm.
Water Study Comm.
Weather Bureau

FIRMS HAVING FEDERAL CONTRACTS* or SIGNING "PLANS FOR PROGRESS" AGREEMENTS#

(For addresses consult Telephone Directory)

AAA Electrical Contr. & Eng. Inc.
A. B. C. Compounding Co., Inc.
Abrams, A. R., Inc.
Aero Corp.
#Allied Chemical Co.
Allied Consultants, Inc.
#Aluminum Co. of America
American Bakeries Co.
#American Bosch Arma Corp.
#American Can Co.
#American Cynamid Co.
#American Machine & Foundry Co.
American Oil Co.
#American Tel. & Tel. Co.
American Tire Co.
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#Atchinson, Topeka & Santa Fe Railways
Armour & Co.
Associated Cleaning Contractors, Inc.
Atlantic States Construction Co.
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Beck, Henry C. Co.
Beck & Gregg Hardware Co.
Borwick, E. T. Mills, Inc.
Brittain, T. C., Co.
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C & W Concrete Contractors, Inc.
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Chicago Bridge & Iron Co.
Chicago Pneumatic Tool Co.
Christian, P. D.
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Cities Service Oil Co.
City-Wide Janitorial Service, Inc.
#Colgate Palmolive Co.
#Collins Radio Co.
#Continental Motors Corp.
Corbin, William B.
Crane Supply Co.
Cudahy Packing Co.
D. G. Machinery & Gage Co.
Decatur Chemical Co.
Delta Airlines
Dillard Paper Co.
Dover Elevator Co.
#Dow Chemical Co.
Dowling Textile Mfg. Co.
Duke, G. T. Co.
#du Pont, de Nemours E. I. & Co.
#Eastman Kodak Co.
Egan Cotton Mills
Electrical Supply Co.
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Empire Gas Engeering Co.
Engineering Chemicals
Engineering Contractors, Inc.
Escambia Chemical Co.
Feather Craft
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Flanigan Storage Co., Inc.
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Foster, L. B. Co.
Gann Construction Co.
#Garrett Corp.
Gaylord Container, Div. of
Crown Zellerbach Corp.
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General Cable Corp.
General Construction Co.
#General Dynamics Corp.
#General Electric Corp.
General Electric Supply Co.
General Elevator Co.
#General Motors Corp.
Georgia Furn. Mfg., Co.
Georgia Institute of Technology
Georgia Technical Research Institute
Georgia, University of
Gerlach, C. L. Co.
Glidden Co.
#Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.
Grimland Co. Mfgrs. Inc.
Grinnel Co.
Gulf Oil Corp.

Hall Construction Co.
Harbour & Co.
Harte, John J. Associates, Inc.
#Hercules Powder Co.
Holder Construction Co.
Hunt, G. C. & Co.
#International Business Machine Corp.
#International Harvester
Irvindale Farms, Inc.
Janitors Unlimited, Inc.
Jebco, Inc.
#Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Sales, Inc.
Kaminer Construction Corp.
Keheley & Co. Inc.
Lance Roofing Co., Inc.
Lee, Ray M., Co.
Livingston, Pilcher & Co.
#Lockheed Aircraft Corp.
Lowe, Thomas M. Jr.
Mann, L. A.
Marable-Pirkle, Inc.
Marks Oxygen Co.
Marlin-Rockwell Corp.
#Massey Ferguson, Inc.
Matthew, C. W., Construction Co.
Mead Packaging Corp.
Metal Distributors, Inc.
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Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co.
Modernization Construction Co.
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#Philco Corp.
Pilcher X-Ray Corp.
Piedmont Hospital
Piedmont Paper Co.
Player, Frank A., Co.
Protective Pkg., Inc.
Pure Food, Inc.
Puritan Chemical Co.
Radiation Technology, Inc.
#Radio Corp. of America
Randall Bros., Inc.
#Raytheon Corp.
Refrigeration Appliances, Inc.
Reliance Chemical
Reynolds Aluminum Supply Co.
Rittenbaum Bros.
Robert & Co. Associates
#St. Regis Paper Co.
Scientific-Atlanta, Inc.
Scripto, Inc.
Shaw-Lightcap, Inc.
#Singer Sewing Machine Co.
Slife Supply Co.
Smith, William Armstrong Co.
Southern Spring Bed Co.
Southland Coffee Co.
Southwire
#Standard Oil Co.
#Stauffer Chemical
Steele & Associates, Inc.
Stevens & Wilkinson
Still, L. F. & Co.
T. & B. Builders, Inc.
Tesco Chemical of Carolina, Inc.
Thomas Paint Products Co.
Thompson Ramo-Wollridge, Inc.
Thompson Products Replacement Div.
Toombs, Amisano & Wells
Tri-State Contracting Co.
#Union Carbide Corp.
Union Lumber Co., Inc.
#United States Rubber Co.
Vulcan Materials Co.
#Walgreen Drug Co.
Walker Electrical Co., Inc.
Warren Company, The
West and Granade
West, Jack W. Contracting Co.
#Western Electric Co., Inc.
#Western Union Telegraph Co.
#Westinghouse Electric Corp.
Williams Contracting Co.
Wise, Simpson, Aiken & Associates, Inc.
Woodman Co., Inc.
Worthington Corp.
Xerox Corp.

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* Source: *Commerce Business Daily*, U. S. Dept. of Commerce.

Note: Such firms are indicated by #: Some of these have federal contracts also.

"It is the plain and positive obligation of the United States Government to promote and ensure Equal Employment Opportunity for all qualified persons without regard to race, creed, color or national origin, employed or seeking employment with the Federal Government."

President John F. Kennedy
Executive Order #10925
March 6, 1961

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

The following, among other local agencies, are able to assist employers and job seekers:

American Friends Service Committee
Employment on Merit Program
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Phone — 523-4451

Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Phone — JA 1-2355

Greater Atlanta Council On
Human Relations
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Phone — 523-1581

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

Publication of this Directory financed in part by: The Alexander Companies, Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action, Mutual Federal Savings & Loan Assn., Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge, F. & A. M., and others.

file

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

EMERSON HALL
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

March 20, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
S.R.C.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I certainly appreciate all of the data you sent along recently; I'm sure that my student can now bite in and do what he wants.

I agree that I was a bit rough with Mary Ellen's report, and that I do not have the real Christian charity that motivates Sarah Patton! Indeed, everytime I talk to these private school people they make me boil over. But there is a point where SRC reports can get too subtle, and I think I can see some of my private school acquaintances actually putting her report to their own uses because she never bluntly came out and said that the whole proposition was a trembling house of cards.

I hope to come to Atlanta soon again and have another chance to talk with you. Thanks again for everything; and give my best regards to John Constable and Harold and John Morris (when he passes through on his way to the head).

As ever,

Tom p.

November 12, 1959

Mr. Stanley Elam
Editor, Phi Delta Kappan
International Headquarters Building
Eighth and Union
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Mr. Elam:

Many thanks for your encouraging letter of October 23. That I have not answered it sooner is due solely to the fact that I have been away from the office a good part of the intervening time.

It did seem to me that an efficient method of completing the coverage of Southern school superintendents would be for us to mail to you our list of approximately 500 names. You could then check off the names of those to whom you have already mailed copies and then mail a copy to each of the others.

This is only one way of handling the matter. If, for any reason, you would find it preferable to send us the list of superintendents who requested copies of the book from you, we could then check them against our list and mail copies from here to your list. We would of course need to receive from you the shipment of books. I want to assure you that either procedure would be convenient for us.

As to the school board members, we are following up on the suggestion and writing to the National School Boards Association to see what may be had from it. We shall let you know.

Thank you again for your prompt attention and I shall look forward to your reply.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:a

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

TEXAS ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL BOARDS
1512 GUADALUPE
AUSTIN 1, TEXAS
GREENWOOD 6-5507

November 23, 1959

DONALD G. NUGENT
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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A. H. MCCULLOCH
HIGHLAND PARK

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W. T. CROUCH
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HAROLD YEARY
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EARL SMITH
SAN ANGELO

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TED ANDRESS
GEORGE S. GANDY
MRS. WILL MILLER
M. W. GLOSSERMAN
JAMES A. REDMOND
W. I. KOCUREK
DR. RAY K. DAILY

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of November 19, 1959, and the book "Action Patterns in School Desegregation."

I am enclosing a list of the local school board officers of our association. I would much appreciate each of these leaders receiving a copy of this informative book. Please do not make these addresses available for commercial mailing as our policies forbid this use of our local board addresses.

Is there any possibility that you could mail as many as 300 of these books to Texas school board presidents? If so, please let me know and I will provide you with a list for this mailing.

Sincerely,

Donald G. Nugent

Donald G. Nugent
Executive Director

DGN/pb

December 7, 1959

Mr. J. Stanley Elam
Phi Delta Kappa
International Headquarters Bldg.,
8th and Union
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Mr. Elam:

I would like to give you a report on what we have done since your last letter to us.

First, we have checked your cards against our mailing list of Southern school superintendents. I should tell you we have made our list from Part 2, Education Directory, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1958-59, selecting every superintendent of cities over 6,000; where there is only a county district, we used the county superintendent. This gave us a total of 489. After checking your cards, we found that only 59 of these had received Action Patterns. On the other hand, the book did go to many county superintendents, to a number of principals, and to some unidentified officers. We are prepared to mail Action Patterns to the 430 names on our list who did not get copies directly from you, if you are willing to provide this many books. Or, would you rather send a smaller number of books for us to distribute to superintendents of only the larger cities, say cities of 15,000 and up? I am not recommending this limitation because we would be just as glad to see as many copies go out as possible, but I am not sure how your supply stands. (We have ordered the 1959-60 Directory which should be here in time for us to revise our list of names before mailing out any copies.)

We followed your suggestion and wrote to the National School Boards Association. In return we got only the names of presidents and executive secretaries of state associations

of school boards. We have written (November 19) to each of the executive secretaries, and have been delaying our reply to you while waiting for answers. As yet, however, we have had but one reply, and that from Texas, as per the enclosure. I would suggest that you supply us with 100 copies for us to distribute to these persons named in the Texas letter and to names we may yet receive from the other states. We would also like to have another 50 copies for distribution from this office as circumstances permit. In other words, we suggest that you send us

430 copies for school superintendents (or a lesser number if you see fit), plus
100 copies for school board members, plus
50 copies for our own field distribution to interested individuals.

As to the Texas request for an additional 300 copies, how shall we respond? I would doubt that this quantity could be justified for one state, but if you think all or any part of it could be sent, I would suggest that you ship it from your office.

We are returning the cards. I trust you shall find them still in good order.

Looking forward to hearing from you again,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures: thermofax, letter to secretaries
" Texas letter and enclosures

Mailed separately: cards

Blind CC: Ben Muse

JOHN C. WHINNERY.....President
123 South Montebello Blvd.
Montebello, California
CHARLES R. FOSTER.....First Vice President
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida
A. G. CLARK.....Second Vice President
316 Dalzell Avenue, Ben Avon
Pittsburgh 2, Pennsylvania
GORDON I. SWANSON.....Recording Secretary
University Farm, University of Minnesota
St. Paul 1, Minnesota
RUSSEL S. MERKEL.....Comptroller
Indiana Central College
Indianapolis 27, Indiana

PHI DELTA KAPPA

A professional education fraternity connected with approved colleges and universities of graduate rank maintaining schools, colleges, or departments of education

International Headquarters Building
EIGHTH AND UNION, BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

MAYNARD BEMIS
Executive Secretary

STANLEY M. ELAM
Editor

JULES V. HARCOURT
Business Manager

December 10, 1959

430
173
323
920

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of December 7. I have made arrangements with our business office to send you by motor freight 1,060 copies of our desegregation guidebook. I believe this number will permit you to handle all of the mailing proposed in your letter, plus a small reserve. I should also tell you that we'll be happy to send you additional copies when requested.

Most cordially,

Stanley Elam

Stanley Elam
Editor, PHI DELTA KAPPAN

SE:rg

cc: Dr. J. B. White
Dean, School of Education
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

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REMIT TO DELIVERING OFFICE

DATE & BILLING STATION

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1

Consignee
Address
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Route

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RESEARCH ROOM 423
63 AUBURN AVE
ATLANTA GA
GRIFFITH IN DPLS HHATLA

Consignor
Address
Origin
C/L Or Shipper's No. And Date

PHI DELTA KAPPA
BLOOMINGTON INDIANA
GRIFFITH 3907 12 10 59

No. Pkgs.	ARTICLES	WEIGHT	RATE	FREIGHT	TOTAL
17	CTNS BOOKS	765	263	2012 PREPAID	

CL H&H BYD

1589

Received in Good Condition

Date

P. O. BOX 810

The North Carolina
State School Boards Association, Inc.
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

December 11, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Please excuse my delay in answering your letter of November 19th. The letter was misplaced and I just located it today.

I think it would be a fine thing if you could furnish copies of Action Patterns in School Desegregation to certain Chairmen of our School Boards. There are 175 School Board Chairmen in North Carolina, and for your convenience I am enclosing on paper their names. You may use as many of these as you wish. If you do not have enough to send all a copy, you might wish to select some of the larger counties or cities.

If I can be of any further service, please feel free to call upon me.

Yours very truly,

Lewis H. Swindell, Jr.

Lewis H. Swindell, Jr.
Associate Executive Secretary

vew

Enclosure

December 16, 1959

Mr. Donald G. Nugent
Executive Director
Texas Association of School Boards
1512 Guadalupe
Austin 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Nugent:

Thank you for your letter of November 23, and for the list of local school board officers of your association. We shall use the list as you specify, and a copy of Action Patterns in School Desegregation will be going out within the next two week. We will write to you again sometime soon to let you know if we will have enough copies to send the additional three hundred.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 16, 1959

Mr. Lewis H. Swindell, Jr.
Associate Executive Secretary
The North Carolina State School Boards Association
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Swindell:

Thank you for your letter of December 11, and for the enclosed list of 175 School Board Chairmen in North Carolina. We shall send copies of Action Patterns in School Desegregation to those you have listed. They should start going out within the next two weeks.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

MAILING LIST FOR L-REPORTS - DECEMBER 17, 1959
from Phi Delta Kappa List

I. A. Fambrough
Pell City
Alabama

Marcus Pearson, Jr.
Springville
Alabama

Milton Wright
Ragland,
Alabama

D. O. Langston
Box 82
Ashville, Alabama

Elgin W. Mellown, Supt.
Sumter County Board of Education
Livingston, Alabama

Clifton Nash
P. O. Box 495
Boaz, Alabama

N. R. Haworth, Supt.
Fort Payne City Schools
Fort Payne, Ala.

P. W. Coleburn
Box 599
Fayette, Ala.

W. A. LeCroy, Supt.
Clanton
Ala.

B. B. Finley, Supt.
Clay County Schools
Ashland, Ala.

J. T. Green
Lanett
Ala.

H. B. Hamner
Box 587
Phenix City, Ala.

Kermit A. Johnson
12 The Downs
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

W. H. Kimbrough
Piedmont City Schools
Piedmont, Ala.

R. B. Thomasson
County School Supervisor
Box 486
Arkadelphia, Ark.

N. H. Bell
Court House
Russellville, Ark.

Hugh L. Smith, Supt.
Eudora Public Schools
Eudora, Ark.

C. P. McCaskill
P. O. Box 289
Lake Village, Ark.

M. Edw. Wheat
Lonoke County Supervisor
Lonoke, Ark.

O. A. Fulbright, Supt.
Mt. View Schools
Mt. View, Ark.

B. E. Whitmore
County School Supervisor
Court House
Pine Bluff, Akr.

W. V. Armstrong
County School Supervisor
Forrest City, Ark.

W. E. Orr
County Supervisor
Searcy, Ark.

A. W. Rainwater
Supt. of Schools
Walnut Ridge, Ark.

J. E. Endorf
1300 N. E. 136th St.
No. Miami, Fla.

Carl C. West
2603 Selma St.
Pensacola, Fla.

Denton L. Cook
P. O. Box 1191
Plant City, Fla.

Glenn F. McFadden
Vocational & Technical Dir.
Daytona Beach Jr. College
Daytona Beach, Fla.

George C. Nelms
Supt. of Schools
Crawfordsville, Ga.

Ford Boston
County School Supt.
Greensboro, Ga.

Sam Morris
County School Supt.
Newnan, Ga.

R. E. Kicklighter
Reidsville, Ga.

Harold T. Daniel
Pike County Supt.
Zebulon, Ga.

Buren Claxton
Wrightsville
Ga.

E. R. Cone, Supt.
Thomas County Schools
Thomasville, Ga.

Lloyd Funchess, Supt.
~~East Baton Rouge Schools~~
P. O. Box 2950
East Baton Rouge Schools
Baton Rouge, La.

T. L. Langarre
Church Point High School
S. Church Point, La.

W. Sonnier, Principal
Rayne High School
Rayne, La.

Edwin C. Harris, Principal
Westwego Jr. High School
300 Fourth St.
Westwego, La.

L. J. Buford
Biloxi Public Schools
Biloxi, Miss.

W. H. Jackson
Pass Christian Public Schools
Pass Christian, Miss.

K. C. L'Kelley, Asst. Supt.
New Albany High School
New Albany, Miss.

L. R. White, County Supt.
Pauola County Schools
Batesville, Miss.

G. K. Richardson, Supt.
Leake County Schools
Carthage, Miss.

Chas. H. Chewning, Supt.
Durham County Schools
Durham, N. C.

T. L. Woodard, Supt.
Bryson City,
N. C.

W. S. ~~XXXX~~ Haynie
Cramerton
N. C.

J. W. Wilseed
Court House
Charlotte, N. C.

C. H. Furn
Box 867
Concord, N. C.

A. B. Johnson, Principal
Dunn Public Schools
Dunn, N. C.

H. Bueck, Supt.
Box 148
Franklyn, N. C.

R. S. Proctor
P. O. Box 544
Goldsboro, N. C.

S. H. Helton, Supt.
Box 865
Troy, N. C.

John T. Biggers, Supt.
Perquimans County Schools
Hertford, N. C.

F. L. Larson, Supt.
City Schools
Cherryville, N. C.

Max Padgett, Supervisor
Rutherford County Schools
Rutherfordton, N. C.

C. B. Eller, Supt.
Wilkes County Schools
Wilkesboro, N. C.

Mrs. Dessa Mae Edmisten
Watauga County Board of Educat~~xxxxxx~~
Boone, N. C.

L. V. Mayer
P. O. Box R
Anderson County
Honea Path, S. C.

W. F. Loggins, Supt.
420 N. Pleasantburg Dr.
Box 719
Greenville, S. C.

Miss Ellen P. Chaplin
P. O. Box 716
Orangeburg, S. C.

C. A. Mobley, Supt.
School District Two
Walterboro, S. C.

E. A. Cox, Supt.
Court House
Columbia, Tenn.

Billy V. Evans
Maury County Schools
Columbia, Tenn.

Samuel G. Smith
Erin
Tenn.

D. B. Powell
Big Springs
Texas

S. L. Beaty
Cleveland
Tenn.

C. H. Wilburn
County Supt. of Schools
Hartsville, Tenn.

Ernest W. Cotton
E. High St.
Lebanon, Tenn.

George H. Barnes
301 Court House
Memphis, Tenn.

C. L. Mayers
Supt. of Schools
Tazewell, Tenn.

Maury County Schools
Mount Pleasant
Tennessee

B. H. Hudspeth, Supt.
~~xxxxxx~~ Atlanta
Texas

Esther Wilcox
County School Supt.
Anderson, Texas

Everett Beaver, Supt.
Jones County Schools
Box 348
Anson, Texas

P. J. Dodson
Supt. of Schools
Bastrop, Texas

Geo. H. Gentry, Supt.
Box 30
Baytown, Texas

W. E. Elkins
Box 597
Ballinger, Texas

Walker Bailey
County Supt.
Big Springs, Texas

John L. Cherry
Box 631
Bay City, Texas

R. S. Morgan
Bishop
Texas

J. C. Watson, County Supt.
Court House
Corsicana, Texas

J. Marcus Mason
Box 450
Crockett, Texas

L. A. Roberts
County Superintendent
300 Records Bldg.
Dallas, Texas

Oscar J. Baker
Box 458
Dickinson, Texas

O. H. Stowe
County Supt.
County Courthouse
Ft. Worth 2, Texas

J. E. Sheppard
1,000 S. Cherry Lane
White Settlement Schools
Ft. Worth 8, Texas

Don B. Slocomb
Geddings I.S.D.
Geddings, Texas

D. A. Cravier
P. O. Box 32
Gilmer, Texas

Eloe D. Stringer
Box 392
Hamilton, Texas

D. E. Moore
Karnes City
Texas

M. E. Noble
Kenedy Public Schools
Kenedy, Texas

James R. Phillips
Box 448
Kaufman, Texas

Mrs. John H. Schonefeld
Box 1230
Kingsville, Texas

H. C. Ballew
Box 751
Lampasas, Texas

C. M. Nalls, Supt.
Llono School
Llono, Texas

Hubert L. Wheat
P. O. Box 968
McCamey, Texas

Gilbert Reeves, Supt.
Motley County Schools
Box 537
Matador, Texas

C. R. Brace
Menard
Texas

J. R. Pruitt
Box 187
Mount Vernon, Texas

Coy I. Keahey, Supt.
Miles School
Miles, Texas

Howard V. Sawyer, Supt.
Norton School
Norton, Texas

Aussie A. Miller
Newton
Texas

Alton Farr, Supt.
Box 635
Paducah, Texas

Dean A. Robinson
Box 366
Post, Texas

Sister Marie Doebel
Rt. 1
Rowena, Texas

Clyde E. Smith
Court House
San Antonio, Texas

Mrs. Beth H. Garcia, Supt.
Box 825
San Diego, Texas

Buford Browning
County School Supt.
Courthouse
Snyder, Texas

F. J. Young
P. O. Drawer 877
Seminole, Texas

Avery R. Downing
Drawer 27
Waco, Texas

J. E. Wakeland
Courthouse
Waxahachie, Texas

W. T. Woodson, Supt.
County School Board
Fiarfax, Va.

Paul W. Collins
Scott County Schools
Gate City, Va.

A. Monday, Jr.
County School Board
Independence, Va.

Bryd W. Long
Louisa,
Va.

G. M. Hodge, Supt.
Providence Forge
Va.

J. J. Fray
Division Superintendent
Campbell County
Rustburg, Va.

Royce W. Chesser
Division Superintendent
Accomack County Schools
Accomac, Va.

XX O. A. Norton
Amelia,
Va.

Frank P. Cline
Altavista High School
Altavista, Va.

Harley T. Stallard
Big Stone Gap High School
Big Stone Gap, Va.

James E. Rutrough
Director of Instruction
Shenendoah County
Woodstock, Va.

E. W. Christopher
Tappenhomack
Va.

L. M. Bradley
Warrenton
Va.

C. J. McCyle, Supt.
Box 349
Orange County Schools
Orange, Va.

J. K. Sample
Luray
Va.

A. Gordon Brooks
Supt. of Schools
Fincastle, Va.

G. O. McGhee
School Board Office
Charlotte Court House
Charlotte, Va.

Raymond T. Hale
Blacksburg High School
Blacksburg, Va.

A. B. Hagh
Division Superintendent
Mecklinburg County Schools
Boydton, Va.

Paul Hounshell
Box 631
Culpepper, Va.

M. B. Joyner
Division Supt. of Schbols
Demsdron, Va.

12-27-59
mga

Texas Association of School Boards

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1959-60

(Should your address or telephone number be in error, please notify us.)

President	A. H. McCulloch 1101 Davis Building Dallas 2, Texas (Riverside 8-1860)
1st Vice-President	George Guthrie P. O. Box 3013 San Antonio, Texas (Walnut 2-0051)
2nd Vice-President	Dr. R. E. Hamme 505 South Closner Edinburg, Texas (Dudley 3-1171)
3rd Vice-President	E. A. Callaway 3420 Denton Hiway Fort Worth, Texas (Valley 2367)
Secretary-Treasurer	Mrs. Hulon Black 3005 Bowman Road Austin, Texas (Greenwood 8-2351)
Executive Director	Donald G. Nugent 203 Byron Building 1512 Guadalupe Austin 1, Texas (Greenwood 6-5507 or Glendale 2-2337 - residence)

Committee Members

Charles A. Fry
615 South Washington
Marshall, Texas
(Webster 5-5264)

W. H. B. Fehl
P. O. Box 3311
Beaumont, Texas
(Terminal 3-9411)

Rob D. Trimble, Jr.
P. O. Box 205
Carthage, Texas
(OX 3-4374)

John E. Meade
Meade Insurance Agency
Bonham, Texas

Frank M. Greenhaw
425 South Galloway
Mesquite, Texas
(AT 5-3961)

George B. Wilcox
College Station, Texas

Lee Ragsdale
1st National Bank Building
Jacksonville, Texas

J. P. Bonnette
833 Harvard
Deer Park, Texas

Mrs. Ralph Gray
410 Circle Way
Lake Jackson, Texas
(7-6396)

Mrs. Garrie Bray
1920 Matagorda
Austin, Texas
(Hickory 2-0321)

Dr. Terrell Speed
702 West Thompson
Temple, Texas

W. T. Crouch
Rt. 3, Box 426
Arlington, Texas

Floyd L. Randel
P. O. Box 2329
Wichita Falls, Texas
(723-8161)

Tom M. Browne
207 North Chaparral
Corpus Christi, Texas

Harold Yeary
1814 Washington
Laredo, Texas
(3-4348)

Elmo Glass
Kermit, Texas

Morgan Jones, Jr.
P. O. Box 1320
Abilene, Texas

A. M. Minton
415 Lee Street
Borger, Texas

Jameil Aryain
110 Main Street
Seminole, Texas
(PL 8-2412)

H. W. Engelhardt
1109 Fenfield
San Antonio, Texas
(Walnut 2-0578)

Earl Smith
814 McBurnett Building
San Angelo, Texas
(2-6767)

January 21, 1960

Mr. Donald G. Nugent
Executive Director
Texas Association of School Boards
1512 Guadalupe
Austin 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Nugent:

In my letter of December 16, I said that we would let you know if we had enough copies of Action Patterns in School Desegregation to send to the three hundred Texas school board presidents. We have completed our mailings, and we do have enough copies left. If you will send us the names, we will begin mailing them out at once.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

CHARLES R. FOSTER..... President
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida
A. G. CLARK..... First Vice President
316 Dalzell Avenue, Ben Avon
Pittsburgh 2, Pennsylvania
GORDON I. SWANSON..... Second Vice President
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St. Paul Campus, St. Paul 1, Minnesota
RUSSEL S. MERKEL..... Recording Secretary
Indiana Central College
Indianapolis 27, Indiana
ARTHUR E. ARNESEN..... Comptroller
440 E. First South Street
Salt Lake City 11, Utah

PHI DELTA KAPPA

A professional education fraternity connected with approved colleges and universities of graduate rank maintaining schools, colleges, or departments of education

International Headquarters Building
EIGHTH AND UNION, BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

MAYNARD BEMIS
Executive Secretary

STANLEY ELAM
Editor

JULES HARCOURT
Business Manager

September 6, 1960

Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have been on the point of trying to summarize your excellent report dated August 19, perhaps with the help of Time's Education Department for September 5, for use in the October PHI DELTA KAPPAN.

However, I would have been unable to report on certain events whose outcome will await the opening of schools throughout the South, or court action that may occur later. For example, I should like to say something about the New Orleans situation, Houston, etc., where there may be developments this month.

I would very much welcome a rather complete report on the crucial areas and on significant events of the past year from one of your staff, for publication in the November PHI DELTA KAPPAN (deadline October 1), if this is not contrary to S.R.C. policy. May I hear from you at your earliest convenience on this matter?

Phi Delta Kappa maintains a committee on desegregation whose duty it will be to call to the attention of the fraternity any matter on which we might act as a body. It is for this reason that I want to carry occasional current accounts in the fraternity journal.

Incidentally, I should also like to ask whether you can give me the current address of Martin Luther King, who now lives, I understand, in Atlanta. I would like to ask him to contribute a reply to a KAPPAN author whose material is scheduled for publication in one of our winter issues.

Most cordially,

Stanley Elam

Stanley Elam
Editor, PHI DELTA KAPPAN

September 16, 1960

Mr. Stanley Elam
Editor, Phi Delta Kappan
Eighth and Union
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Mr. Elam:

Thank you for your letter of September 6. We seem to be over our ears right now, but we consider your readers to be so important that we would want to accept your invitation to do an article for the Phi Delta Kappan; I suppose I am the logical person to do it. I am afraid, however, that the only possible way I could meet an October 1 deadline would be by extracting heavily from our report of October 19, up-dating and touching up. (As I was the principal author of the report this would not be improper.) If this is agreeable, I shall take on the assignment; please let me know the desired length.

On the other hand, we think that the New Orleans situation is so important that I would like to urge you either to postpone the article until a later issue (I suppose it would have to be your January issue) or else to schedule a short follow-up article after the New Orleans desegregation has occurred.

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s address is: Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 208 Auburn Avenue N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

November 28, 1960

Mr. Jules Harcourt
Business Manager
Phi Delta Kappa
Eighth and Union
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Mr. Harcourt:

We have your letter of November 18 requesting our assistance in the further distribution of Action Patterns in School Desegregation. We shall want to discuss this further before definitely replying. It may be, however, that we have already distributed so many of these that we have exhausted the opportunities that we have for putting this book to good use.

In the emantime, I suggest that you get in touch with Mr. Oscar Cohen, Program Director of the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. Mr. Cohen happened to be in our office last week and I mentioned to him your letter. He expressed an interest in obtaining a supply because ADL uses this book as part of one of its educational packets.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Ben Muse
Oscar Cohen
PR & JC

CHARLES R. FOSTER..... President
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida
A. G. CLARK..... First Vice President
316 Dalzell Avenue, Ben Avon
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Executive Secretary

STANLEY ELAM
Editor

JULES HARCOURT
Business Manager

December 2, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for your prompt response to my letter of November 18 in which I requested your assistance in the further distribution of Action Patterns in School Desegregation. We certainly appreciate the assistance you have given us in the past and hope that you will be able to effectively distribute additional copies in the future.

I appreciate your suggestion that I contact Mr. Oscar Cohen, Director of the Anti-Defamation League for assistance in this matter. I will do this immediately.

Cordially yours,

Jules

Jules Harcourt
Business Manager

JH:cc

December 13, 1960

Mr. Stanley Elam, Editor
Phi Delta Kappan
International Headquarters Building
Eighth and Union
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Mr. Elam:

Enclosed are the galleys. I have marked two corrections on galley one and on galley three, and have asked for two changes--one of them is a substitute of the word "readiness" for the word "willingness." This seems to me a somewhat more cautious word and I hope you can accept the change. The other change I leave to your discretion: i.e., if it will involve too much inconvenience don't bother. The trouble is that it appears now the Mary Ellen Goodman report will not be out before my article. I don't think this matters much, but for the sake of accuracy I have suggested a different terminology.

I am enclosing some new copy as you requested on New Orleans. If it is too long please feel free to cut it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure:
galley proofs
additional copy

January 3, 1961

Mr. Jules Harcourt
Business Manager
Phi Delta Kappa
Eighth and Union
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Mr. Harcourt:

In further reply to your letter of November 18, we have reluctantly decided that at this time we are not in position to distribute any large number of Action Patterns in School Desegregation. We would be perfectly glad, and indeed eager, to do so if we could see where the books could be sent to good advantage, other than to those who have already received them. It did occur to us that there would be benefit in sadding them to all federal district and circuit judges. We would not, however, want to duplicate a mailing and perhaps you could advise us if they have already received it from you.

We still have on hand approximately 250 copies. This would be enough to enable us to reach the judges and to keep a small supply in stock.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

PR ✓
JC
at LWD

November 28, 1960

Mr. Jules Harcourt
Business Manager
Phi Delta Kappa
Eighth and Union
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Mr. Harcourt:

We have your letter of November 18 requesting our assistance in the further distribution of Action Patterns in School Desegregation. We shall want to discuss this further before definitely replying. It may be, however, that we have already distributed so many of these that we have exhausted the opportunities that we have for putting this book to good use.

In the meantime, I suggest that you get in touch with Mr. Oscar Cohen, Program Director of the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. Mr. Cohen happened to be in our office last week and I mentioned to him your letter. He expressed an interest in obtaining a supply because ADL uses this book as part of one of its educational packets.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
cc: Ben Muse
Oscar Cohen
✓PR ★ JC

LWD - Please tell him!

CHARLES R. FOSTER..... President
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International Headquarters Building
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MAYNARD BEMIS
Executive Secretary

STANLEY ELAM
Editor

JULES HARCOURT
Business Manager

November 18, 1960

Mr. Harold Flemming, Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Flemming:

This is a request for assistance in the further distribution of ACTION PATTERNS IN SCHOOL DESEGERGATION. As you know, in the past your organization has distributed several copies of this guide book. We appreciate very much your assistance in the past and feel that the remaining copies now should be in the hands of those directly concerned with desegregation.

We have approximately 4,000 copies of this publication remaining. Can your organization make effective distribution of some of these copies? Do you have any suggestion how we might further distribute copies of the guide book? Your assistance in this matter will be sincerely appreciated.

Cordially yours,

Jules Harcourt

Jules Harcourt
Business Manager

JH:cc
cc: Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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MA - Sense of BM + file

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International Headquarters Building
EIGHTH AND UNION, BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

MAYNARD BEMIS
Executive Secretary

STANLEY ELAM
Editor

JULES HARCOURT
Business Manager

January 9, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 3, 1961, regarding the distribution of Action Patterns in School Desegregation.

"Great" minds surely do run in the same paths. About a month ago we distributed one free copy each to all federal district and circuit judges in southern states. You may maintain your supply of booklets for distribution in the future if you feel you can effectively use them. However, if you feel that 250 copies are more than you might be able to use, please return them to this office and we will be pleased to attempt further distribution from here.

You will be interested to know that Oscar Cohen of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith requested at least 1,000 copies of Action Patterns in School Desegregation. The Anti-Defamation League has made effective use of copies in the past, and, therefore, the request was honored.

Cordially yours,

Jules Harcourt

Jules Harcourt
Business Manager

JH:cc

The Community Advertiser
Clarkesville, Ga.
8-27-59

RTISER

10 PAGES THIS WEEK

CITY of TOMORROW"

$2.58 PER YEAR IN ADVANCE

Dean DuBey Resigns From Piedmont College

Dean R. E. DuBey has resigned his position as Dean of Piedmont College, Demoresl and has accepted a position as Professor of Education at one of the finest colleges in the mid-west.

The Dean and his family express deep regrets at their leaving Clarkesville. "We had bought our home here and we expected to stay a long time. We like the wonderful people here and we love this beautiful mountain country. However, when I disagreed with President J. E. Walter concerning accreditation and improvement of the college, he insisted that I conform to his policies or resign. After an inconclusive meeting of a committee of the college trustees at which time the president brought charges against me it became obvious that I must find another job and resign.

Dr. DuBey said:

"Since I have so high a regard for the people of this area, and since I have been forced to leave under great pressure, it seems quite proper to set forth some opinions concerning Piedmont.

"First, it is my opinion that there normally be able to get a college accredited in ten years.

"I have been greatly concerned this year about the Alumni Association and Public Relations. According to my information despite streneous efforts this year, less than 50 people have paid their annual dues in the Alumni Association. Many recent graduates have stated that they left Piedmont with a feeling of frustation and bitterness, and they refuse to join or support the Alumni Association. Many have said they will not support Piedmont until some important changes are made. I have encountered many people in the area who feel that Piedmont does not enjoy the support, the backing, or the good-will of the community as enjoyed in former days. I hope the administration will correct this situation, as I consider good public relations most important.

"Finally, many of us are concern-

"Since I have so high a regard for the people of this area, and since I have been forced to leave under great pressure, it seems quite proper to set forth some opinions concerning Piedmont.

"First it is my opinion that there is something wrong with a college where there is so high a rate of faculty and staff turn-over. I contend that during the ten years of J. E. Walter's presidencey the faculty turn-over has been too high. This year is a good example. The following people have resigned or retired: Mrs. Amey Englebracht, assistant to the president; Mrs. Merle Aycock, assistant treasurer; Mr. Bruce Ray, English; Dr. D. W. Lewis, English; Dr. W. H. Emerson, history; Mrs. Emerson, nurse and P. E. instructor; Dr. W. T. Lammers, biology; Mrs. Margaret McConnell, dean of women; Mrs. Mildred Davis, registrar; Mr. Charles Greene, director of public relations and myself, the Dean.

"This is far too many people for a small college like Piedmont to lose this year. In my opinion, there must be some significant changes in faculty personnel policies and I have so contended all year.

"Second, in my opinion, an enrollment of 175-180 full time students is far too low. According to my information this is less than it was when Walter took over 10 years ago. When virtually every college in the country has been expanding tremendously in recent years it seems quite fair to ask why Piedmont has so few students. From an administrative view point, it is most inefficient to operate a college with less than 300 full-time students. It is difficult to operate an all-round, comprehensive, complete, student-activity program with so few students, especially when about one-half are commuting students.

"Third, in my opinion, lack of accreditation is one of the great weaknesses of Piedmont. I came here for the express purpose of getting Piedmont accredited. After spending this tragic year at Piedmont I have rather definite ideas about the subject. It is my opinion that a President should enjoy the support, the backing, or the good-will of the community as enjoyed in former days. I hope the administration will correct this situation, as I consider good public relations most important.

"Finally, many of us are concerned about Piedmont's relation with the State Department of Education. As the dean this year, I have felt that the State Department believes the faculty turnover is too high and that this lack of stability in faculty is a considerable handicap to Piedmont's Teacher Training program, as 70 percent of Piedmont graduates go into teaching. I hope the administration will face up to all the realities of the situation, and do whatever is necessary to secure the blessings and full permanent approval of the State Department."

Habersham Edu. Assn. Tell Plans For Year's Work

The first meeting of the school year for the Habersham County Education Association held at the Clarkesville School Wednesday, August 26th, featured a panel by teachers on promising programs for Habersham County Schools and a report by Mrs. Ernest Hallford o nthe National Education Association meeting in Saint Louis.

Members of the panel told of some work they had done during the summer and of work to be done in the Habersham County Schools as a result.

Mrs. Sara Loudermilk discussed the Family Finance workshop that she attended and some of the plans for workng wth tsudents at South Habersham on wise use of money.

Miss Maybelle Gailey told of the program for training teachers for exceptional children and mentioned the two classes that will begin in the county this fall.

Mrs. Charles Rudolph shared her experiences in the Foreign Language Institute and told of plans for her classes this year.

Miss Sue Yearwood described the workshop for supervising the

L. MERLE HOSTETLER, Moderator
6950 Hilton Road, Brecksville, Ohio

WILBUR J. SNEVEL, C. P. A., Treasurer
1100 Keith Bldg., Cleveland 15, Ohio

THE REV. ERSTON M. BUTTERFIELD
Minister and Executive Secretary

THE REV. ORMUND A. SCHULZ
Administrative Assistant

May 20, 1960

The Congregational Union of Cleveland

EXpress 1-0800 • 3056 PROSPECT AVENUE • CLEVELAND 15, OHIO

The Rev. Mr. William F. Edge
Plymouth Congregational Church
2717 East Hampshire Street
Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Edge:

Thank you for your recent letter requesting information concerning Piedmont College. I left the superintendency of the Southeast Convention in 1957 so do not have much up-to-date information to offer.

Relationships between Piedmont College and the churches of the Southeast Convention have been very poor indeed for a number of years. Much of the trouble began when Dr. Walter sought and obtained sizable financial contributions from a foundation formed and administered by persons believing in white supremacy. His action was taken without knowledge or approval of his board of trustees and when the unfortunate incident came to light liberal and progressive groups throughout the south were shocked. As a result, many of the members of the board of trustees resigned (along with a sizable group of professors) in protest over an action completely contrary to the historical stand of the Congregational churches relative to equal rights and the democratic process. To the best of my knowledge Piedmont College is still receiving funds from this Texas foundation. Although it is claimed that "no strings are attached to the money," the idenification of the college with white supremacy groups has been made and is abhord by many throughout the country.

Other major troubles have resulted from the very poor relationships between the administration of the college and the towns people, the student body and the faculty. This has lead to a great deal of dissension, student demonstrations, and rapid faculty turnover.

All these factors lead to the drastic action taken by the Southeast Convention some years ago in disavowing the college as representing Congregational principals or practices.

Should you desire up-to-date information relative to the situation at Piedmont I would suggest you contact any of the following people who have access to documented materials: Dr. Truman B. Douglas, Dr. Bryant Drake of the Higher Education Department; The Rev. James Lightbourne, Jr., Superintendent of the Southeast Convention, 673 Piedmont Avenue N.E., Atlanta 8, Georgia; or Mrs. Ed A. Albright, Southern Regional Council, Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia.

Information about the difficulties of the past year, including the increasing divisions and tensions between the administration and the board of trustees, may be obtained from Dr. Robert DuBey, Department of Education, Baldwin Wallace College, Berea, Ohio. Dr. DuBey, served as Acedemic Dean at Piedmont desperately attempting to lift the standards of the college and to work toward accreditation. In recent years there has been a long procession of Acedemic Deans of very short tenure; the reasons for which Dr. DuBey can explain. With Dr. DuBey's leaving (along with the three other professors), the Georgia State Department of Education made a complete investigation and took away Piedmont's right to certify teachers. This means they are no longer even accredited in the State of Georgia. When such extreme action is taken by a State Department of Education there is something radically wrong with the institution.

I trust this will in some measure answer your inquiry and lead you to investigate further before any substantial missionary funds are appropriated to a college which has completely lost the respect not only of the Congregational churches in the south but of many other liberal and progressive groups throughout the nation.

Very sincerely yours,

Erston M. Butterfield

EMB/cj

Erston M. Butterfield

Atlanta, Georgia
May 26, 1960

The Rev. William F. Edge
2717 East Hampshire Street
Milwaukee 11, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Edge:

I have read your letter of May 23rd with great interest, but I am unable to add anything to the current information on Piedmont College given to you by the Rev. Butterfield, as I left the Southeast Convention office in 1958. All I know about Piedmont College since that time is what I have read in the newspapers.

The relationships between Piedmont College and the churches of the Southeast Convention were already strained before Mr. Butterfield came in as Superintendent, the former Superintendent, the Rev. David W. Shepherd, having resigned from the board of trustees of the college. I knew personally some of the faculty members who resigned, and was present at the meetings of the Southeast Convention board of directors with the college board of trustees when Superintendent Butterfield was trying to bring about some form of communication and reconciliation. I well remember the meeting at which the Southeast Convention board voted to sever relations with the college--there were tears in the eyes of many of the ministers who voted to do this. They had received their education at the college and loved it dearly, but they felt they had no choice at that time because of the policies and practices of the college president and the board of trustees. By this time a sizeable amount of information had been assembled by a committee of the board of directors, consisting of statements by former faculty members, former members of the college board of trustees, residents of Piedmont, and former students. This information has always been considered confidential and was never broadcast.

I am sure that you and your church members are familiar with Congregational polity, and will therefore understand that this was a process of several years: gathering information, discussions of the board, attempts at setting things right at the college, and then the reluctant coming to a hard decision.

Since I know so little about the present situation at the college, I would prefer to say nothing, and refer you, as Mr. Butterfield has, to the present superintendent, the Rev. James H. Lightbourne. I have great respect for Mr. Lightbourne's judgment; he is noted for his integrity and for his fairminded appraisal of any given situation.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

P.S. I was registrar and assistant treasurer at the Southeast Convention office for ten years. I am now administrative secretary of Research at the Southern Regional Council.

May 19, 1960

Professor Roy Pierce
Department of Political Science
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Roy:

The August-September issue of The Crisis each year gives statistics on Negro enrollment in colleges and universities. The data is not complete but is superior to any other. Some years a better job seems to be done than in others; suggest you look at a couple. The 11th edition of the Negro Yearbook (1952) has an interesting article on higher education; there is some worthwhile discussion also in George Simpson and Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities, revised edition, Chapter 20. And there are some extremely valuable analyses of quality in the appendices of Dietrich Reitzes, Negroes and Medicine; the data of course relates to pre-medical preparation, but they are good bases for generalization. The 1956 World Almanac still designated which colleges are Negro.

We expect to be in New York, from about noon on the 15th to noon on the 17th. Our schedule is tight, and if you are sailing on the 17th your's will be tighter. We would like to see you, though, and when I know our plans definitely I am going to drop you another line.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

City of Pittsburgh

Pennsylvania

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
JOSEPH M. BARR
MAYOR

518 CITY-COUNTY BUILDING
TEL.—ATLANTIC 1-3900 EXT. 480

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
GEORGE W. CULBERSON

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

December 22, 1960

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The Commission on Research Services of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials is conducting a survey of selected agencies in the field of intergroup relations to ascertain what questions are of vital concern to their action programs and for which well designed research might be directed. The purpose of the survey is to communicate to the researchers in university and colleges what are the basic areas of research that are of most concern to the intergroup relations professional.

As a person actively engaged in or concerned with research, we are asking you to participate in this important study. Will you take the responsibility of considering with your fellow staff members, individually and as a group, what are the specific questions which are of upmost concern to your agency and its program for which research might provide partial answers.

In order to stimulate your thinking regarding possible areas of research interest, I have attached a partial list of questions and propositions selected from a much larger list completed in a preliminary study of some 20 agencies. These are only a few examples of the 107 items included in the inventory.

The pilot study was reported on at the recent national meetings of NAIRO in Cincinnati. Because of interest stimulated by this presentation, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has agreed to print and distribute the final inventory to the total membership of NAIRO, the Society for the Study of Social Problems, and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. The editor of the Journal of Intergroup Relations has indicated that the Journal is interested in publishing a summary of the study.

Both ADL and the Journal are interested in having the study completed as soon as possible. In order to do so, we would appreciate it if you would return your questions as soon as possible and no later than January 31.

Your cooperation and immediate attention to this project will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert A. Aurbach

Herbert A. Aurbach, Research Analyst

Items Selected From

INVENTORY OF RESEARCH NEEDS OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS AGENCIES
(Preliminary Study)

Compiled by Herbert A. Aurbach
Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations

A. GENERAL

1. What effect does interaction between Negroes and whites working on common problems have on their attitudes towards each other?

   a. To what extent are attitudinal changes related to the degree of interaction? e.g., working in a plant together as compared to negotiating a labor dispute against management, or living in the same block as compared to participation in a block organization concerned with neighborhood problems?

2. A study of motivation and minority group status.

   a. What techniques can be used to increase the motivation of minority group members to:

      1. Aspire higher levels of achievement.
      2. Seek redress for discriminatory behavior.
      3. Utilize their hard won achievements in the civil rights field.

   b. What are the distinguishing social and psychological characteristics of the minority group members who are highly motivated in the above areas?

3. To what extent are ethnic concentrations being continued in changing city neighborhoods and suburbia?

   a. Are they primarily related to ethnic heritage or religious identification or both and to what degree?

B. EMPLOYMENT

1. To what extent is the apparent continuing pattern of discrimination in employment and upgrading in large industrial plants due to?

   a. The lack of decisive and clear-cut decisions to fully utilize all available human resources regardless of their minority group status?

   b. Inadequacies in the processes of communicating fair employment decisions from top management to those lower echelon persons responsible for actually implementing the decisions?

2. To what extent are responsible personnel officials and supervisors in business and industry and employment agency personnel aware of local, state and federal laws prohibiting discrimination in employment and upgrading?

3. What communication techniques are available or can be developed whereby the qualified Negro applicant can be guided to existing job opportunities and employers with an effective non-discriminatory policies can be directed to the pool of qualified Negro labor?

C. HOUSING

1. A searching examination of the validity of the "tipping point" hypothesis.

   a. An examination of the chronological trend of racial change in a selected sample of neighborhoods (including analysis of the racial composition of in-movers and out-movers).

   b. What observational data can be obtained in support of or in contradiction to the existence of the tipping point as a general phenomenum?

   c. Where does the tipping point occur on the scale of Negro-white ratios?

   d. What factors (social, economic, physical, ecological, attitudinal) are critical in determining when the tipping point is reached?

   e. What factors determine the reaction of families relative to when they move during the process of transition (first movers and at intermediate stages until the last movers)?

2. A thorough study of neighborhood conditions in areas which present various types of reaction to the initial movement of a nonwhite family into previously all white neighborhoods. (Neighborhoods to be selected should range from those where peaceful acceptance occurs to those in which observable but non-violent tension is present and to those where physical violence takes place.)

3. Studies of Jewish-Christian relations in suburban residential areas.

   a. Does self-segregation result when Jews move into previously all Christian suburban areas? If not, what does occur?

   b. Do residents of homogeneous Christian communities really object to Jews moving in and to what extent?

D. EDUCATION

1. What do we mean by "integration" in the schools?

   a. Can we set up acceptable common standards regarding integration in the classroom and faculty integration?

   b. Are barriers to integration physical or psychological?

2. What is the relationship of the school to neighborhoods undergoing change in racial, religious or social class composition?

   a. What school problems arise from such changes?

   b. What are successful teaching practices in schools located in such neighborhoods?

   c. How does the school see its role in adjusting to change?

   d. How can the school adjust its expectations? (Can the curriculum content remain the same without lowering standards?)

   e. How does the school view its role and responsibilities in the changing community?

3. What are students attitudes toward the value of college courses in producing more positive attitudes toward the democratic way of life in general?

E. HEALTH, WELFARE, RECREATION AND PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

1. Is there a national trend toward providing medical care for Negro patients in public hospitals, regardless of ability to pay for care in private hospitals?

2. Study of intergroup attitudes of personnel in public recreation centers and playgrounds.

   a. Is intergroup knowledge and experience considered in selection of personnel and to what extent?

   b. Is intergroup relations included in staff training of personnel and to what extent?

F. RELIGION

1. In community conflict situations in which religious groupings are a factor, how can it be determined what is the relative weight of factors such as religious tension, cleavage between religious groups and religious prejudices, and other community factors such as the realities of class, status or power?

   a. Can we differentiate between conflicts of religious faith, conflict of power interest and actual prejudice?

2. What is the relative importance of membership in a religious group as compared to membership in other significant groups in determining attitudes and behavior?

   a. What effect do the intensity of convictions value commitments of adherents of the several religious faiths, and the nature of their individual participation in religious group activity have as factors in determining behavior?

   b. How important is religious group membership in determining such behavior when subjected to cross-pressures from other significant groups?

3. Further analysis of the relationship between religious attitudes and intergroup attitudes and religious practices and intergroup attitudes.

January 17, 1961

Mr. Herbert A. Aurbach
Research Analyst
Commission on Human Relations
City of Pittsburgh
518 City-County Building
Pittsburg, Pa.

Dear Mr. Aurbach:

I have gone over the inventory of research needs attached to your letter of December 2nd. The sort of descriptive and analytical study proposed under C-2 and D-2 are, it seems to me, most needed now and in the near future. I believe we need a lot more analysis of situations, a more clear and objective understanding of the social relations which actually exist and shape the issues of cultural change.

I believe, however, that you wish me to do something more than comment on the list of questions or propositions. I would like to suggest for consideration what is, I think, one of the really urgent problems associated with helping the South through this troublesome period. We need some good, realistic study of ways in which rational thinking and scientific information can be communicated to the large mass of white southerners in rural regions and in low-income urban classes. What sorts of ideas and information will grab their attention? What media are most likely to be effective? This is a problem so vast and so old that most of us (including SRC) resign ourselves to doing nothing about it; instead we talk about reaching the decision makers or content ourselves with the hypothesis that people will adapt their behavior to authoritatively supported change. Yet time after time it has been this mass which is the decision maker; and people's adaptation has often been so slight as to make the next step of change nearly as difficult as the first one. Over the long haul, there are forces which will produce changed attitudes; but this can be a long haul indeed and in the

meantime the pain can be terrific. A study of how to reach these people might include an initial study of their present sources of ideas and information and the content of these; there has been little serious examination along these lines.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Clarksdale, Miss. Feb. 9, 1962. Black Dispatch

Miss Bessie Turner, 19, of Clarksdale, was walking down a street with her boyfriend when officers reportedly stopped them and accused Miss Turner of having been involved in a theft. The officers were named Burton and Barrett. Miss Brooks was quoted as saying the two officers forced her to take off her dress, slip and bra, and to lie on her back. One of the policemen then allegedly beat her between the legs with his belt. A few minutes later the other officer beat her across her naked breasts. They warned her to say nothing of the beating, she said. The beating was administered in a jail cell.

The U. S. Justice Department was notified and asked to take action.

Albany, Ga., May 24, 1963. From Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Newsletter of May 29, 1963.

Faith Holsaert, a 20 year old white woman from Brooklyn, was arrested in a prayer vigil in front of the Albany City Hall to protest the arrest of some 70-odd demonstrators in the past two weeks.

Miss Holsaert said that police threatened to strip her, asked if her sister--who has also worked for SNCC in Albany--"was as well built as I was," and "would I give them some sugar." She also said that one policeman ran his hand over her.

Miss Holsaert wrote (in her signed statement):

> Ronnie Mathis booked me. He asked me if I were white, and I said, "that's what they tell me." He started asking who wanted to search me... Then they (the police) started asking me about my sister, and finally Ronnie Mathis asked if she were as well built as I. One of them ran his hand over my breast. They threatened to strip me. There were ten officers in the office with me. Later, about 4:00 a. m., a man who could have been Ronnie Mathis poked me in my head and asked if I were pregnant, my name, did I go with colored boys, and would I give him some sugar if he came into the cell.

Miss Holsaert was a student at Barnard College in New York City when she came to Southwest Georgia to work on SNCC's voter registration program, in February, 1963. She was the first white woman to work in Terrell County.

Police Beatings in Jails

Winona, Miss., June 9, 1963. Miss Annell Ponder (30), Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer (45) and a fifteen year old girl were beaten in the jail by police, including one state patrolman.

Miss Ponder and Mrs. Hamer are field supervisors for the Citizenship Education Program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Along with ~~xxxxxx~~ four other workers, they were arrested for trying to eat and use the rest room at the bus station while enroute from Charleston, S. C. on a Trailways bus. All six were taken to jail and held for four days. They were beaten with night sticks and fists and whipped with leather weapons. Mrs. Hamer's beating was by two Negro trustees who were ordered to perform the act by the white officers. The others were beaten by officers. One of the white policemen pulled up Mrs. Hamer's dress during the beating.

Miss Ponder had black and swollen eyes and numereus bruises and lacerations about the body. Mrs. Hamer's back and other parts of her body showed signs of a brutal beating, and she had a large knot on her head. The 15-year-old Negro girl was hit on the head with a black jack by one of the policemen and bled profusely.

(Voter Registration Project has a tape recording of the reports of both Miss Ponder and Mrs. Hamer.)

4. of N. C. Study

January 24, 1961

Professor James Prothero
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear James:

I have raised your question regarding East Carroll and Walthall with others here and find that they have no more ideas than have I as to which might be safer for the life and limb and peace of mind for your investigators. As you say, East Carroll is presently under federal attack and it is a reasonable assumption that this would increase the suspicion of the people there against any other outside studies. On the other hand, Walthall is adjacent to Washington Parish, La., which is also embroiled in a federal voting suit, is close to East Feliciana Parish, La., whose voting records have been subpoenaed, and close to Pearl River County, Miss., of Poplarville fame. On the positive side for both, I notice that there are Negro colleges fairly close to each county and these might give you some resources for interviewers: Grambling College in Louisiana and Alcorn A. & M. in Mississippi.

Although I am sure you will have done this thoroughly, I did take a quick look at 1950 census data and the preliminary 1960 returns. In most respects the two counties look pretty similar. I do notice three variations, however, which might affect your choice, though they are rather perplexing patterns. In 1950 East Carroll was 25% urban, Walthall zero. The former also had a substantially higher proportion of Negroes in the population, and a significantly lower median school grade completed.

I talked yesterday with Dean Brazeal at Morehouse College, and he thinks he may be of some help in recruiting interviewers.

Send me the full list of counties as soon as you can, together with information about desirable qualifications for interviewers, work schedule, etc.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

U of N.C. voting study

January 25, 1961

Dr. Tillman Cothran
Department of Sociology
Atlanta University
223 Chestnut Street S. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Tillman:

I believe the enclosed letter is self-explanitory. You probably will remember the occasion last year when I brought Donald Matthews out to meet with you, Dean Brazeal, and a few others for a briefing on the University of North Carolina's study of Negro political behavior. They are now ready to start their interviewing and need help in finding interviewers and consultants. Any suggestions you may have I shall send on to Chapel Hill.

John Reid today told me about the death of your Mother. You have my sincere sympathy.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

4. y North Carolina

January 25, 1961

Dean B. R. Brazeal
Morehouse College
223 Chestnut Street S.W.
Atlanta 14, Ga.

Dear Dean Brazeal:

I am enclosing a letter from Prothro which gives the full list of 27 counties to be covered in the University of North Carolina study of Negro political behavior. I wish you would let me know as soon as possible any suggestions you may have or may elicit from others regarding potential interviwers. I shall pass them on to Chapel Hill. Incidentally, I would infer from the list that either one interviewer for the two Georgia Counties or two part-time interviewers would be sufficient.

Prothro's letter leaves some questions unanswered and some important details unclear, but it may give you enough to go on.

If I see Tilman Cothran at the Hungry Club today, I plan to pass on to him another copy of the list.

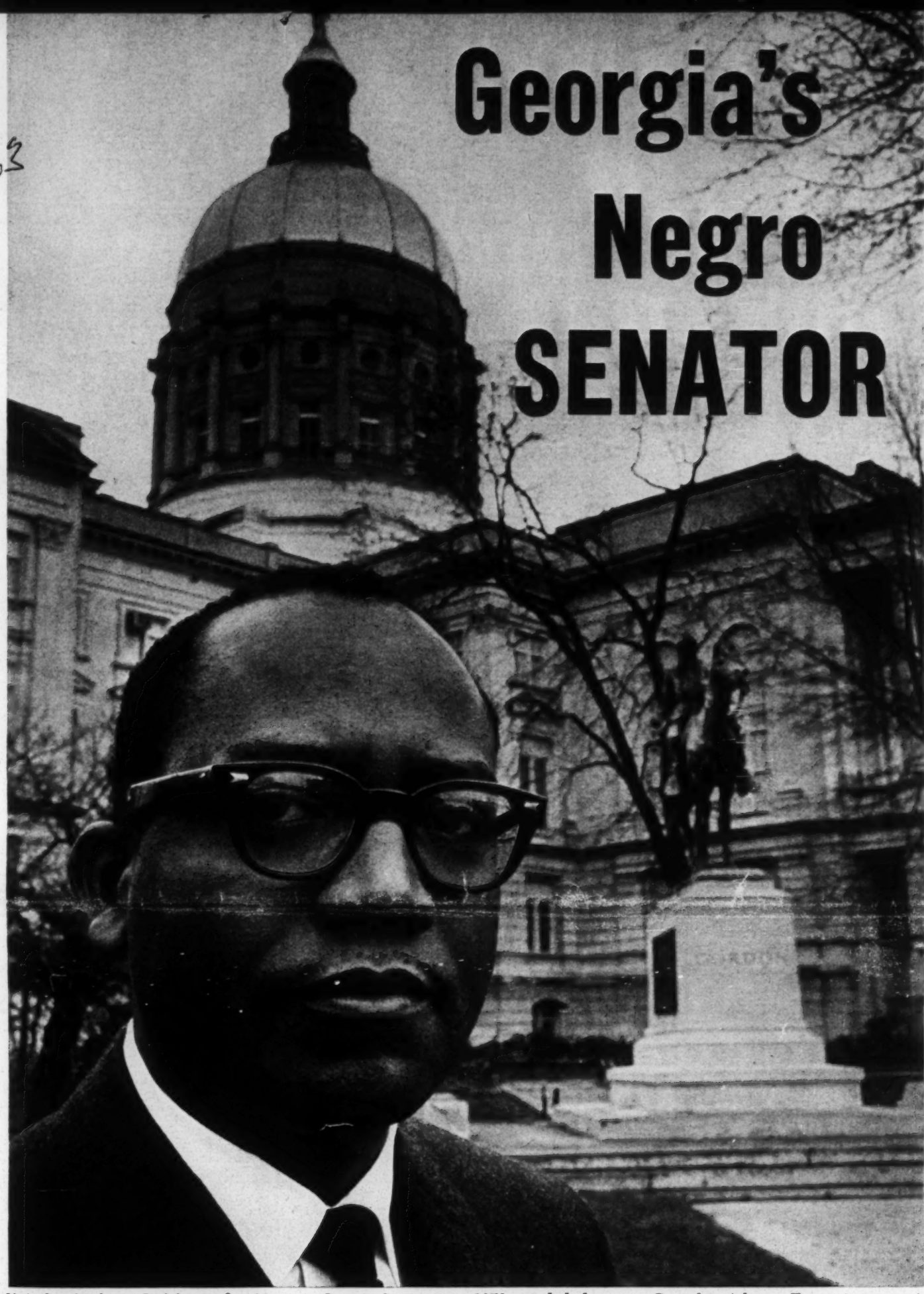
Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: verifax copy, letter and list

Ebony March 1963

Georgia's Negro SENATOR



State Senator Leroy R. Johnson, first Negro in Georgia Senate since 1870, stands before state Capitol in Atlanta. Equestrian statue in background is of Gen. John B. Gordon who led Georgia Ku Klux Klan which drove Negroes from political power in Reconstruction era.

Young Atlanta legislator is first Negro in the Georgia Senate since Reconstruction

BY LERONE BENNETT JR.

IN A hallway in Georgia's gold-domed Capitol, amid walls heavy with the burden of the South's peculiar past, an old man and a group of Negro children were locked in an anxious debate. The old man was upbraiding the children for roaming through the building in an unsupervised tour. Leroy R. Johnson, a young Atlanta attorney who was also roaming through the building, took the scene in at a glance: the old, the young, the patient, the impatient—all Negroes—framed in an exquisitely appropriate setting of old busts, oil paintings and torn and tattered Confederate flags. Johnson inched to the edge of the group and stood listening. The old man was saying that the children had no business there, that their presence at that particular place at that particular time could only lead to trouble. "Go home," the old man said. "Go home and let the old folks handle it."

With a quiet gesture, Leroy R. Johnson extricated the young people from the heavy hand of the past. They went through the great rotunda, past the busts of stern-lipped Confederate and post-Confederate heroes, past the pictures of men famous for doing something or promising to do something about Negroes, past the torn and tattered Confederate flag that somebody's son had carried through the hell at Gettysburg. They went—the young attorney and the children—down a hall and around a

Continued on Next Page

Young senator pauses for chat with Attorney A. T. Walden, one of South's top Negro Democrats. Walden, who is a key Johnson advisor, said: "I envisioned all of this more than fifty years. I thought then it would be a Democrat who made the breakthrough." Walden says there will be more Negro officeholders in the southern states.

NEGRO SENATOR *Continued*

corner and up the stairs. On the third floor, the children paused at the door of the Senate chamber. Johnson beckoned them in. There, in the empty chamber, he complimented them on their interest in the government of their state. He told them that Georgia *was* their business, that it *was* their state, told them their forefathers had paid for it in sweat and blood. He sat a little black boy in one of the seats. "I want you to come back here," he said, "as often as you can. I want you to sit in that seat. I want you to get used to sitting in that seat. I want you to get so used to it that you will go away and prepare yourself and come back here one day as a duly elected representative of the people of Georgia."

Leroy Reginald Johnson was not making a theatrical gesture. He sits in that seat, and he believes it is now possible for Negro youth to dream not only of senate seats but also of governors' mansions. Johnson does not believe the dream will come true tomorrow, but he believes it is around the next turning. The South, he says, is on the verge of a breath-taking breakthrough. For the Negro, he says, "the watchword is no longer, 'Go West, young man,' but 'Come South, young man, Come South.' "

"In the next 20 years," he adds, "all the stopgaps will be off. In the next 20 years, Negroes will be fully integrated into the Democratic Party in the South. There are today a little more than 180,000 registered voters in Georgia. In the next four years, we will have 300,000 registered voters. You can see where we will be in the next 20 years."

As the first Negro state senator in Georgia since 1870, as the first Negro in the Georgia legislature since 1907, as the only Negro member of a Deep South legislature, Johnson is the first fruit of a voter registration revolution which may have a profound effect on party politics in the South and North. It came to Johnson at an early age to be the advance man, the barker, so to speak, for a shore which he and others see dimly through a glass. Only six years out of law school, only 12 months in private practice, he has become at 34 a new symbol in a South poised delicately on a taut line stretched between the symbolic bones of the past and the ballots and dollar bills of an increasingly articulate Negro electorate.

Johnson is well cast in the role. Despite his youth, despite the enormous problems he faces as the only Negro member of a state legislature still dominated by back country phobias, he is confident, perhaps overly so. "We are going to have some problems," he says, "but they will not be insurmountable. I believe the largest majority of the senators and legislators have conditioned themselves to the fact that this is a new day in Georgia and that I'm going to be there."

In his confidence, in his belief that the future belongs to the young, the aggressive, the daring in heart, he reminds one not of Adam Clayton Powell or William L. Dawson but of President Jack Kennedy, whom he admires greatly. His gestures (the stabbed finger) and the lilt of his voice are straight from the Kennedy storehouse. So are his skill at manipulating symbols, his organizational prowess, his ability to profit by the ideas of older men, and his fondness for large cigars which he, like Kennedy, seldom smokes in public.

Tall, with a slight paunch, a thin mustache and big horn-rimmed glasses, Leroy Johnson is a self-proclaimed member of what he calls "The New Frontier of youth, adventure, daring and progress." Born in Atlanta in 1928, the son of an undertaker, he is also an unabashed booster of the New South. "We are going to have to make some decisions in the Southland," he says. "We have a responsibility to make democracy work here. I plan to stay in the South and fight for the things I believe in. There's no need for Negroes to feel sorry for themselves. It's becoming a great asset to be colored."

Being a Negro was no asset in the Atlanta of Johnson's youth. He grew up in the shadow of Georgia's Capitol; he heard Negroes taunted

At open hearing of Fulton County (Atlanta) delegation to the Georgia Assembly, Johnson and other senators and representatives listen as city official explains the need for new law. There are 33,000 whites and 45,000 Negroes in his senate district.

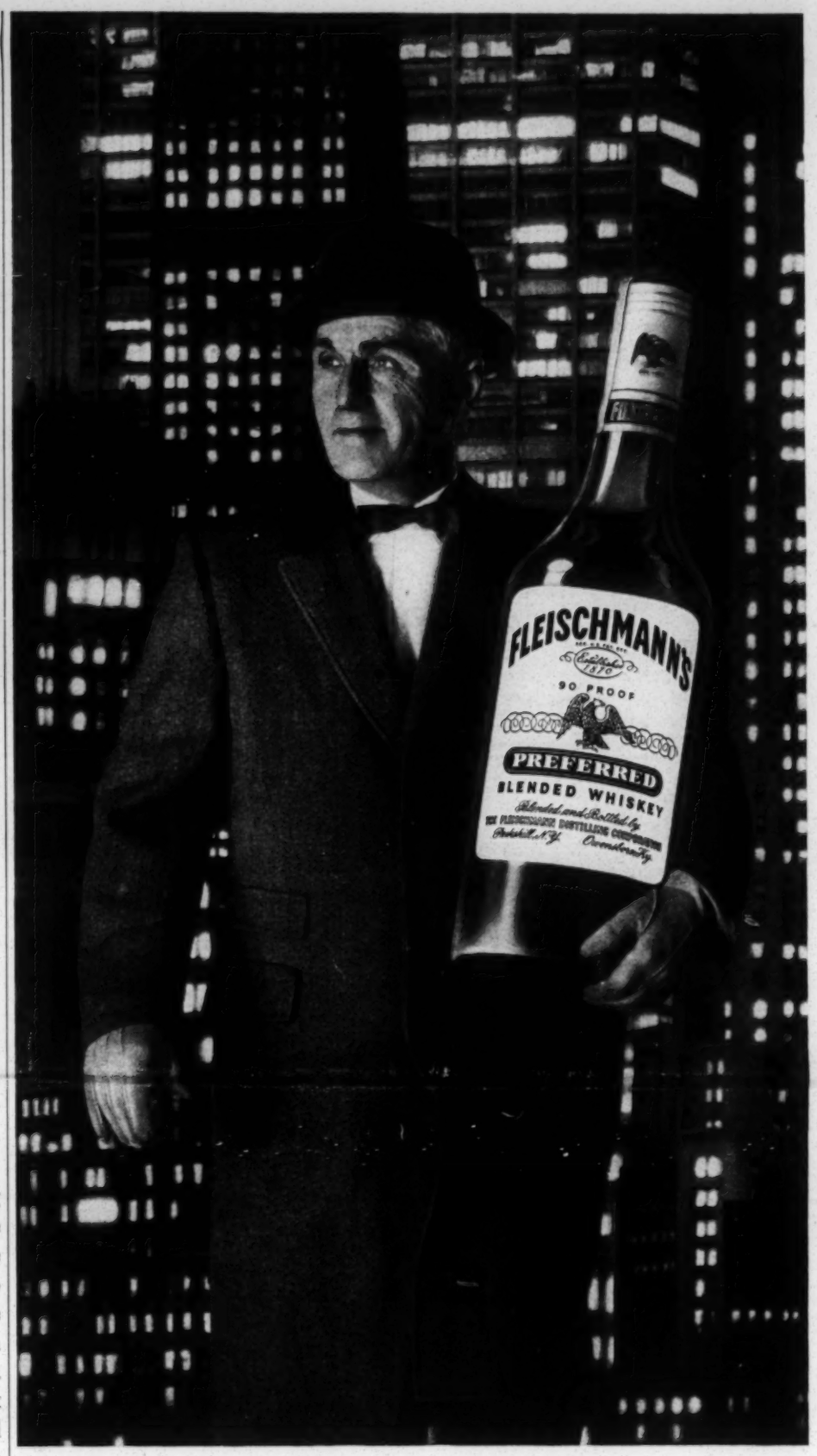
At legislative orientation session in the senate chamber of the Georgia Capitol, the young Negro senator sits with other members of the Fulton County delegation.

and derided; he rode on the back seats of busses; he went to Jim Crow schools and he knew the contradictions of bigotry made flesh. But Middle Class Negro Atlanta was an oasis in a desert: there were Negro bankers on this oasis, and Negro professors, doctors and insurance executives. Leroy Johnson caught a glimpse of their dream. He finished Booker T. Washington High School and went on to Morehouse College, where he was a contemporary of Martin Luther King Jr. Two things happened to Johnson at Morehouse: he married a beautiful sophomore at Spelman College and he became imbued with the idea that he wanted to be somebody. As a youth, he recalls, he leaned toward the ministry. At Morehouse, however, he majored in history and political science and dreamed dreams of making his mark on his generation. "To tell the truth," he says, with a smile, "I didn't know what I wanted to do. But I got the idea at Morehouse that I was expected to do something important with my life."

The first important venture Johnson turned his hand to was teaching at Atlanta's Booker T. Washington High School. While teaching, he got an M. A. degree in political science at Atlanta University and came under the influence of Dr. William Boyd, a political scientist who also headed the Georgia NAACP. Seized by Boyd's ideals and the possibilities of the changing social structure in the South, Johnson abruptly gave up his job, sold his home and went off to North Carolina College Law School. When he finished law school in 1957, he took a job as the first Negro on the staff of Fulton County Solicitor Paul Webb. Though some whites were hostile, Johnson persevered. When he left the solicitor's office last March to go into private practice, he had the good will of almost everyone in the courthouse circle.

The contacts Johnson made as a criminal investigator on the solicitor's staff proved to be enormously helpful in his race for the senate. So did his work in Atlanta organizations. There are, one wag esti-

Honored by Omega Psi Phi fraternity, Johnson, accompanied by his wife Cleopatra (Pat), accepts "Citizen of the Year" award from Dr. Samuel Du Bois Cook, Atlanta professor. Cook said Johnson is "a symbol of the continuity of our hopes . . ."



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Continued on Next Page

Spreading the word, Johnson urges increased voters registration at meeting in First Baptist Church in Huntsville, Alabama. He said voting is key issue: "There are two things the white man in the South understands: the ballot and the dollar bill."

Sitting in "Kennedy rocker," Johnson discusses South's New Frontier with Atlanta's progressive mayor, Ivan Allen Jr. Allen says election of Negroes to public office in South is best way to educate Negroes on responsibilities of citizenship.

NEGRO SENATOR *Continued*

mated, at least two organizations for every middle-class Negro in Atlanta. And Johnson belonged to almost all of the organizations—or, at least, the ones that counted politically: the All Citizens Registration Committee (executive committee), Atlanta Junior Voters League (co-founder), Fulton County Citizens Democratic Club (chairman, executive committee), Georgia Association of Democratic Clubs (vice president), Georgia Voters League (secretary), Atlanta Negro Voters League (co-secretary).

As a criminal investigator and as a cog in the Atlanta organizational machinery, Johnson impressed the men who count with his energy, boldness and affability. These qualities plus a series of court decisions and the large Atlanta Negro vote were responsible for a victory that stunned even the shrewdest of Georgia's Negro politicians. Said Attorney A. T. Walden, the aging political power of Georgia Negro Democrats: "None of us thought it would come so soon."

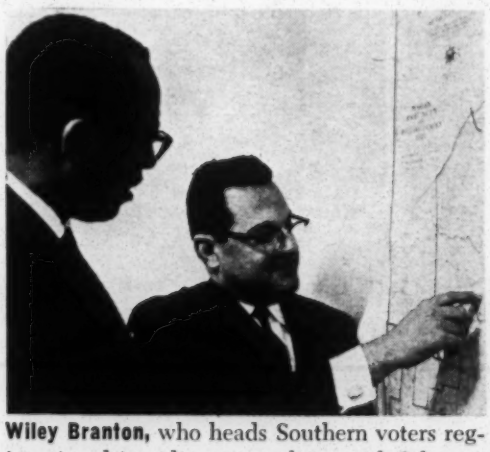
It came so soon as a direct result of the Supreme Court reapportionment decision which weakened the legal foundations of various state devices that restricted the power of the urban electorate. Georgia's device was the ancient county unit system which gave disproportionate power to the rural voters whom Eugene Talmadge, his son, Herman, and other anti-integration politicians courted. When a federal court struck down the county unit system and ordered the legislature to correct the inequities, Atlanta gained six new senatorial districts, two of which have more Negro voters than whites. Although there was some question as to whether candidates would have to run in district-wide or county-wide contests, several Negroes indicated that they would be interested in running in the new districts. Johnson got there "fust," as Confederate hero Nathan Bedford Forrest is reputed to have said, "with the mostest."

As soon as it became apparent that a Negro candidate had a chance to win, Johnson was on the phone. He was devastatingly methodical. He called 25 Negro leaders and 25 white leaders. He had two questions: "Is the time ripe? I want to run: will you support me?" He says he got 100 affirmative answers. At any rate, when other aspiring candidates woke up, Johnson was out front and running. During the campaign, a strategy board which included old leaders like A. T. Walden and "Young Turks" like Attorney Horace Ward kept him on the hard and narrow path. Johnson's advisors, for example, vetoed the big brown cigars he loves. They told him that cigars blurred his image and made him "look" like a politician. And more—cigars, the advisors said, reminded white people of Negro politicians of the Reconstruction era. Johnson got the point. During the campaign, he smoked cigarettes and cigarillos.

The young politician ran a good race, speaking at every meeting he could wangle an invitation to, shaking every hand he could reach. He got up at 6 a.m. and went downtown to shake the hands of domes-

With friend and colleague, Senator James Westberry, Johnson discusses legislative proposal.

Interracial senatorial district committee holds regular meeting. Several whites are on committee which advises Johnson on pending legislation.



Wiley Branton, who heads Southern voters registration drive, discusses politics with Johnson.

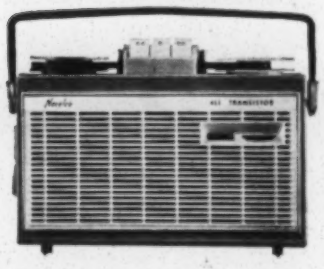
Reconstruction era is discussed by Johnson and Ralph Long, great grandson of state's only Negro congressman, J. F. Long.

At party in his home, Johnson shares joke with two colleagues, Attorney Ward (l.) and Attorney Donald L. Hollowell.

Continued on Page 30

"Wanna hear my stereo recording of Cannonball's 'I Can't Get Started'?"

"Can't stop now. They're taking me to school to record a lecture on the metencephalon."



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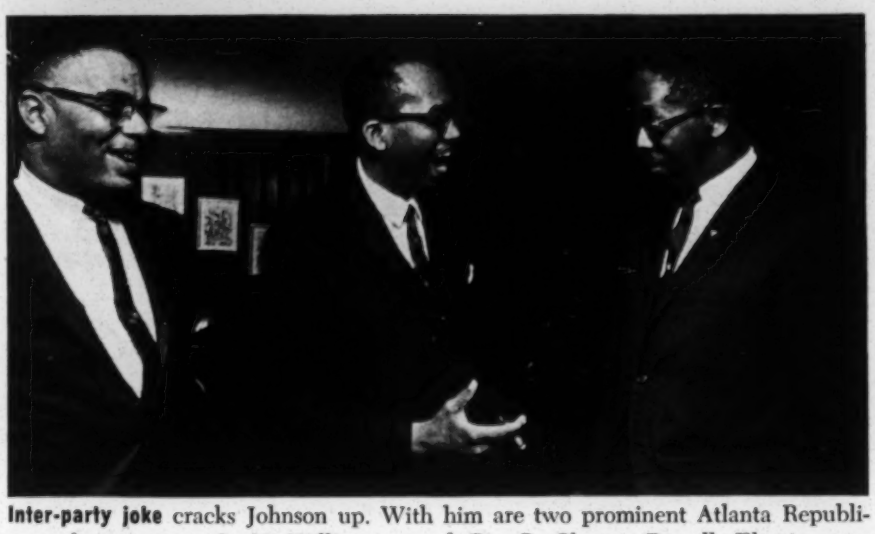
Defeated candidate Ray Gary (above), an Atlanta attorney, is helping Johnson as vice-chairman of senatorial district committee. T. M. Alexander Sr. (left), prominent Atlanta businessman, was defeated by Johnson in general election.



Inter-party joke cracks Johnson up. With him are two prominent Atlanta Republicans, businessman Q. V. Williamson and Dr. C. Clayton Powell. Election was bitterly contested along strict party lines and split Negro leadership in Atlanta.

NEGRO SENATOR *Continued*

tics who were transferring to busses that would take them to the white folks' kitchens in Buckhead. On Saturday night, he made the round of night clubs and made short speeches between twist numbers. Sunday mornings, he was out early, making the round of churches. Helped at the last minute by a ruling of a local judge who restricted the voting to the 38th senatorial district where Negro voters outnumber whites, Johnson defeated four white candidates in the Democratic primary and went on to overwhelm T. M. Alexander, a wealthy Negro Republican, in the general election.

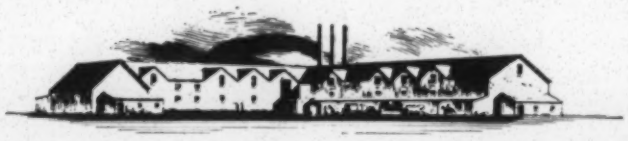
His election was hailed far and wide. Negroes in rural hamlets and big-city ghettoes took heart. The Voice of America beamed the news to Europe, Asia and South America. Republican and Democratic strategists in Washington sat down with pencils and tried to chart the course of the future.

Johnson himself was unaware of the dimensions of his victory until he went to Louisiana to accept a citizenship award. When old people there struggled for a chance to touch the hem of his garment, when an old woman thanked God for sparing her to see the day, he realized

In his law office, Johnson signs legal papers prepared by his secretary, Mrs. Bernice Chandler. He has no hobbies, but likes music (Louis Armstrong and Earl Grant are favorites). Frederick Douglass ranks as his favorite figure in Negro history.

Continued on Page 32

Important News about Imported Scotch



How a sea voyage in its original casks from our Distillery in Bowling-By-Glasgow, Scotland creates a Scotch Whisky with the unique combination of elegant taste and thrifty price.

It may seem surprising that the news we have to tell you, news of a somewhat revolutionary nature to the Scotch industry, should come from the quiet hamlet of Bowling-By-Glasgow, Scotland. But then our story is full of surprising twists and turns.

The Art of "Gentle-ing." It actually begins centuries ago when the wealthy wine merchants of the Old World used to ship their wines out for an ocean voyage in their original casks, and then ship them back again to their point of origin. This process came to be called "gentle-ing" and it was accepted as being the best way there was of bringing wine to its point of perfection. And now this same method holds true for Scotch Whisky.

Actually, all quality Scotch Whiskies are blended, matured and handled in pretty much the same way, from the same basic Scotch malt and grain whiskies. House of Stuart is no exception. It is a blend of at least 20 of the finest Scotch distillations. And it is distilled, blended, and aged in our Distillery in Bowling-By-Glasgow, Scotland.

The House of Stuart Difference. But here is where House of Stuart departs from other quality Scotches. For after aging their Scotch, the makers of House of Stuart—like the wine merchants of old—send their fine Scotch out to sea in its original casks to be "gentled." We import House of Stuart to America in its original casks, as the final step in the perfect blending process. Because of this "gentle-ing" process, House of Stuart is a perfectly blended Scotch Whisky, with a perfect taste.

But this is where the surprise comes in. This long ocean voyage in the original casks, which so perfects the taste and blending of House of Stuart, also considerably reduces the price of this fine Scotch Whisky.

$2.00 Less Per Fifth. Let us explain. You see, because it is shipped to America in its original casks, House of Stuart does not have to pay taxes and duties as high as those paid by other Scotches that are bottled overseas. Also, there is a substantial savings on transportation costs because no money need be spent for the shipment and protection of fragile glass containers and cartons. This all means that we can sell—and you can enjoy—House of Stuart at almost $2.00 less per fifth than many popular brands.

So, that's our story. And a pretty surprising one it is, too. We were willing to make this extra effort to get the perfect blend and taste for our House of Stuart Scotch. And we also end up with a Scotch that costs you less. Of course, because of this, the perfect end to our story—for both ourselves and you, too—would be for you to visit your neighborhood liquor mart or store and ask for House of Stuart. If you do, you'll soon see what we mean when we say, "It's smart to buy right!" It's smart to buy imported House of Stuart Scotch.

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In den of their home, the Johnsons entertain group of friends. Mrs. Johnson is a librarian in Atlanta public school system. Johnson prefers suits with a vest, is a Baptist and can do a "respectable twist." He lost seven pounds during campaign.

NEGRO SENATOR *Continued*

for the first time the depth and the weight of his responsibility.

Although he has no illusions about what one Negro can accomplish in an otherwise all-white legislature, he thinks he can "alter the image of the Negro as conceived by so many Southern legislators." He adds: "Just by being there, by being in community with them will prove that a Negro is capable of shouldering responsibility." He thinks his election will also improve the lines of communication between Negroes and whites. The election, he says, "gives Negro boys and girls something tangible in terms of what they can accomplish. When I was a boy I never dreamed of being a senator from Georgia. When I taught history and citizenship I could never point out with any real enthusiasm the possibilities of citizenship for my students. Now, a Negro boy or girl can aspire to be not only a senator but a governor of this state."

Johnson does not intend to be a Negro senator. He is interested in a tax abatement law which would provide incentives for owners to improve property in slum areas. He thinks, too, that Georgia needs a mandatory automobile inspection law. The committee assignments he drew (appropriations, education, health and welfare, judicial) give him a certain leverage for creating the image he has in mind.

"I do not intend," he says, "to dissent for the purpose of being identified as a Negro senator. I do not want to be a Negro senator. I want to be a representative of all the people. If I started out with the preconception that my role was to dissent for the purpose of dissenting my effectiveness would be impaired. But I do plan to dissent where conscience requires it."

There are practical reasons for this course. Under a constitutional amendment adopted in the last election, he will have to run two years from now in a county-wide election. If he does not intend to be the last Negro senator in Georgia since Reconstruction, he must steer a delicate course between the demands of Negro voters, some of whom expected him to introduce an FEPC bill on his first day, and the fears of white voters, most of whom are moderate at best. Johnson does not believe the problems are insurmountable. He believes, in fact, that Georgia voters, like Chicago voters, will become accustomed to having one or two Negroes on the Democratic ticket.

There are signs that Johnson may be right. After his election, he received warm letters of congratulation from the governor and lieu-

In strategy meeting, senator discusses legislative session with some of his key advisors: Attorney Horace Ward, Attorney A. T. Walden, Dr. Lionel Newsome, Morehouse College professor, and Dr. C. A. Bacote, Atlanta University professor.

Continued on Page 34

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REGULAR OR MINT-FLAVORED

NEGRO SENATOR *Continued*

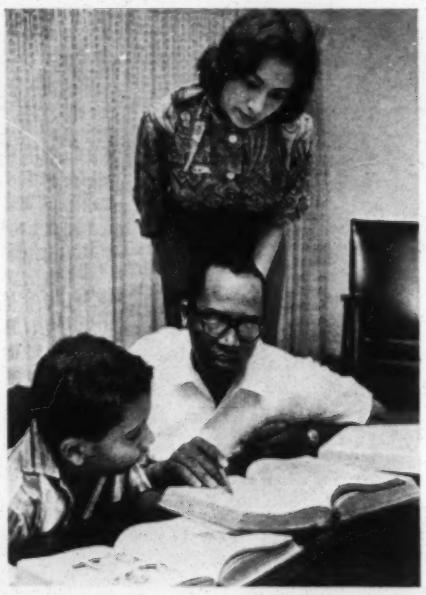
tenant governor, the mayor of Atlanta, the vice mayor and other local political figures. The most astounding letter, however, came from Washington. The "Dear LeRoy" letter was on U. S. Senate stationery and it said:

> *Congratulations on your election to the Georgia General Assembly. I wish for you a successful term of office and whenever I can be of assistance to you and your constituents, please call on me.*
> *With warm personal regards, I am*
>
> *Sincerely,*
> *s/Herman*

A few days later, Herman Talmadge, who made his mark attacking integration, sent an emissary to invite Johnson to Lovejoy, the Talmadge ancestral home. There, in the Lovejoy living room where Talmadges have brooded for ages on the Negro question, the young state senator and the shrewd U. S. Senator discussed Georgia politics.

Leroy Johnson views this incident against a backdrop of the increasing Negro vote in Georgia and the South. "Herman Talmadge," he says, "wants to be on the right side of history." It is possible, indeed probable, that Herman Talmadge also wants to be on the right side of the next election returns.

To Herman Talmadge and millions of other Southerners—Negro and white—Leroy Reginald Johnson is a dramatic symbol of the rebirth of the Negro as a political force in the South. He is also a tangible reminder of the possibilities of Negro-white cooperation in the South and North. Henry Murphy, a white Atlantian who serves on Johnson's interracial senatorial district committee, had this in mind when he interrupted a recent strategy session to protest the emphasis being placed on Johnson's election as a Negro victory. He reminded the group that white people had worked for Johnson, at some risk to their status and position. "This is a beginning," he said, "and not an end. This is a victory for the whole community, and not just for Negroes." He added in an elegant Southern drawl. "It was a good day for the race—the human race."



Doing his homework, Johnson explains intricacies of legislative procedure to his wife and son, Michael, 12. Wife and son helped Johnson during campaign.

Spending quiet evening at home, Johnson and wife read while son practices on saxophone. "This is my home," senator says of the South. "It is a part of me."

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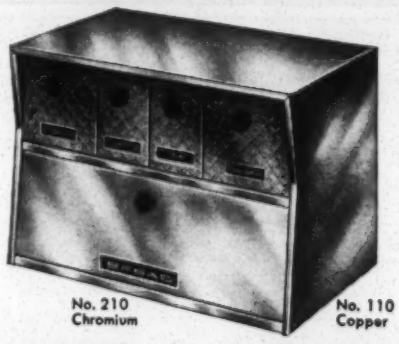

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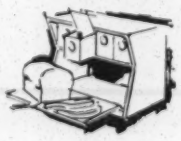

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Negro Leadership Split On Presidential Nominee

By CLAUDE GEORGE SR. 2-17-64

Negro leadership in Fulton County differs in opinion on likely candidates in the upcoming presidential election.

Walter H. Aiken, president of the county's Negro Democrat Club, claims President Lyndon Johnson has been "shooting from the hip" for Negroes since he took office and that he will surely win Negro support.

Dr. H. E. Nash, another member of the club, predicts the President will inherit the late President Kennedy's backers and then some. He said President Johnson has had more conferences with Negro leaders than any other president with the exception of President Kennedy.

But B. F. Bullard, Atlanta University professor and member of the Republican State Central Committee, believes voters will be skeptical in siding with a non-Southerner. He predicts N.Y. Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller will gain Negro support with his past record of interest in Negro welfare.

Another Republican, N. D. Jones, says President Johnson's strongest opposition will come from former Vice President Richard Nixon. Nixon, he claims, will come out as a dark horse in the Republican nomination.

Four Atlanta Negroes in city and county government positions will be honored Feb. 24 at a dinner at which Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. will speak.

Atlanta Negro citizenship is recognizing Sen. Leroy Johnson of the 28th district, City Judge A. T. Walden, Dr. P. Q. Yancey, member of the Fulton County Board of Health, and Clayton R. Yates, member of the Fulton and DeKalb County Hospital Authority.

Men in Power

Not as Black as Last Year, Sen. Leroy Johnson Feels

By CELESTINE SIBLEY

Atlanta's Negro senator, Leroy Johnson, doesn't think he looks as black this year as last year.

With a flash of white teeth, he explained.

When he went to the Senate in 1963 he was the first Negro to serve in the Georgia Senate in 92 years and he knew his skin was "of a conspicuous blackness."

When he returned in 1964 he felt he had demonstrated by his attitude and work that he was a dedicated lawmaker and not a freak. He first noticed it perhaps the day he had two committee meetings at the same time and entered one late to find the vote tied on a bill.

"I WAS A VOTE"

"Both sides rushed at me—and what they saw when I walked in that door was not color but a vote. I could break that tie."

That moment of power was a small one in the life of Leroy Johnson but it may symbolize the distance he has traveled in 36 years. He is an effective, respected state senator, lawyer and civic leader. He has been twice entertained by the President of the United States at the White House and has represented his country as special ambassador—by appointment of President Lyndon B. Johnson—to the independence ceremonies in Zanzibar. He has on the wall of his office a document certifying that he has been appointed by the governor of the State of Georgia to membership on the State Democratic Executive Committee—one of two Negroes ever to hold this position. He was elected by the Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce as one of the city's five outstanding young men for 1963.

Although he plans to run for re-election to the state Senate, his name crops up constantly as a likely candidate for the U.S. Congress when Georgia's redistricting is complete, an unthought of prospect for a Negro from the South a few years ago.

Where did the direction for Leroy Johnson's life come from?

There are a couple of incidents which certainly helped shape it.

By home training and inclination, Leroy Johnson was a nonviolent little Negro boy. But, as sometimes happens, he went home from school one day with a bloody nose.

BACK TO SCHOOL

His mother promptly grabbed him by the hand and took him back to school, incurring, in the interest of time, a rare and extravagant expenditure for their family — street car fare. Sen. Johnson remembers vividly two things about that trip:

1. The hot wave of embarrassment that engulfed him when the trolleyman overcharged his mother, she protested and he ordered them to "get to the back of the car where you belong."

2. What his mother made of the episode.

The car was crowded and they stood up all the way to town in full view of two empty seats which happened to be a little too close to the front. When he made a move to sit down in one of them, his mother, looking formidably angry, snatched him back.

Later, mother-like, she related the incident to the crime of playground fisticuffs.

CHANGE THINGS

"Roy, don't waste yourself fighting," she said. "Get some sense in your head and CHANGE things."

"She meant get an education," Sen. Johnson explained gently in his soft voice. "But I might have quit school later if it hadn't been for my father."

The Johnsons were prosperous compared to some of their neighbors in the Negro community. The father worked as an embalmer in Ivey Brothers Funeral Home, making a fair salary. But he was the eldest of eight children, reared on a farm in Sumter County and had his brothers and sisters to help. So Leroy and his sister, Lillian, had to work at all kinds of odd jobs

Read and Save This Article— There'll Be a Quiz on Thursday

People make politics and politics is power.

On this page is another of a series of articles written by Constitution staff writers. It is devoted to explaining the processes of government through the people in power.

Students and others interested in government are urged to clip and save this article. There will be a quiz on this article and one on current events in Thursday's Constitution.

PLANS FOR CONGRESS? Sen. LeRoy Johnson

it's what you'll be doing all the rest of your life."

Even young eyes could see it was hard, back-breaking work and Leroy went reluctantly back to high school. He not only stayed but he got his first taste of politics as president of the student body and went on to Morehouse College where Dr. Benjamin Mays, the president, enlarged upon his mother's admonition: "Roy . . . get some sense in your head and CHANGE things."

"I became inspired at Morehouse," Sen. Johnson says. "The whole atmosphere there is that you must do something useful with your life—you must make a contribution."

WORKED WAY

Leroy had to work all the way through college, and then went back, upon his graduation from Morehouse, to teach civics, history and political science at Washington High School. He liked teaching but it seemed a roundabout way of changing things and after he had obtained his master's degree in political science from Atlanta University he decided on the direct approach—a law degree and eventually politics.

Negro community and 25 leaders of the white community," he says.

WON EASILY

He won easily over a field of three white opponents and went to the State Capitol to claim a seat in a chamber which had not admitted a Negro member since Reconstruction days.

"I knew I'd have the same task of presenting an image that I'd had at the courthouse," he says. "The first day as I walked in I heard a man say, 'Look at that . . . ' " The senator paused as one avoiding a dirty word and then he spelled it, "'Look at that n-i-g-g-e-r strutting in there in a white shirt.'"

After that there were no insults, no rudeness, Sen. Johnson says. His fellow members treated him with implicit, if formal, courtesy.

That was the first year. The second year Sen. Johnson thinks they began to accept him as a colleague and his "blackness" became less apparent. This pleases him because he knows that he would be impotent to do any good in the statehouse if he had entered it, as some young Negro leaders hoped, spoiling for an integration-segregation fight.

NOT ALONE

"You can't do anything in the Legislature by yourself," he points out. "It takes the help of others — many others. You have to work together to pass a bill and, sometimes more important, to defeat a bill."

Sen. Johnson worked successfully to defeat two anti-Negro bills — one which would have repealed an old state law requiring innkeepers to accept guests of good character who agree to abide by the inn's rules, and one which would limit picketing. The first was killed and the second died in committee.

He is particularly proud of his success in getting through a local bill to change the method of filling vacancies on the board of aldermen. This called for working for an agreement with members of both Fulton and DeKalb delegations — once again a chance to use the sense his mother advocated instead of fighting. The bill, which passed

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NO ARGUMENT

His father didn't argue. He led the youngster down to Alabama and Pryor streets where sweating crews of laborers, manning pneumatic drills and sledge hammers, were tearing up the streets.

"If you're going to quit school," said the elder Johnson, "you better go over there now and try to get a job because

house," Sen. Johnson says. "The whole atmosphere there is that you must do something useful with your life—you must make a contribution."

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During his senior year at Morehouse Leroy married a student from the neighboring campus of Spelman, Cleopatra Whittington, and by the time he was ready to go to law school they had a son, Mike, now 12.

"Pat and I talked it over," he recalls. "She had gone back to school and gotten her degree in library science and she was willing to work so I could go to law school. So we sold the house we were buying and she went to Tuskegee to work in the library and I went to North Carolina School of Law in Durham."

DAYS IN DURHAM

In Durham he had part of the house money, a grant from the State of Georgia—given in those days to Negro students who could not study law or medicine within the state — and his earnings from a part-time job as a butcher.

When he emerged from the North Carolina School of Law with a degree in 1957, young Johnson found an offer awaiting him from Tuskegee, Ala., where the population is predominantly Negro and there were no Negro lawyers. His wife was happy in the library there and he even had an office offered to him rent-free for a year if he would hang out his shingle there.

"I went down there to see about it and had about made up my mind to take it when Col. (A.T.) Walden called me," the senator said. "He told me the (then) solicitor-general, Mr. Paul Webb, had promised the Negro community that he would put a Negro investigator on his staff in exchange for our support. Col. Walden wanted me to take the job."

PRACTICE WAITS

It meant delaying practice, the young lawyer realized, but it provided him what he still says is "the best experience any young lawyer can have." But it was more than a job. It was a chance to serve as a sort of ambassador from the Negro community in an area historically segregationist — the courthouse.

When he left after five years to enter practice, Leroy Johnson felt he had established lines of communication with the white community and had warm, genuine friends in the Fulton County courthouse. And in the summer of 1962 when reapportionment of the state Senate was ordered by the federal court and Atlanta was given seven senators instead of one, before he even considered running for one of the posts, Johnson sought the advice of white friends at the courthouse.

"I went to 25 leaders of the

fully to defeat two anti-Negro bills — one which would have repealed an old state law requiring innkeepers to accept guests of good character who agree to abide by the inn's rules, and one which would limit picketing. The first was killed and the second died in committee.

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NEXT SESSION PLANS

The senator hopes to see through the next regular session of the Legislature a $1 an hour minimum wage law for Georgia, which will affect thousands of Negro workers particularly. He wants a teacher tenure law perfected so a teacher cannot be fired without due cause after three years in a post.

So far he sees another term in the Senate as his next step and he's making no plans for seeking other political offices. But it cheers him to think that they are available to Negroes and he works very hard to get Negroes to register to vote, preferably as Democrats.

SPOKE WITH KENNEDY

On one of his visits to the White House the late President John F. Kennedy spoke to Sen. Johnson about the inroads Republicans are making among the Negroes in the South. He hopes to stem the tide because he is what he calls "a natural Democrat."

"My Aunt Minnie Johnson was a domestic — the best things we ever got to eat she brought us from the kitchen of the white people she worked for — and she was crazy about President Roosevelt. My father was, too. I remember I was a little boy when Mr. Roosevelt came to Atlanta but Aunt Minnie took off from work and took me to the parade to see him. That day most of my excitement was the parade but as I grew older I got more excited over the man and what he stood for."

Ben Bella Going To Moscow on Khrushchev Bid

ALGIERS (UPI) — Algerian President Ahmed Ben Bella will visit Moscow in May at the invitation of Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev, government sources said Sunday.

They said Khrushchev extended the invitation through parliamentary President Hadj Ben Bella when the latter was in Moscow this winter to sign a Soviet-Algerian economic and financial agreement.

Algerian sources said Ben Bella was asked to be present for the Kremlin annual May Day ceremonies but that he may be forced to miss them and go later because the National Liberation Front FLN congress is scheduled for the third week in April.

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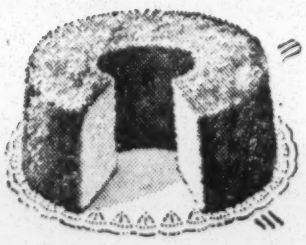

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4-13-64

Eugene Patterson

Bobby? Over Barry?

Editor Noel Brown of the West Georgia College student newspaper has every right to feel crabby this week. Crabbiness is a quality that is being celebrated and illuminated currently in the comic strip "Peanuts."

On Tuesday, for instance, Lucy asked Charlie Brown, "Do you think I'm a crabby person?" Well-meaning Charlie said yes, he honestly thought she was a very crabby person.

"Well," Lucy roared, "who cares what you think?"

Editor Brown, who is a lively editor, is a Goldwater supporter, and somewhat like Lucy he invited fellow students to tell him what they thought.

He gamely published the results of the campus presidential preference poll though they must have left him in a mood to roar.

* * *

Henry Cabot Lodge beat Barry Goldwater 147 to 78 as the students' choice for Republican nominee.

And in stating their Democratic preference, the students gave President Lyndon B. Johnson a walloping 275 votes out of a possible 334.

Whether this leaves Editor Brown crabby or philosophical is beside the point. He deserves high marks for saying what he thinks, and for letting the students say what they think, in his newspaper. He has written that he is convinced the two parties ought to realign along conservative and liberal lines, instead of getting crowded up at the center, and that Goldwater is the leader who can [illegible] conservatives to break liberal control."

It is as heartening to see a college editor saying freely what he thinks as it is to see a student body thinking otherwise. West Georgia College has long been a favorite political laboratory of mine. The students are bright and forthright. The faculty encourages them to speak their minds. Some clear reflections of youthful sentiment result. In 1960, a West Georgia student poll gave an accurate early reading of the coming Kennedy vote in Georgia.

So mark down the new poll as significant. Ballots were distributed at 10 o'clock classes. Students were asked to mark their presidential and vice presidential preferences for both parties. The leaders were:

* * *

Democratic: Johnson 275; Wallace 30; Robert Kennedy 11; Shriver 11.

Republican: Lodge 147; Goldwater 78; Nixon 42, Rockefeller 35.

The students' top choice for the GOP vice presidential nominee was also Lodge with 94 votes. Goldwater was fourth with 39 behind Scranton (63) and Nixon (60).

Democratic vice presidential choice was Stevenson with 125 votes. Robert Kennedy was second with 80.

When a group of Georgia young people gives Bobby Kennedy more votes for the vice presidency than it gives Barry Goldwater for the presidency, it's news. Editor Brown grinned and put it on page one.

Close-Up 5-5-64

New Directions for Georgia Republicans

The direction now taken officially by Georgia Republicans was predictable at least 18 months ago. The Negro, for decades the hard core for Republicanism in Georgia, is out. So are the Eisenhower Republicans who took charge from the Taft folks back in 1952.

Now the Taft folks are back. And they bring with them a lot of new faces who require no explanations about Sen. Goldwater's stand on states' rights.

The GOP, once the party of black protest in Georgia, now is becoming the party of white protest.

The pattern was set earlier in Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina. The GOP's new Deep South strategy—bound firmly to the candidacy of Sen. Goldwater—calls for setting up shop well to the right of the traditionally conservative Democrats who have had things pretty much to themselves for generations. The strategy aims, in brief, at all-out competition for the Southern conservative vote.

Obviously there is little place for the Negro in this strategy. Georgia's new Republican leadership is commendably honest in acknowledging this fact.

Neither is there much room for the white liberals and moderates who once rallied behind the GOP banner as the only means of protesting election after election of unbroken rule by the conservative one-party Democrats.

The next question is whether the new strategy will, in the long run, advance the cause of Republicanism and two-partyism in Georgia and the South. There has been no question about the need for a strong second party. The question is whether these new Republicans will provide the sort of foundation, in Goldwater years and non-Goldwater years, on which the Republicans can build and grow.

What the Georgia GOP did here last weekend amounted, in short, to exchanging Negro support for the support of the Rep. Funks of the Democratic Party. Only time will tell whether the exchange will pay off.

MARVIN WALL.

5-9-64

Eugene Patterson

'Wisdom, Justice And Moderation'

President Lyndon B. Johnson and Sen. Richard B. Russell closed the national gap a little bit Friday. Both of the Southern strongmen spoke in Georgia about civil rights. Both practiced the subtle politics of civility in a field too long torn by the hooves of the howling mad.

With a courtly bow to the "immense power and influence" that the President commands, the senator estimated that his senatorial forces fighting the President's civil rights bill "do not now have the votes to prevent passage of the bill."

The President in Alphonse fashion confessed ruefully that he certainly knows he has been in a fight; he felt like naming two tiger cubs he met here "Dick" and "Herman."

The two soft Southern voices did not differ but joined in meaningful agreement that there is, in Sen. Russell's words, "constitutional guarantee of equality before the law for every citizen of this land. . . . It is wrong to deny any man the right to vote because of the color of his skin."

President Johnson put it in about the same terms: "The Constitution applies to every American of every race, of every region in our country—or it applies to no one."

They differed on what that goal requires of them. Sen. Russell addressed himself to voting rights; his state is building a pretty good record of racial equality before the voting law.

* * *

But some other Deep South states are not. Voluminous evidence shows they continue to deny multitudes the right to vote because of he color of their skin. Though calling that wrong, Sen. Russell thought the civil rights bill aimed at stopping such constitutional abuse would destroy existing rights.

President Johnson thought it discordant to be told to stand upon our rights, without being told how to meet our responsibilities.

Sen. Russell felt the bloody shirt was being waved at the South by punitive politicians from other sections of the country who make the South's bad actors look like statesmen. But goodness knows, he conceded, "the South has produced its share of demagogues and political blatherskites."

President Johnson, in sympathetic turn, was insistently aware of the hurt the senator's South might feel; and each time he mentioned the need for equal treatment regardless of race, he also added region.

There were some strong words, of course. Sen. Russell said the President's civil rights "monstrosity" was "permeated with politics" and once he even got into the tricky business of trying to judge the Negro's motives for voting.

But this Russell speech bore not the bawl of demagogue or blatherskite. The Johnson speech was a courageous, yet understanding, job of leveling with Georgians. One couldn't help feeling these two skillful Southerners can level with each other. With the help of Sen. Russell and the South, one feels this President can unite the races and regions of America. Without the help of his home people, he may not be able to govern.

"My ancestors felt free to ask their fellow Georgians for the help of neighbors," the President said quietly. "In the same way I ask for your help. . . ."

Atlanta (2), Ga., Sunday, June 28, 1964

MAJOR CHANGES MADE

What Election Code Means to You

By WILLIAM O. SMITH

The 240-page election code that was adopted by the $1-million special session of the General Assembly will drastically change election procedures in Georgia.

Legislators agree it is one of the most far-reaching and important laws they ever passed.

IT WOULD BE significant if the only achievement was compilation of all state election laws into one code. But the code accomplishes two other important things:

—Assurance of more uniformity in elections.

—Placing a greater emphasis on honesty in elections, with several different provisions aimed at eliminating dishonesty in voting.

The most significant single provision—and most controversial—in the new code is probably creation of a three-member state election board to oversee elections.

But there are many more important provisions, such as establishment of a single primary date that eliminates more than 100 early county primaries held throughout the entire year.

State executive committees of political parties are given increased power and the election responsibilities of ordinaries have been greatly augmented.

FUTURE ELECTIONS must be decided by a majority vote and a new provision for prospective voters allows registration up to 50 days before primaries and general elections.

Sterner penalties have been provided for election-laws violations. The code lists 76 violations of which 41 are felonies. Only a few felonies were included in old election laws.

While creation of the board generated the most controversy, the question of whether to have a single primary or split primary aroused almost as much controversy.

The single date was finally decided on and was scheduled on the second Wednesday in September—the present date.

THE NEW LAW PROVIDES joint primaries are possible if county Democratic and Republican executive committees agree to them. Otherwise, each party must hold its primary at separate polling places.

The state election board will be comprised of the secretary of state, who is chairman, and two electors to be appointed by the Senate and House. The speaker and lieutenant governor will appoint the first members to serve until the General Assembly convenes in January.

The board, whose members except secretary of state receive $25 a day while meeting, has full subpoena powers to enforce the following duties:

—Coordinate work of all poll officials to assume uniformity, legality and honesty.

—Adopt rules and regulations for the November general

Turn to Page 24, Column 4

6-28-64 J-C

VOTE CODE MEANING

Continued from Page 1

election that "will be conducive to the fair, legal and orderly conduct of elections."

—To publish and furnish to election officials indexed copies of all rules and regulations it adopts.

—To investigate frauds and irregularities in elections.

—To make legislative recommendations about conduct and administration of primaries and elections.

IF THE BOARD suspects wrongdoing in a primary or general election, it has the power to file a motion for a court order to take over and conduct the election. The court proceedings will be presided over by the senior superior-court judge in time of service of the adjoining judicial circuit.

After elections and primaries have been held, the board has power to investigate frauds and irregularities upon petition of a voter or of the state executive committee of a political party.

THE VOTER can petition for such an investigation only after he has taken his request to his party's executive committee for action.

He can petition the board on three grounds: the executive committee didn't act, he was dissatisfied with the action taken, or if his petition before the committee was denied.

The results of fraud investigations by the board and executive committees must be turned over to both the solicitor general and grand jury in the county where it occurred.

BESIDES THE RIGHT to investigate fraud, the state executive committee has a strong supersedure power that allows it to take over and supervise county primaries held by its party.

The new voter-registration deadline is considerably nearer elections than the old deadline of six months before the November general election, which was May 2 this year for primaries and the general election.

There are now two deadlines—50 days before the primary and 50 days before the general election. Registration is reopening with these new deadlines—Monday, July 20, for the Sept. 9 primary, and Monday, Sept. 14, for the Nov. 3 general election.

UNDER THE NEW CODE, ordinaries assume a greater responsibility in two significant new duties:

—They are empowered to appoint all poll officials, which some do now and some don't.

—They are given power to name all polling places in primaries and the general election. They have had this power in connection with general elections but not primaries.

The deadline for qualifying was left at 45 days for primaries and 30 days for general elections, but a new deadline for submitting petitions to get on the general election was increased to 50 days.

The petition requirement was also left at 5 per cent of the voters who voted in the last election.

A NEW 20-question, voter-registration test for illiterates was adopted to replace the difficult 30-question test now.

Marking of the general-election ballot has been greatly simplified. Instead of crossing out names of candidates you don't want to vote for, you place a check in front of the names of candidates you are voting for.

The cross-out procedure was retained for primaries, however.

State courts were given jurisdiction of all contested races in primaries rather than party executive committees.

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THE CODE APPROVES the use of vote recorders, making Georgia one of the few states in the Union authorized to use them. They are compact, portable voting devices on which voters cast their ballots by punching electronic cards. Results are compiled on tabulating machines.

Main advantages of vote recorders are they are very small and cost a great deal less.

Candidates will now be allowed to go into polling places and campaign but they can't pass out cards within 250 feet of the polling place.

No other persons can campaign within 250 feet, which is an extension of 50 feet from the old law.

VOTERS ARE STILL authorized to get assistance in voting if they're unable to read the English language or are disabled. Poll officers, however, are forbidden to help them and no person can assist more than 10 voters in any primary or election.

Voters who must be out of town on election day will not be allowed to cast an absentee ballot as late as the day before election. In the past, absentee ballots had to be requested at least three days beforehand. An affidavit must be signed, however, that the voter will be out of town.

A NEW PROVISION has also been inserted to extend the right to register by mail to Merchant Marines, civilian employes of the United States residing outside the state, and members of religious groups and welfare agencies who are assisting members of the armed forces.

All political parties in Georgia must register with the secretary of state within 60 days of the code's effective date and all parties organized in the future must register within 60 days after organization.

Except for county commissioners this year, all candidates in the future must designate who they're running against. This rule will allow implementation of the majority-vote requirement.

NO PERSON shall be eligible for party nomination or election to public office or perform any official act in connection with elections who has been convicted and sentenced for fraudulent violation of primary or election laws, malfeasance in office, felony or crime involving moral turpitude. This does not apply to officials already in office.

The law is clarified to allow Georgians to register six months before they are 18, the minimum age for voting. But they cannot vote until they become 18.

When candidates have similar surnames, they can petition to have the occupation or residence of both candidates on the ballot under the names so voters won't be confused as to whom they're voting for.

AT LEAST ONE superior-court judge of each judicial circuit must be on duty on election day from 7 a.m. until 10 p.m. and as long afterward as necessary to insure orderly process of election.

Any person who sells or buys or offers for sale alcoholic beverages on primary or election days can be convicted of a misdemeanor.

It will be a felony for any person to make, construct or have in his possession any counterfeit of an official ballot or ballot card. But this is not applicable to newspaper facsimile ballots as long as they're 25 per cent larger or smaller than the official ballot.

THE CODE SPECIFIES that it will be a felony to buy or sell or offer to buy or sell votes, or to knowingly participate in the buying or selling of votes.

Georgians convicted of felonies in connection with election laws can be fined up to $2,000 or imprisoned from 1 to 3 years. The sentence can be reduced to a misdemeanor.

Misdemeanor punishment is up to $1,000 fine, or confinement in county jail up to six months, or imprisonment up to 12 months, or all of them.

6-10-64

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Ga.

Eugene Patterson

It's Too Early To Relax Here

Georgia's Roy Harris-Marvin Griffin-Lester Maddox wing of political thought is trying for a comeback in Georgia without a Georgia candidate. Georgians overwhelmingly rejected their leadership in 1962. So they are now trying to tie to the coattails of an Alabama import, Gov. George Wallace, and reestablish their own fortunes by running him for President here. Barkis Wallace is willing.

That is the clear trend that political observers see developing—an effort to hand Georgia back to the dark age of Harris, Griffin and Maddox with Wallace simply assisting the delivery.

If it develops at all, it will naturally be at the expense of Gov. Carl Sanders. The Wallace stir is an effort to undercut him.

Gov. Sanders knows it. He discouraged the recent legislative invitation to the Alabama governor because he recognized it as being far more than a be-kind-to-Wallace move. It was a gut-Sanders gambit.

* * *

This week he hustled back from the Cleveland governors' conference early when he got word that the old Harris-Griffin crowd was gathering and plotting new mischief in Atlanta.

The House on Monday had to say "Down, boy," to an early Democratic wolf in Republican sheep's clothes—an effort to make it easier to get Wallace electors on Georgia's November election ballot.

Harris admitted as much. He promised to persist. The whole idea of unpledged electors is an effort to abscond with the people's vote for president and fling it away in the desert air of futility, as Mississippi's bosses did in 1960. Then after November, the flingers would remain with us.

Georgians have not taken to that kind of politics. They have shown a preference for casting their votes and having them counted for one party's presidential nominee or the other—not handed over to Strom Thurmond in 1948 or Harry Byrd in 1960 or George Wallace in 1964 to be wasted as those people might see fit.

Yet the operation is very smoothly under way again in Georgia. And Gov. Sanders, courteously unconcerned on the surface, knows the brute fact that what he is fighting behind the scenes is not Wallace of Alabama, but Harris, Griffin and Maddox of Georgia. Sanders and the people threw them out of power in Georgia two years ago and they're trying to smuggle themselves back in, huddled in an Alabama carpetbag.

* * *

Sanders, who licked them once, can only depend on the people to stand with him in charting the future of their children's state. He is a good governor who is on the right course. For all the milling around at the current legislative session, the legislators under Sanders' lead are giving the people a new and brilliantly progressive election law.

Georgia is progressing on nearly all fronts under Sanders. Relative peace prevails even on the racial issue in contrast to the aggravated climate of the Harris-Griffin years.

Keeping the forces of violence balanced on this one is not easy, and cannot be handled carelessly in Georgia. The Negro church was bombed in Birmingham, and the current Saturday Evening Post reports that the FBI and other lawmen know who did it. What the Post doesn't say is that the suspect, who is under constant surveillance, lives in Atlanta.

Three-Judge Court Was Fair Enough; It's Up to Georgia To Follow Through

All things considered, the decision of the three-judge court here yesterday was a fair and reasonable one.

The Georgia Legislature has until next winter to reapportion its geographically apportioned lower house.

After that the House, like the Senate, will be based on population. This is in line with the Supreme Court's ruling giving all citizens equal voice in their state legislatures.

The present Legislature, now in special session, can go ahead with a new election code. It cannot, however, submit a new State Constitution for approval in the general election this November. The three-judge court held that the constitution is basic law and should not be rewritten until a properly apportioned Legislature is sitting.

This is just as well. The task of reworking the Constitution had broken down, at many points into ever-deepening disagreements along small county-large county lines. When the Legislature is reapportioned along population lines, it will speak for the majority of Georgians and the likelihood is that there will be a much sounder document to present to the electorate for approval.

There have been public cries lately for judicial restraint, and the three-judge court showed restraint. There was no justification for the old apportionment and everyone knew it. Now the judges are giving Georgians ample time to correct mistakes that should have been corrected long ago. This is fair enough. We can begin thinking now how best to follow through with fair and honest reapportionment next January.

Journal *** Friday, September 11, 1964

Voters Kick Out Some Legislators

By United Press International

Georgia grass roots voters decided in the Democratic primary election they wanted a change in their representation in the General Assembly and defeated a number of incumbents.

Voters in Atlanta also nominated a second Negro for the state Senate and the Sumter County primary resulted in the election of the first woman legislator in many years.

In Bartow County, Wednesday's primary brought defeat to two incumbents. Reps. Jake Cullens and William B. Green were beaten by Joe Frank Harris and David Vaughan Jr.

Veteran Rep. Louis T. Raulerson of tiny Echols County lost to Dan DeLoach, and Gene Brown and Andrew Hughes battled into a runoff for Rep. H. Dorsey Deen's seat in Bacon County. Rep. Ralph W. Bowen lost to Max Looper in Dawson County.

Roscoe E. Dean Jr. unseated Sen. William Zorn of Jesup. Early County Rep. Leon H. Vaughman lost to Mobley Howard. Rep. A. C. Smith lost to James Otwell in Forsyth County, and Rep. C. Patrick Milford of Franklin County was defeated by A. P. Mauldin.

Glynn County Rep. Jose Isenberg lost to Allen Smith and E. E. Griffin Jr. whipped Rep. W. G. Todd in Glascock County. Longtime Rep. Haywood Keadle was defeated in Lamar County by J. R. Smith. Jack Evans of McDuffie County beat Rep. Leonard N. Lokey.

Rep. Del Bowen of Randolph County fell to former Sen. Jake Dailey. Rep. Ross P. Bowen lost a Toombs County seat to Johnnie Collins and Treutlen County Rep. J. Wyman Fowler lost to Laverne (Pete) Phillips. Rep. Joe L. Dennard lost to Norman Doster in Wilcox County.

In other Senate races, Avant Edenfield whipped Russell J. Mercer in the 4th District; Sen. Talmadge McKinnon and Frank Eldridge will be in an 8th District runoff, and in the 10th District, William H. Flowers Jr. beat Logan Lewis.

Sen. Stanley E. Smith Jr., kept his 18th District seat over Dreyfus L. Fountain. Sen. Roy Noble of Vienna beat T. C. Cross, and Eugene Holley won over Donald E. Cheeks in the 22nd District.

Tilman E. Self beat Homer Bostick for the 27th District seat and Render Hill pushed into a runoff with Sen. Shaefer Heard of West Point in the 29th. Sen. Kyle Yancey of Austell will meet Jerry A. Sanders in a 33rd District runoff.

Robert R. Ballew won the 50th District race, and Sen. Battle Hall of Rome was forced into a runoff. Sen. Joseph Loggins of Summerville defeated S. A. Dunson.

105,238 Is Final Count On Votes Cast in Fulton

Final, official returns show that 105,238 Fulton Countians actually went to the polls in the Republican and Democratic primaries Wednesday.

This means the over-all turnout was considerably larger than the total vote in any one race. The highest vote was cast in the Pye-Webb-Hollowell race for a judgeship: 87,973.

This is normally the case. But the margin between 87,973 and 105,238 appears unusually large.

"Many voters appear to have gone to the polls to vote for just one or two candidates," says voting manager Neill Leach.

THE TOTAL turnout appears to be about 47 per cent of the registration. It is, in any case, if the latest published registration figure is used: It is 215,316. But that figure is dated July 20 and some people say the registration has grown, maybe to 218,000 or so.

2 Challenges

At least two candidates are unsure they got a fair shake in the vote counting Wednesday. One is thinking of going to court to challenge the results in his race. Another is definitely asking for a recount.

Wesley Asinof said Friday he would make his decision during the day whether to go to court. Mr. Asinof ran third to Dan Duke and Woodrow Tucker in the race for judge of criminal court.

He thinks the Votomatic machines used in five Fulton precincts are possibly illegal in that they make it possible for voters, by error, to vote for more than one man in a given race.

Mr. Asinof says the new state Election Code specifically provides that any voting machines used in an election must guarantee against this kind of error.

He said he is analyzing the returns in the primary to see if the result would be changed if the returns from the five Votomatic precincts were challenged and thrown out.

Fletcher Thompson, a Republican, is the man who is asking for a recount in his race.

Mr. Thompson ran in the Republican primary against Guy Hill for nomination for state senator from the 34th District. He lost to Mr. Hill by a hair's breadth: 1,046 to 1,041.

He is filing his request for a recount with the Fulton County Republican Executive Committee. "I just think there is always the possibility of human error in these things," he says.

Pye-Webb Runoff

The Pye-Webb-Hollowell judgeship race wasn't settled by the voting Wednesday, so there will be a runoff Sept. 23 between Judge Pye and Mr. Webb. And it now appears likely that whoever wins that runoff will have yet another opponent to battle in the November general election.

The county GOP headquarters said Friday that Leonard Hanna was submitting petitions to Secretary of State Ben Fortson in an effort to get on the general election ballot as GOP candidate for the judgeship.

According to the spokesman, Mr. Hanna needed 12,000 signatures on the nominating petition and felt confident he had that many valid ones.

Fulton's Votomatic

Much was reported earlier about DeKalb County's trouble-hounded experience with the new Votomatic. But what happened in Fulton County?

County Manager Alan Kiepper describes the experience here as much, much happier.

"We are in agreement that the test was highly successful," Mr. Kiepper said. "We did not run into any insurmountable problems."

Everybody, including some 125 voters he talked to personally, liked the use of the machine in actual voting, he said. Fulton people did experience slowness in checking in the ballots as they were brought to the data processing computer center from the polls. But there was no trouble counting them on the computer.

"The problems were administrative problems and we can improve and correct these," Mr. Kiepper said.

The county manager says he isn't yet ready to say to the County Commission, "Let's convert all the way to these machines."

"Our recommendation will be that we continue to test the machines in the Sept. 23 runoff and in the general election," he said. "We won't have a final recommendation until after the general election."

While Mr. Kiepper was pleased with the test of the Votomatics, another election official noted that counting votes from the five Votomatic precincts was slow.

"We counted the returns from 87 other precincts before they finished counting the returns from those five precincts," he said with satisfaction.

Asinof's Support?

Always, in the case of runoffs, there is the question which of the runoffs will get the support of the candidate who was eliminated in the first voting.

What, for example, might Mr. Asinof say to his supporters should he decide not to challenge the runoff between Mr. Duke and Mr. Tucker?

Mr. Asinof says he doesn't know yet.

But some observers feel a lot of Mr. Asinof's support might go to Mr. Duke in the runoff. The reason: Mr. Asinof got almost as many Negro votes as Mr. Duke did and Mr. Tucker got next to no Negro votes. The Negro votes for Mr. Asinof might, hence, go to Mr. Duke, and heavily influence the outcome of the runoff.

Mr. Asinof isn't sure this will happen. For one thing, he says some of his Negro friends are upset by a bit of skulduggery which he says occurred on election eve.

He says the Atlanta Civic Council, a Negro voter organization, contracted with a printer to get 66,000 "tickets" printed and then found, election eve, that the tickets had been stolen from the printshop.

Though the organization got new tickets printed, they were late. And hence Negro voters were late finding out the Civil Council had endorsed him, among other candidates.

Mr. Asinof says where the ticket did get distributed he carried every Negro precinct.

What about the runoff in the Pye - Webb - Hollowell judgeship race?

The returns Wednesday eliminated Mr. Hollowell so the runoff is between incumbent Judge Durwood Pye and Paul Webb Jr.

Roughly speaking, Judge Pye got the white segregationist vote and Mr. Webb and Mr. Hollowell (Donald Hollowell, Negro attorney) split the Negro vote. Together, Mr. Webb and Mr. Hollowell amassed 47,482, and Judge Pye got a minority of the votes cast Wednesday (40,491).

Most Negroes are expected now to solidify against Judge Pye. "Where else can they go?" asks State Sen. Leroy R. Johnson, a Negro and one of Mr. Hollowell's key campaign managers.

The implications for the runoff outcome are obvious.

Gripes

Campaigns always produce hard feelings. And election night had candidates giving vent to gripes.

Fulton Rep. Ralph McClelland won his race for renomination easily. But he was complaining that the key Negro organization, the Fulton County Democratic Club, had gone against him. Just then a well-known figure swept past Mr. McClelland and Mr. McClelland added quickly and in a loud voice:

"And so did this fellow here."

That fellow was Mayor Ivan Allen.

Mr. McClelland might have added that the man who heads the Negro Democratic organization is his own fellow legislator, Sen. Johnson.

GOP Turnout Meager

The turnout in the Republican primary was small Wednesday—just 8,306 votes if you calculate the turnout by the number cast in the O'Callaghan-John Savage race for Congress.

"We are highly pleased," said an official at the county GOP Executive Committee Wednesday.

Mr. O'Callaghan, early Wednesday evening, saw his vote as of that time was 3,000 and he said this: "I never worked so hard for just 3,000 votes in all my life."

The GOP turnout in DeKalb County was similarly small.

COULDN'T GET A BIRDIE

THURGARTON OLD HALL, England, Sept. 11 (UPI)—A duck that laid a golf ball inside an eggshell nearly went crazy trying to hatch it, its owner says.

"I think," said Mrs. Susan Spurrell, "The duck must have eaten the ball and then laid it with her other eggs."

8TH WARD, BUCKHEAD, OAK GROVE PRECINCTS NEAR 30,000 VOTERS

Metro Herald 8-19-64

Precincts On Northside Holding Balance Of Power In Upcoming County Election

There was a time when most candidates for County offices never relaxed on election day until returns from the Buckhead (fire station) box were in. Consistently, the box in what is now the 8th Ward decided practically every County election. The candidates who won the box usually won the election.

Then, as years passed the balance of power gradually shifted to the thickly populated Negro wards in the City.

After the Plan of Improvement, when the Northside was gobbled up into the larger city vote, Buckhead's (and the Northside's) influence diminished.

But, as a result of the surge of new registrants in the 8th Ward and the two County precincts, Buckhead, on Roswell, just over the city line, and Oak Grove, in the center of Sandy Springs, the importance of the Northside in County elections has been re-established.

Many now believe that the actual decision on most County elections this year will be decided on the Northside where almost 30,000 are eligible to cast their ballots.

While the latest figures show there are 59,318 Negro votes in the City and County, the difference between their influence and that of the Northside"s will not be as pronounced as one would think at first glance.

It is probable that approximately 70% of the Negro voters will cast their ballots while it is believed that fully 85% of Northsiders will go to the polls. In past years the Northside vote has been almost equally divided but this was before the reputed "white backlash" set in. Actually there are only 219 colored voters in the 8th Ward and Oak Grove and Buckhead Precincts.

If in reality there is a "white backlash," the Northside will certainly be the deciding factor in most local races this year.

There were a total of 211,267 voters eligible to cast ballots in Fulton County as of July 10. Almost 3 out of every four are white voters.

While it is possible there will be an almost solid bloc vote in the local races in the Southside Colored Wards, it is likely, for the first time, there will also be an almost solid white bloc voe in the other precincts.

The slightest split in Negro balloting will be rather unlikely, but should there be any division, here again the Northside will loom large in the results.

Ward 5, in Atlanta, has the second largest white registration to the Northside where there are 21,389 white voters, some 8,000 less than will be eligible out here.

Figures don't lie and the new facts of life in voting prospects in the coming election proves that most of the candidates have guessed wrong as to where their efforts should be concentrated.

Maybe they figure folks out here are capable of summing up the situation and voting without their campaigning and enlightenment but we feel that those who do ignore the Northside voters are in for quite a shock when the ballots are counted on election night, some three weeks from now.

Northsiders have a new responsibility out here on election day. Just as was the case 15 years ago, candidates cannot afford to ignore the Northside for the voters are going to speak out loud and clear and by their votes probably decide most of the results.

SEPARATE PRIMARIES GIVE VOTERS DUAL CHOICE

Metro Herald 8-19-64

Candidates Seeking Nomination In Democratic And Republican Primaries Sept. 9 Listed Below

Democratic and Republican voters will nominate candidates in separate primaries on Sept. 9 with the winners meeting in the November general election.

Here is the list of candidates in Fulton County for both the Democratic and Republican primaries, listed by party.

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

Georgia Public Service Commission to succeed Allen Chappell: Allen Chappell, Alpha A. Fowler, Jr., J. F. Griffin, Buck Schnall.

5th District Congressman to succeed Charles L. Weltner: Wyman Lowe, Charles L. Weltner.

34th State Senator to succeed Charlie Brown: Dan W. Blanton, Charlie Brown.

35th State Senator to succeed Frank E. Coggin: Frank E. Coggin, Calvin F. Craig.

36th State Senator to succeed Joe Salome: Joe Salome, Jack Stephens.

37th State Senator to succeed James P. Wesberry, Jr.: Mrs. Marguerite Ewing Schott, Jas. P. Wesberry, Jr.

38th State Senator to succeed LeRoy Johnson: Ed Barfield, LeRoy Johnson.

39th State Senator to succeed Oby T. Brewer, Sr.: Oby T. Brewer, Sr., Horace T. Ward.

40th State Senator to succeed Dan I. MacIntyre, Republican incumbent: John Wilcox.

Fulton Representative to succeed Wilson Brooks: Wilson Brooks, Mrs. Anna Lee Porter.

Fulton Representative to succeed Ralph McClelland: Ralph McClelland, James B. Pilcher.

Fulton Representative to succeed Jack Etheridge: Jack Etheridge.

Judge Fulton Superior Court to succeed Judge Ralph H. Pharr: J. Sidney Lanier, Ralph H. Pharr.

Judge Fulton Superior Court to succeed Judge Durwood T. Pye: Donald L. Hollowell, Judge Durwood T. Pye, Paul Webb, Jr.

Judge Criminal Court to succeed Judge Charles Bruce, not seeking re-election: Wesley Asinoff, Daniel Duke, Woodrow Tucker.

Sheriff, Fulton County to succeed T. Ralph Grimes: T. Ralph Grimes.

REPUBLICAN PRIMARY

5th District Congressman to succeed Charles L. Weltner, Democratic incumbent: L. J. (Jim) O'Callaghan, Dr. John W. Savage.

34th State Senator to succeed Charlie Brown, Democratic incumbent: Guy Hill, S. Fletcher Thompson.

35th State Senator to succeed Frank E. Coggin, Democratic incumbent: Harold E. Pharr.

37th State Senator to succeed James P. Wesberry, Jr., Democratic incumbent: George C. Lundquist.

38th State Senator to succeed LeRoy Johnson, Democratic incumbent: Roy C. Bell.

39th State Senator to succeed Oby T. Brewer, Sr., Democratic incumbent: Horace T. Ward.

40th State Senator to succeed Dan I. MacIntyre, Republican incumbent: Dan I. MacIntyre.

Fulton Representative to succeed Wilson Brooks, Democratic incumbent: Scott Walters.

Fulton County Representative to succeed Ralph McClelland, Democratic incumbent: William N. Little.

Fulton Representative to succeed Jack Etheridge, Democratic incumbent: Jack Barnette.

Fulton County Sheriff to succeed T. Ralph Grimes, Democratic incumbent: James E. Pryor.

ERROR LAST WEEK CORRECTED

Metro Herald 9-2-64

Seventeen Precincts Show Total Negro Registration Of 49,516 As Compared With 8,108 Whites

Last week we ran a story listing the 17 Precincts in which there are more than 1,000 Negro voters registered.

There was a typographical error in Precinct E in the 7th Ward giving 6,000 more Negro votes than are in that Precinct.

The correct list, together with the location of these 17 Precincts which can be checked following the elections, follows, together with their locations:

	White	Colored	Address
1.C	173	2,954	Georgia Ave. School, Georgia Ave.
1.H	897	1,353	W. F. Slaton School, Grant St.
3.B	21	3,451	Carter School, Ashby St.
3.C	1,721	2,245	Grove Park Recreation Center. Hortense Pl.
3.E	52	4,804	English Avenue School
3.H	26	2,873	School Bldg., Greensferry & Chestnut
3.K	8	1,952	Bethune School, Northside Dr.
3.L	1,477	3,184	Center Hill School, Bankhead Ave.
3.N	7	2,226	Rockdale School, Johnson Rd.
4.B	997	1,333	Adair School, Catherine St.
4.I	26	3,719	Thomas Slaton School, Pryor Rd.
6.H	55	2,892	David T. Howard School, Houston Ave.
6.I	66	3,688	Forrest School, Forrest Rd.
7.A	32	4,857	Recreation Building, Anderson Park
7.B	733	3,363	West Haven School, Gordon Rd.
7.D	20	2,903	Washington High, White House Dr.
7.E	1,797	1,719	J. C. Garris School, Lucile Ave.
Totals	8,108	49,516	

3RD WARD TRIPLES REGISTRATION IN EIGHT YEARS

Metro Herald 9-2-64

8th Ward Has Largest White Vote; 3rd Ward Tops For Negroes

In 1957 there were 10,733 Negroes eligible to vote living in the Third Ward. On July 10, 1964, seven years later, the number of eligible colored voters in the Third Ward had more than doubled and reached the total of 22,494 for a gain of 11,761, the largest of any Ward in the last seven years.

Only in the Eighth Ward (Northside) had white voters shown anywhere near such phenominal gains.

In 1957 there were 11,975 white voters in the Eighth Ward and by July 10, 1964 their number had increased by 7,395 to a total of 19,370.

The Seventh Ward shows a large increase as does the Eighth. In the Seventh 7,176 new white voters were added to the eligible lists when the Ward reached a total of 19,823 white voters.

The First Ward has been increasing its number of colored voters but there are actually 1,269 less white voters in 1964 than in 1957. This is largely due to the changing complexion of that section near the State Capitol.

While the Third Ward has been showing a huge increase in colored voters registered the white voters have increased by only 847 in seven years.

In the Fourth Ward, both white and colored voters have been increasing at a fairly fast clip. 5,444 additional whites are now eligible to vote in the 4th since 1957 while Negro registration has increased 3,277.

The Fifth and Eighth Wards have the fewest Negro voters with the Fifth having only 287 and the Eighth Ward only 210. It is in these two wards where the white voters are most numerous proportionately. There were 17,643 whites registered in the Fifth Ward in 1957 and today there are 21,389. In 1957 there were 11,975 white voters in the 9th Ward while as of July 10 there are 19,370. In other words in these two wards white voters outnumber colored almost 100 to one.

Only in the Third and First Wards are there more colored than white voters. In the Third the proportion is not quite three to one colored over white where there are 22,494 colored to only 8,964 white voters. In the First Ward there are 7,095 Negro voters and 6,592 white voters.

The real meat in the coconut lies in the fact the Negroes have been doing a better job at registering the last seven years than have the whites.

Totals show that the Negro voters have made a net gain of 28,796 in the seven city wards inside the city in Fulton County while the white voters have increased their eligibles 23,454.

Comparative totals in the Oak Grove and Buckhead Districts, Northside precinct boxes show white voters increased 2,219 in the last year while colored voters showed a net gain of ONE.

Precinct 7 A, which has 4,857 Negro voters to only 32 white is the largest colored precinct in the City while 8 D, with 5,366 white voters is the largest white precinct box. This box has 11 colored voters.

Oak Grove, with 6,324 white and 8 colored, is the largest of all city and county precinct boxes.

Election Returns Startle King Makers, Vote Experts

Metro Herald 9-9-64

Things just weren't going right as the returns started trickling in early Wednesday night, for some people.

First *The Constitution* had gone way out on a limb and picked their "choice" for most of the Fulton and DeKalb races, they had set up a miniature NBC election return center and what was happening?

The "chosen" were apparently running into rough seas, the just-purchased votamatics in DeKalb County instead of speeding up the returns had slowed them to a snail's pace; reporters waiting in Cobb County were impatiently calling in to report "no returns yet"—all in all it was not going like it was supposed to.

It was becoming evident, as the night wore on, that the "voice of experience" was losing its former heavy influence and most people were going to the polls just as if they hadn't read the morning paper for two weeks.

It must have been most discouraging for even over in DeKalb County into which the "voice of experience" had extended its influence, the favorite son was losing.

Longstreet Weltner finally pulled ahead of constant-candidate Wyman Lowe as the commentators howled "oh boy, what's happening"? But his slim victory only foreshadows the November results.

Too, there was little solace in pointing to the small Republican turnout, that is that which showed in their Primary, for the most thick-headed folks could see what was happening. The November Republicans had enthusiastically entered the Democratic Primary to throw their weight around.

The DeKalb County officials were having trouble with their new fangled vote gadgets while Fulton's were wearing red faces as many names were found missing when the voters presented themselves to their proper precincts only to find "they were not registered."

The writer and his spouse having voted at R. L. Hope on Piedmont since the day the poll was moved theer were told, "You don't seem to be registered." It took an hour and a half to get the Court House and become eligible to vote. It must have been reward for the hundreds of hours we put in last Spring in the attempt to register thousands more people out here.

By the grace of the power structure and the held-out colored wards, they managed to scrape up enough votes to put Judge Durwood Pye into a run-over election while their picked candidate Woodroe Tucker found his lead melting away as Dan Duke crept up and took the lead in late reporting returns.

Even down in the Pilcher District where the retiring Congressman's seat was being sought by six candidates, the Marvin Griffin candidate was leading while up in the 9th,

(Cont'd on Page 4)

ELECTION RETURNS—

(Cont'd from Page 1)

veteran Phil Landrum was being hard pressed by a relatively light weight opponent despite the strong Pres. Johnson recommendation Landrum had only recently received.

Manwhile Horace Ward, first Negro to be refused admission to the Univ. of Georgia slipped up and beyond down-towner Oby Brewer's lead to capture a second Negro Senate seat this one the 39th Senatorial District.

Conclusions?

It is plain as the nose on your face, it's time for action. If Atlanta and Fulton County are to beat off a complete takeover by powerful colored-politician combines, there are two things that must be pushed to a successful end and pushed quickly.

First: for the protection of both white and colored, election of members of the City Board of Aldermen must be accomplished by the votes of residents of the respective wards and not on a city-wide basis.

Second: Consolidation of Atlanta and Fulton County must be planned and work in that direction started NOW, not ten years from now.

Otherwise, some of the boasts made recently about Atlanta having a colored mayor in the near future could actually come true.—HRM

9-2-64

METROPOLITAN HERALD

Looking Ahead

You don't hear too many "I bet you" statements made this year, relative to the soon to be held Primary and General Elections.

As of July 10, there were a total of 165,231 Atlanta voters eligible to participate in the elections. There will be a few more thousand for the General Election. Of these, 108,258 are white,fi 56,973 colored.

Since 1957 Atlanta registration has increased (with the exception of the 2nd Ward, which is in DeKalb County), from 111,954 to this year's total of 165,231, or more than 60,000.

Slightly more colored than white voters have become eligible.

This is not surprising when one considers the fact that a great many white residents have moved over the city line and into Fulton and adjoining counties, while thousands of new Negro residents have moved in.

Colored voters have a habit of "voting together" or 'bloc voting', making their vote far more sought after than the whites for they in turn have a habit of 'splitting among themselves'.

In the last twelve months city registration jumped from 138,754 (inside Fulton County, without the 2nd Ward), to 165,231 while County registration (outside Atlanta) jumped from 36,828 to 46,036. Percentagewise the County residents are a little more interested, it would seem, than are city residents. County registration increased a little over 25%, city registrations by slightly less than 25%. As compared with eligible voters in other sections of the country we are still lagging far behind in interest in voting.

The great effort so far seems to have been "to

residents. County registration increased a little over 25%, city registrations by slightly less than 25%. As compared with eligible voters in other sections of the country we are still lagging far behind in interest in voting.

The great effort so far seems to have been "to line up the Negro vote" on the part of the candidates. It would amaze you to hear some of the promises some candidates are making when they meet with the colored voters.

In only one race has a candidate realized it was foolish as well as useless to hope for any Negro to vote for him. Judge Durwood Pye aroused the intense antagonism of the Negroes when he followed the law in cases of individuals who were brought before his Court for violation of laws in staging sit-ins at restaurants, churches and other places. He meted out punishment for the law violators, white and colored alike.

His opponents, Paul Webb, Jr., and Negro Attorney Hollowell have taken full advantage of Judge Pye's position in their campaign, each hoping to obtain enough colored votes to, with the few white voters they'd get, at least put them into a run-over. Now there can be only two candidates in a run-off election.

There will be last minute efforts on the part of one of the candidates to try and get Mr. Hollowell out of the race, knowing he would then get ALL the Negro votes. However, Mr. Hollowell has been something of a god to the colored folks as it has been he who has led most of the court fights against segregation, not just in Atlanta but all over the State.

On the other hand, Judge Pye is faced with the possibility that many who will skip the Democratic Primary to vote for Republican candidates would have supported him otherwise.

We won't bet you how this one comes out but there is a strong possibility that Judge Pye could win in the first election, when you compare the Negro and white voters' totals. If there is really a 'white backlash', it will surely show up in this election.

The other judgeship race pits Dan Duke against Wesley Asinoff and Woodroe Tucker. Duke, the best known of the three, as of press time, seemed headed at least for the run-over election, if not victory on the first ballot.

The Atlanta Journal
"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"
9-11-64

2 Runoffs Shape As Backlash Test

Miller Drops Contest After Incorrect Votes

By MARGARET SHANNON

Runoff campaigns in two South Georgia congressional districts Friday shaped up as a real test of whether or not it pays a candidate to be a Goldwater Democrat.

In north Georgia, meanwhile, State Sen. Zell Miller of Young Harris gave up plans to ask for a recount in his 9th District race against veteran Rep. Phil M. Landrum of Jasper.

Reports from all but one of the 22 counties in the 9th showed that more than 7,500 ballots of some 60,000 cast were thrown out because voters scratched only one instead of two of the names in the three-man race.

SEN. MILLER said reports indicated many of the voters scratched Rep. Landrum's name. He thinks maybe the 7,500 votes would have given him a victory over Rep. Landrum if the ballots had been marked correctly—or at least would have made a runoff necessary.

But he conceded defeat and said he might spend the next year working on his Ph.D. at the University of Georgia. "Don't think I'm completely out of politics, though," he said.

IN SOUTH GEORGIA'S 2nd and 3rd districts, Goldwater Democrats who ran second in Wednesday's primary and will face somewhat reluctant loyalists in the Sept. 23 runoff began hitting at their opponents for being wishy-washy.

HARRY L. WINGATE Jr. of Pelham, who has declared he will vote for Republican presidential nominee Barry Goldwater Nov. 3, charged Maston O'Neal of Bainbridge with a "jellyfish" attitude because he says he is a conservative while continuing to say he will support the Johnson-Humphrey ticket.

Mr. Wingate in almost complete returns from Wednesday's primary was some 4,000 votes behind Mr. O'Neal. He had 14,816 to 18,771 for Mr. O'Neal.

Four other candidates in the 2nd District race had nearly 25,000 votes that the two runoff candidates were going after.

In the 3rd District, State Sen. Garland T. Byrd of Reynolds renewed his on-the-fence stand as far as the presidential race is concerned. He said he isn't supporting either President Johnson or Sen. Goldwater.

HIS RUNOFF opponent, Stephen Pace Jr. of Americus, was the first of the six Democrats in the 3rd District race to declare for Goldwater.

Former Lt. Gov. Byrd maintained a substantial lead in almost complete returns. He had 19,679 to 13,281 for Mr. Pace.

In the 9th District, almost complete returns gave Rep. Landrum 27,770 to 22,008 for Sen. Miller and 3,356 for a third candidate, Franklin Stone (Buckeye) Uhl.

Sen. Miller said information obtained from pollholders showed more than 7,500 ballots were not counted because of improper marking.

He gave these county-by-county totals of ballots thrown out:

Banks, 170; Barrow, 913; Cherokee, 552; Dawson, 499; Elbert, 362; Fannin, 115; Forsyth, 916; Franklin, 426; Gilmer, 168; Gwinnett, 575; Habersham, 967; Hall, 286; Hart, 220; Jackson, 443; Lumpkin, no report; Madison, one; Pickens,

Democrats who ran second in Wednesday's primary and will face somewhat reluctant loyalists in the Sept. 23 runoff began hitting at their opponents for being wishy-washy.

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LATEST TOTALS in contested congressional races:

2nd District — Democratic—(168 of 171 precincts) — Maston O'Neal of Bainbridge, 18,771; Harry L. Wingate Jr. of Pelham, 14,816; David C. Jones of Sylvester, 9,768; C. B. King of Albany, 8,213; James W. Keyton of Thomasville, 5,968, and W. Gerald Tuck of Thomasville, 1,466.

3rd District — Democratic — (151 of 167 precincts)—Garland T. Byrd of Reynolds, 19,769; Stephen Pace Jr. of Americus, 13,281; Erle Cocke Jr. of Columbus, 9,655; Ed Wohlwender Jr. of Columbus, 8,205; Charles R. Adams Jr. of Ft. Valley, 4,307, and Robert Lee Newby of Vienna, 2,313.

5th District — Democratic — (Complete) — Charles L. Weltner of Atlanta, incumbent, 36,379, and Wyman C. Lowe of Atlanta, 23,287.

5th District — Republican — (Complete) — Jim O'Callaghan, 4,180, and John Savage, 3,084.

6th District — Democratic — (191 of 201 precincts)—John J. Flynt Jr. of Griffin, incumbent, 44,042, and Frank Maddox of Jonesboro, 16,336.

8th District — Democratic — (158 of 204 precincts)—Russell Tuten of Brunswick, incumbent, 44,804, and Harold S. Gulliver Sr. of Valdosta, 11,324.

9th District —Democratic — (286 of 289 precincts)—Phil M. Landrum, incumbent, 27,770; Zell Miller of Young Harris, 22,008, and Franklin S. Uhl of Blue Ridge, 3,356.

10th District — Democratic—(202 of 238 precincts)—Robert G. Stephens Jr. of Athens, incumbent, 22,778, and Hugh Eugene Tudor of Augusta, 4,934.

Close-Up 9-12-64 e

How Much Ballooning in the Backlash?

All the talk about a huge and unusually vicious "white backlash" in last Wednesday's elections here in Atlanta bothers me for two reasons.

First, I dislike seeing Atlanta, with its well deserved reputation for racial open-mindedness, being characterized around the country as a city now harboring a monstrous white backlash.

And in the second place, I don't read the backlash in Wednesday's elections as being all that monstrous.

To be sure, when a Ku Klux Klan leader can poll as many as 3,000 votes in a state senatorial race, there undoubtedly is some backlash at work. But this is only one district out of seven and only 3,000 of the 105,000 votes that were cast in Fulton County last Wednesday.

The Fifth District congressional race is the one that has produced most of the talk about a backlash in Atlanta. But the fact is that the incumbent congressman polled more votes than the combined total for all other candidates for Congress in both primaries last Wednesday. And he ran just about as he did in the fall of 1962, when he first won the office.

In the first primary in 1962, Congressman Weltner led the field with 47 per cent of the vote. In the run-off, he won with 55 per cent of the vote, and in the general election he won again with 55 per cent.

Last Wednesday, Congressman Weltner got 61 per cent of the votes in the Democratic primary and 55 per cent of all the votes cast in both primaries.

True, the district has been reduced to standard size since 1962, and Rep. Weltner's opponent last Wednesday was no political Goliath. Yet it occurs to me that the people who voted against Rep. Weltner on Wednesday are pretty much the same people who voted against him in 1962 and who probably would vote against him in any case.

At any rate, the impression seems to have been spread around that Congressman Weltner barely squeaked through to renomination. The erroneous impression probably grew out of the early returns that were broadcast on radio and television Wednesday evening.

The smaller precincts, naturally, report first. And because several of these very small precincts went against Weltner, the word went out over the airwaves that Weltner was having a bad time of it. But while other political figures all over the state—some of them ardent segregationists—were going down Wednesday in defeat, Rep. Weltner was winning by a fairly comfortable margin of 13,000 votes.

The television commentators, bless 'em, are up against it. They have to try to make an interesting evening's telecast out of a lot of boards with a lot of figures written on them. So although the election is over when the polls close, the commentators announce each new precinct report like a horse race, with candidates "trailing," "dropping back," "running neck-and-neck," "pulling out in front," and so on. Come to think of it, I guess it served 'em right when Gen. Eisenhower denounced them out in San Francisco.

MARVIN WALL.

Backlash in Demo Primary Strengthens Sanders' Hand

By WILLIAM O. SMITH

There may have been a backlash vote in the Democratic primary last week, but Gov. Carl Sanders apparently didn't feel too much effect of it in General Assembly races.

Several officials close to the administration are saying right candidly that the primary put Gov. Sanders in the best legislative shape since he took office.

Of 20 incumbents defeated last Wednesday, administration officials figure only three or four are definite losses. In most instances, Sanders people think the successor will be a stronger supporter of the administration.

And one top Sanders leader figured that 75 to 80 per cent of former legislators returning after periods of absence will support the Sanders program.

"We're in the best shape ever," one jubilant Sanders supporter said.

GOV. SANDERS also apparently emerged without any setbacks from the $32 million tax increase voted during the January-February term.

NEWS ANALYSIS

A tide of angry votes swept many lawmakers from office after former Gov. Marvin Griffin raised taxes in 1955, but most Capitol observers say the tax increase this year just was not a factor in primary voting.

Of the 20 incumbents defeated last Wednesday, 17 are House members. There may still be some casualties, however, because four incumbent representatives are still involved in runoffs and 13 face Republican opposition in the Nov. 3 general election.

DEFEATED were Reps. Haygood Keadle of Lamar, H. Dorsey Deen of Bacon, Jake Cullens and William B. Greene of Bartow, Leon Hodges Baugham of Early, A'Delbert Bowen of Randolph, Ralph W. Bowen of Dawson, Ross P. Bowen of Toombs, Joe Isenberg of Glynn, A. C. Smith of Forsyth.

Also, C. Patrick Milford of Franklin, Louis T. Raulerson of Echols, Leonard N. Lokey of McDuffie, W. G. Todd of Glascock, J. W. Sewell of Sumter, J. Wyman Fowler of Treutlen and Will Poole of Pickens.

THOSE FACING run-offs are Reps. H. Ben Rodgers of Charlton, Robert E. Flournoy Jr. of

Turn to Page 6, Column 1

SANDERS STRONGER

Continued from Page 1

Cobb, J. Paul Sinclair of Macon and H. E. Kirkland of Tattnall.

There are three other runoff races for House seats for which the incumbent did not offer for re-election.

Not counting the run-off winners, there will be 55 new faces in the House in January, unless they get knocked off by Republican opposition. Of these, 39 have never served before and 16 are former legislators who did not serve during 1963-64.

IN ADDITION to the House members defeated last Wednesday, seven were defeated in early primaries. They are Reps. Caleb Powers Watson of Pike, Henry N. Payton of Coweta, Ebb Duncan of Carroll, Talmadge B. Echols of Upson, J. A. Andrews of Stephens, who was assistant floor leader; Thomas James McDonald Jr. of White and William Malcolm Towson of Laurens.

While only three state senators suffered defeat last Wednesday, three incumbents were forced into runoffs. Twenty-one Democrats have Republican opposition and the four incumbent Republican senators all face Democratic opposition.

Defeated last Wednesday were Sens. Oby Brewer Sr. of Atlanta, William A. Zorn of Jesup and Tom Ellis of McDonough.

COUNTING eight senators not offering for re-election there will be at least 11 new senators in January. There could be several more new senators after the runoffs and general election.

With 29 Senate posts still undecided, that means only 25 seats were definitely decided in the Democratic primary.

The Democratic primary may have been tantamount to election, but not anymore—at least in the Senate.

Senators facing runoffs are Talmadge McKinnon of Willacoochee, R. Sheafer Heard of West Point (his opponent is Rep. Render Hill of Meriwether County) and Sen. Kyle Yancey of Cobb County. A runoff is also scheduled in the 44th District seat being vacated by S. Tom Ellis of McDonough, who ran third last Wednesday.

NEW SENATORS elected last Wednesday are Avant Edenfield, 4th District; Roscoe Emory Dean Jr., 6th District; William H. (Bill) Flowers Jr., 10th District; John T. McKenzie, 17th District; Sam P. McGill, 24th District; J. Albert Minish, 48th District; Robert R. Ballew, 50th District.

Probably for the first time in modern history, there will be three candidates for one Senate post in the general election.

In the 23rd District, Sen. Milford A. Scott of Augusta was renominated in the Democratic primary, but he'll be opposed by Republican Robert C. McCarthy and independent Michael J. Padgett.

How Precincts Voted for Webb and Pye

Listed below is the precinct vote in the Fulton Superior Court runoff between Judge Durwood Pye and Paul Webb Junior.

ATLANTA

Precinct	Pye	Webb
1-A	110	136
1-B	253	360
1-C	41	1,278
1-D	520	51
1-E	150	410
1-F	104	341
1-G	611	74
1-H	277	617
3-A	15	376
3-B	24	2,096
3-C	307	1,170
3-D	178	40
3-E	36	2,678
3-F	226	94
3-G	126	42
3-H	14	1,686
3-I	189	51
3-J	421	307
3-K	9	1,138
3-L	268	2,009
3-M	411	207
3-N	13	1,046
4-A	709	94
4-B	317	695
4-C	1,608	316
4-D	764	86
4-E	641	137
4-F	288	67
4-G	741	118
4-H	681	346
4-I	35	2,057
4-J	406	248
5-A	452	183
5-B	479	87
5-C	781	398
5-D	1,196	735
5-E	332	188
5-F	914	381
5-G	336	182
5-H	796	194
5-I	218	163
6-A	1,061	364
6-B	734	164
6-C	306	172
6-D	250	41
6-E	777	237
6-F	821	531
6-H	10	1,426
6-I	18	2,005
7-A	30	2,660
7-B	138	2,222
7-C	1,561	246
7-D	12	1,872
7-E	574	1,121
7-F	1,221	138
7-G	515	178
7-H	1,456	266
7-I	1,184	231
8-A	1,060	615
8-B	1,250	530
8-C	1,048	802
8-D	1,318	636

FULTON

Precinct	Pye	Webb
Alpharetta	424	87
Big Creek	60	16
Buckhead	852	384
Campbellton	47	7
College Park	1,440	506
Double Branch	119	20
East Point	5,275	1,209
Fairburn	521	183
Goodes	58	20
Grogans	121	20
Hapeville	1,307	181
Little River	127	21
Newton	56	12
Oak Grove	1,425	632
Old First	43	14
Old Ninth	208	22
Palmetto	137	65
Red Oak	485	82
Rivertown	28	22
Roswell	476	163
Sandtown	274	43
Union	75	6
Union City	193	88
Utoy Springs	145	98
Obsentee	447	196
TOTAL	45,684	43,436

Polls
Prejudice
North & South

October 21, 1963

Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle
Box 3183
University Station
Charlottesville, Va.

Dear Mrs. Boyle:

There have been a number of the polls you described recently. I am enclosing copies of The Texas Poll (sent to us by a friend with no notation of newspaper source or date, but obviously early in October), and the Harris Survey, which appeared in the Washington Post 10-15-63. Two other recent polls are: Saturday Evening Post, 9-7-63, "What Northerners Really Think of Negroes," by Stewart Alsop and Oliver Quayle; Newsweek, 10-21-63, "Prejudice: Widespread and Deep," Northern and Southern attitudes. The latter is on the newstands now. If you cannot get a copy of the Post article, let me know and I will copy it for you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

SARAH PATTON BOYLE • BOX 3183, UNIV. STA. • CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

Dear SRC, 10/17/63

I am forever in the market--and especially now--for opinion polls of all kinds which give some indication of what people, white and colored, North and South, are thinking and feeling in regard to the integration issue and ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ associating with each other.

Is there any service I could subscribe to which would supply me with such data ~~as these polls are taken~~ regularly as it is available?

I enclose $2 just in case you ~~xxx~~ have a collection of them yourself--or even a few--but do not return the money even if you have none. Cordially,

Sarah Patton Boyle

Cash $2.00
10/21/63
LK

9-21-64 c

Rights Movement Is Too Fast, New Yorkers Indicate in Poll

By FRED POWLEDGE

(Copyright 1964 by the New York Times Co.)

NEW YORK — A majority of white New Yorkers questioned here in the last month in a survey by the New York Times said they believed the Negro civil rights movement had gone too far.

While denying any deep-seated prejudice against Negroes, a large number of those questioned used the same terms to express their feelings. They spoke of Negroes' receiving "everything on a silver platter" and of "reverse discrimination" against whites.

More than one-fourth of those who were interviewed said they had become more opposed to Negro aims during the last few months.

But only a small number of them gave any indication that their voting habits had been affected by this change in their attitudes, which in some quarters is called "white backlash."

Those who voted Democratic in 1960 said, by and large, that they would vote Democratic again this year and Republicans said they would remain Republicans.

A clear majority of those questioned — 61 per cent — said they would vote for President Lyndon B. Johnson in the November election while 18 per cent said they would vote for Sen. Barry Goldwater, the Republican candidate.

Thirty-eight per cent said they would support Robert F. Kennedy for United States Senator, and 32 per cent said they would vote for the Republican incumbent, Kenneth B. Keating.

The survey was not designed as a political poll. It was meant to find out whether the white backlash — an issue that some observers say does not exist and that others say will play an important part in this year's elec-

Continued on Page 6, Column 1

Rights Too Fast, Says N.Y. Poll

Continued From Page 1

tion—actually did exist in New York and to what extent.

Political questions were asked to see if there were any difference between the respondents feelings on race relations and their political convictions.

A variety of "backlash" questions were presented, although in most the word was never used. Two questions guided the framing of the interviews and the analysis of the poll:

1. Was there a reaction against the civil rights movement that made whites more antagonistic or less sympathetic to Negroes than before?

2. Was it strong enough so it would affect the voting patterns of a substantial number of people in New York?

In sum, the answer to the first question was "yes" and to the second "no."

Selecting 199 respondents by a statistical sampling technique, the poll asked 74 questions each through a team of New York Times reporters. Two of the questions showed, more clearly than the others, the depths of white feelings about civil rights.

In one of them, the whites were asked whether they felt the Negro movement had been moving at the right pace, too quickly, or not fast enough.

Fifty-four per cent said the movement was going too fast. Twenty-three per cent said it was proceeding at the right pace, 12 per cent wanted more speed, and 11 per cent were not sure.

If the feelings of younger New Yorkers had not been taken into consideration, the sentiment against the speed of the movement would have been even greater. Of those in the 21-44 age group, 19 per cent wanted more speed, while only 5 per cent of those in the 45 and higher age group wanted the movement to go faster.

THE BACKLASH

In the other key question the depth of a possible backlash was probed. The respondents were asked:

"Do you feel you're more strongly in favor of what Negroes want than you were a couple of months ago, or are you more opposed to Negro aims, or do you feel pretty much the way you did a couple of months ago?"

Sixty-three per cent said they felt "pretty much the same," while 27 per cent said they had become more opposed. Six per cent said they more strongly favored what Negroes want, and 4 per cent did not answer.

A further analysis of the replies of the 63 per cent in the "same" category showed that, for most of them, "same" meant a general skepticism of the quality of the rights movement.

ALL SEGMENTS

Those who the key questions showed to be critical of the movement were found, in other answers, to represent all segments of the sample. There were relatively small differences between men and women, among various economic groups, among followers of different religious faiths, and among persons of varying national origins.

Some questions were "crossed" with other questions. Of the 27 per cent who said they now felt more opposed to Negro aims, for instance, it was found that more than half believed that non-violent civil rights demonstrations had hurt Negroes' chances.

When the whites were asked what the term "white backlash" meant to them, they produced a variety of answers. Fifty-two per cent said it meant nothing, while 4 per cent said it was a phrase manufactured by newspapers or politicians to produce a desired effect.

12-WEEK SURVEY

The survey lasted from Aug. 26 until Sept. 10. It took place during a period when there was action on all fronts covered by the poll. Political candidates had started their campaigns, plans were being made for a white boycott of the schools, and there was a race riot in Philadelphia. But these day-to-day events had no apparent effect on the respondents' replies.

The replies to the poll were tabulated by John F. Kraft, Inc., of New York, a well-known polling organization that has conducted surveys in the political and commercial fields.

Forming a representative sample of age and income groups, and religious and national backgrounds, 199 men and women were questioned in Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens and the Bronx.

The sample was believed by the Kraft organization to offer a valid cross-section of the city's white residents.

Reports From Our Observers

How a State Hopes to Abolish Race Prejudice

HARRISBURG, PA.

In 1958 the Pennsylvania Legislature advised the State Department of Public Instruction to prepare an educational program designed to diminish, if not eliminate, prejudice. It was a tall order.

The agency began by assembling a human-relations guide for teachers, urging them to have their classes dig into the causes of discrimination. It suggested, for example, that students be sent out to interview local real-estate men, and restaurant, hotel, and barber-shop owners on the topic of discrimination.

The booklet was distributed throughout the state. In 20 months, some 160,000 copies have been printed and requests for the guide have come from nearly all the states as well as 12 foreign countries.

Now the agency has taken another and more difficult step in an attempt to carry out the Legislature's order. It will attempt to get Pennsylvania's locally governed schools to follow through on the guide's suggestions, and it has appointed a full-time staff member to oversee this state campaign.

Focusing on Human Relations

As a beginning, the staff member, Jeanne Brooker, a former professor at Pittsburgh's Mt. Mercy College, is encouraging all city school districts to devote a teacher's institute session to human relations. Then all Pennsylvania counties, city school districts, and colleges have been asked to appoint a human-relations chairman to serve as a contact person for these state programs.

As a part of the new drive, 100 principals and superintendents from city school districts met for a two-day seminar on human relations this summer in Harrisburg. They were asked to discuss the state program in these terms:

Do you look upon this as a kind of brush-fire brigade operation, or do you see it as an opportunity to improve youngsters' education? Are we talking solely about race relations or over-all human relations—such problems as religious, sectional, and socioeconomic differences?

The seminar paved the way for a faster acceptance of an admittedly delicate project. The local schools are autonomous and do not take easily to dictation from the state. This program has the backing of the Legislature and Gov. William Scranton, which makes acceptance on the local level smoother.

What the Guide Suggests

In advising approaches to a human-relations curriculum, the state will follow suggestions set forth in its guide. Among them:

✓ Write a theme on "My prejudices and how I got them."

✓ Evaluate the stereotyping of nationality and race in television and movie-drama roles and cartoons.

✓ Study various school extracurricular activities regarding their membership practices and pattern of participation by students of minority racial, religious, national origin, or socioeconomic groups.

✓ Study the purposes, activities, and accomplishments of public and private agencies combating prejudice and discrimination. Visit their offices and facilities. Participate, if possible, in a project sponsored by one of these agencies.

Under the department's theory, a curriculum that delves into the causes of prejudice certainly commits the state to elimination of prejudice, the goal of the original legislative directive. Says Dr. Neal V. Musmanno, deputy state superintendent of public instruction, "The primary purpose of this intergroup education is to eliminate prejudice from the minds and actions of school youth and thus from all people." It is an ambitious program, the results of which may not be known for years. —JAMES BRANN

☆ ☆ ☆

April 8, 1965

Miss Marcia E. Pressman
332 East 73rd St., Apt. 2-B
New York, New York 10021

Dear Miss Pressman:

Your letter to Dr. Coles has been referred to us for reply. Under separate cover we are mailing you several things which you may find helpful, and our publications list is enclosed for your information.

Regarding attitude changes in white Southern leaders, there are several recent books which deal with this rather thoroughly:

Killian, Lewis and Hall, Charles, Racial Crisis in America, Leadership in Conflict. 1964
Bettleheim, Bruno and Janowitz, Morris, Social Change and Prejudice. 1964.
Smith, Lillian, Our Faces, Our Words. 1964.
Zinn, Howard, The Southern Mystique. 1964.

Other books, some covering earlier periods and some more recent, dealing with the various topics you listed:--political, business, and religious leadership--are listed on the attached sheet.

For documentation of attitides, you might wish to look over some polls. Lou Harris (Washington, D.C.) does many polls on attitudes and prejudice, both white and Negro, North and South. One appeared in the Washington Post on 10-15-63. Newsweek of 10-21-63 carried an article on attitudes called "Prejudice, Widespread and Deep".

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
Three Views
This I Believe
Agony of Southern Minister
Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study
L-24m 3km 35m 40m 4km 48m 48m 46

Religion
*Campbell, Will, Race and the Renewal of the Church. 1962
Pettigrew, Thos. F. & Campbell, Ernest, Christians in Racial Crisis. 1959. (Re white ministers in Little Rock; also contains statements by religious bodies)
Haselden, Kyle, The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective

Politics (and Economics)
Key, V. O. Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation. 1950.
Nicholls, H. Wm., Southern Tradition and Regional Progress. 1950.

General
*Cash, W. T., The Mind of the South. 1941.
Dabbs, James M., Who Speaks for the South. 1964.
Tumin, Melvin M., Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness. 1958.
Silberman, Chas. E., Crisis in Black and White. 1964.
Lubell, Samuel, White and Black: Test of a Nation. 1964.

Lou Harris - w/n attitudes

332 East 73rd, Apt. 2-B
New York, New York, 10021
April 4, 1965

Dr. Robert Coles
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Coles:

I am a graduate student at Yeshiva University, in Special Education. Drs. Doxey Wilkerson and Edmund Gordon suggested I write to you in hopes of getting information regarding some substantive questions I am asking in a research paper. I am interested in attitude and attitude change with future hope of effecting change in order to facilitate education of individuals with negative concepts of themselves. However, at this point I am specifically attempting to find out expressed attitudes of individual white (Southern) leaders with respect to school segregation and integration, a decade before and after the Supreme Court decision in 1954. I want to bring past attitudes up to date to see if there has been any change and to inspect, if possible the dynamics of same. For example, Tom Waring, editor of my home paper has maintained and expressed consistant feeling regarding the issue. However I suspect there have been some leaders who expressed pro-integration attitudes before the decision, and there are others who may have changed their ways of thinking either pro or con. Could you direct me to some available resource where I might find statements to support reported attitudes? I am not only interested in political figures; educational and religious leaders, literary figures--virtually anyone I can find who had something to say on the subject then and now.

Must' Ten Years of Prelude 1964

Thank you for any kindness and consideration you may extend.

Sincerely,
Marcia E. Pressman
Marcia E. Pressman

Three Views of Seg. Decision
Decay of Sem. Schools: A Pop Study
This I Believe
Agony of Sem. Minister
L-24, L-34, L-35, L-40, L-41, L-43, L-44, L-46

Bartlett, Richard — The Negro Vanguard — 1959 — Art of Negro Leadership
Edwards, G. Franklin — The Negro Professional Class — 1959
☆ Campbell, Will — ~~Race & Renewal of the Church. 1962~~

Carter, Hodding III — The South Strikes Back, The Angry Scar 1959
Cook, James Graham — The Segregationists
☆ Cash, W. T. — The Mind of the South 1941
Clark, Kenneth B. — The Negro Protest 1963
~~Dabbs, James McBride — Who Speaks for the South~~
~~Killian, Lewis & Hall, Charles. Racial Crisis in America, Leadership — Compact~~ 1964
Key, V. O., Jr. — Southern Politics — ~~State & Nation~~ 1950.

Mitchell, H. Wm. — Southern Tradition & Regional Progress

Zumin, Melvin M. — Segreg. : Resistance & Readiness 1958

Silberman, Chas E. — Crisis in Black & White 1964

Humphrey, Hubert H. ed. — Integration vs. Seg. 1964
Tuttle, Samuel — White & Black : Test of a Nation
Pettigrew, Thos F. & Campbell, Ernest — Christians in ~~Racial Crisis 1959~~

Haselden, Kyle — The Racial Problem — Christian Perspective

Bettelheim, Bruno & Janowitz, Morris — Social Change & Prejudice

Smith, Lillian — Our Faces, Our Words 1964 — 1964
Zinn, Howard, The Southern Mystique 1964

J.E. Lewis & Martin L. King, Jr. Free Sources & the Free 1962

New York World-Telegram
and The Sun
D. 403,348 SAT 166,071

APR 15 1965

By Whitney M. Young Jr.

U.S. Pays a Heavy Price for Bias

Now that Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference is mapping an Alabama boycott, the public has begun to wonder how long that state can afford to keep Negro citizens in second-class bondage.

Few Americans recognize the cost to the nation, though, of our invisible boycott against ourselves, the daily price the nation pays in terms of lost business, lost purchasing power, lost jobs and lost sales abroad due to racial discrimination. The price is high; not just in Alabama, but throughout the South and in northern cities, too.

Aside from the violence, both physical and psychological, which Jim Crow inflicts upon our citizens and cities, there are some profound dollar-and-cents reasons for stopping it.

In "The Price We Pay," a recent eye-opening report made by the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta and B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League, the "invisible" cost tof hatred appears written on the wall in red ink.

Employment bias alone costs the republic $30 billion annually, the report declares, citing Dr. Joseph Airov of Atlanta's Emory University's economics department as its source. Ironically, the loss in personal income hits the southeastern states hardest, he says.

Rep. Charles L. Weltner of Georgia figures his state would gain an extra $500 million a year if employed Negroes were paid the same as whites.

* * *

That's one reason the brightest Negro pupils flock northward as soon as they can get out. In New Orleans, a cockpit of strife over school integration, 750 of the brightest Negro boys are attending St. Augustine's school.

Its counselor, Father Joseph Messina, says that over 60 percent of its graduates go North for higher learning—and that 50 percent don't come back.

Small wonder personnel officers for Boeing aircraft and Kaiser Aluminum companies there complain they can't find skilled Negro help as in other cities.

A like situation was reported by the Nashville Tennessean. Its survey revealed the state drained of 20,000 young people annually— wasting $200 million in tax dollars paid out to school them.

Complained one Birmingham resident on this score: "We lost ourselves a generation; they (young people) just don't want to put up with all this racial strife."

Birmingham lost not only the flower of its youth, but jobs declined from 246,000 in 1957 to 228,000 in 1963 under the hammerblows of repeated racial outbursts against segregation Wallace-style.

Capital investment, too, fell off considerably —at a time when many other cities were gaining.

* * *

And tales of business crippled by racial unrest are legion, particularly in the South, although Harlem and Philadelphia and Paterson, N. J., officials can also attest to this fact.

In Jackson, Miss., chain store sales dropped between 40 to 60 percent during the protests. In Charleston, S. C., business along thriving King St. fell up to 50 percent. And New Orleans lost an estimated $4 million in business when the American Legion two years ago shifted its convention to Miami Beach over the lack of decent lodgings for Negro veterans.

The financial tentacles for racism even reach out across the seas, injuring our foreign trade. According to "The Price We Pay," one sales manager for a large corporation reported Russian and British salesmen were taking the cream of the orders in some Carribean cities by regaling businessmen with tales of racial bias here.

Some fiscal losses, however, can't be put through a computer. High on the list is the price we expend in added foreign aid to win countries discouraged by our domestic upheavals.

A fair deal in education, employment and business for America's 20 million Negroes — whose purchasing power rivals Canada's — would pump new lifeblood into our economy, create new jobs, foreign trade, and stop the stupid and devastating drain in tax dollars siphoned off by old Jim Crow—a boycott against ourselves.

TUESDAY

SEPTEMBER						
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13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30			

13

OCT. 1964

NOVEMBER						
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8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

8:00 E. Franklin Frazier
8:30 Negro Family in the U.S.
9:00 Dryden 1948
9:30
10:00
10:30 + Black Bourgeoisie, Collier 1962
11:00
11:30 J. H. Franklin From Slavery
12:00 to Freedom Knopf 1957
1:00
1:30 Arnold Rose's (condensation
2:00 of The American Dilemma)
2:30
3:00 The Negro in America
3:30 Beacon 1957
4:00
4:30
5:00
5:30

MONDAY

OCTOBER						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
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11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

12

OCT. 1964

Prejudice

Floyd Hunter, Community, Power & Structure, Anchor 1953

~~John Dollard Drake & Cayton~~ Caste & Class in a Southern Town, Anchor 1949

Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, Anchor 1958

Abram Kardiner & Lionel Ovesey The Mark of Oppression

Pur

Memo from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

Prejudice

films

Action Against the Law 28 minutes 1954 $3.00
(Calif. - fruit pickers & newspaper ed.)

Brotherhood of Man - Color 10 min. 1947 $3.00
(Races of Mankind)

Color of Man - color 10 min. 1955 $3.00

A Day - The Night of Jonathan Shale
32 min. 1958 3.00

Don't Be a Sucker - 20 min. 1943 $3.00
bigots & stirring

High Wall -
children & churches part. 32 min. 1951 3.00

The House I Live In
10 min 1946 3.00

Neighbors - Color 10 min 1952 3.00

No Man In An Island 27 min.
27 min 1957 CBS-TV 3.00

Prejudice: North + South
in Race Relations files

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

The Texas Poll - Oct 1963

~~Bugle~~

Sat Even Post 9-7-63

What Northerners Really
Think of Negroes
by Stewart Alsop & Oliver Quayle

Washing Post 10-15-63

Harris Survey
Most Whites Indicate Readiness
to Meet Many Negro Demands.
Nat'l & Southern

News Week 10-21-63

Prejudice: Widespread & deep
Nat'l & some Southern
statistics

Sat. Evening Post
9-7-63

What Northerners Really
Think of Negroes
by Stewart Alsop and
Oliver Quayle

Courtesy—TUCKER-CASTLEBERRY PRINTING, INC. • JAckson 5-8654

Return to M. A. W.

July 8, 1960

Mr. Marion A. Wright, Chairman
Sub-committee on Employment
Commission on Civil Rights
Topknot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Attached you will find the questionnaire with answers which you addressed to the North Carolina Employment Security Commission. You will note that we failed to answer a few of the questions and asked that you clarify them in order that we may give an answer.

I call your particular attention to our answer to your question No. 36. You will note that we placed a total of 95,576 white workers and 73,473 non-white workers. This total number of placements being of all types of jobs. In comparison to the percentage of population to white and non-white in North Carolina, we were successful in assisting a much larger percentage of non-white workers in securing jobs.

In your letter of June 14 you asked if we could give you any advice as to where you might secure a list of the names and addresses of all North Carolina agencies, commissions, institutions, departments, etc. which employ personnel. If you have not contacted Mr. John McDevitt, State Personnel Director, State Personnel Department, Raleigh, North Carolina, I would suggest that you do so as you would be more apt to get most of this information from him than from any other source.

You will note from the enclosed copy of my letter to Mr. McNeill Smith that we plan to forward to him sometime next week the list of employers which he requested from us.

We have had personnel away at meetings and on leave for the past several weeks so we do appreciate your patience in our delay in sending the information which you requested.

Sincerely,

Henry E. Kendall
Chairman

Enclosures - 2

Copy to Mr. McNeill Smith
Greensboro, North Carolina

July 8, 1960

Mr. McNeill Smith, Chairman
Commission on Civil Rights
700 Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Smith:

In reply to your letter of June 17 and confirming our telephone conversation of this morning, we plan to send to you next week a list of all North Carolina employers covered by this program who employ one hundred persons or more.

It is our understanding that this information will be used by your Committee to carry out the Committee's duties as an instrumentality of the government.

Sincerely,

Henry E. Kendall
Chairman

Copy to Mr. Marion A. Wright
Topknot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

QUESTIONNAIRE ADDRESSED TO THE NORTH CAROLINA EMPLOYMENT

SECURITY COMMISSION

A. COMPOSITION OF COMMISSION PERSONNEL:

1. Are any Negroes employed in the State office of N.C.E.S.C.?

   Yes

2. If so, how many?

   10

3. If so, in what categories?

   Janitor Messenger - 2
   Janitor - 5
   Elevator Operator - 2
   Maid - 1

4. Total number of employees of N.C.E.S.C. in the state?

   996

   How many white?

   945

   How many non-white?

   51

5. Number of white and non-white employees by categories?

	White	Non-white
Managerial and Professional	681	39
Clerical	264	2
Skilled		
Unskilled		10
Total	945	51

Incorrect

6. In filling positions in the staff of N.C.E.S.C., in practice, are certain categories reserved for whites only, and certain categories for non-whites only?

   Non-whites are employed in certain clerical, Interviewer I, Interviewer II, VER positions. No decisions have been made in higher classes due to lack of eligibles from Merit System examinations.

7. If so, please designate the categories reserved for each.

8. How many district offices are there in North Carolina?

   Fifty-four

9. Are any of these directed by non-white personnel?

No

10. If so, how many?

11. Does the N.C.E.S.C. maintain divisional offices used for processing non-white applicants?

In eleven offices we have divisional offices for non-white applicants. Other offices serve all races.

12. If so, how many?

Answered under 11

13. If so, how many are staffed by non-white personnel?

All divisional offices are staffed by non-white personnel

B. PROCESSING OF JOB ORDERS AND APPLICATIONS:

14. Do applications for employment through the N.C.E.S.C. (as distinguished from employees of the N.C.E.S.C.) designate the race of the applicant?

Yes

15. Are applications of non-whites, in practice, referred to the divisional offices?

Yes, where divisional offices are located.

16. Are applications of whites referred to the divisional offices?

No

17. When a job order is received, which order does not specify that applicants shall be of a particular race, what official decides to which office of N.C.E.S.C. the job order shall be referred?

They are ordinarily placed in both offices since divisional offices are housed in the same building as the white office.

18. Is it Commission policy to request the employers to designate a racial preference?

No, we accept the specifications as designated by the employer.

19. If not, is it customary practice?

Only in cases where there is doubt about the employers requirements.

20. What factors determine the practice?

Social and economic characteristics of the community and local knowledge of customary hiring requirements.

21. Is the nature of the job considered in reaching a decision?

Yes, depending on the community and knowledge of usual community practice.

22. Are certain jobs considered by N.C.E.S.C. as being available only for whites and others considered as being available only for non-whites?

Only when due to employers hiring practice. However, job availability varies greatly among the offices in the State.

23. As a matter of customary practice, in the absence of expression of preference by the employer, how would the following types of jobs be racially classified?

Please clarify this question in order for us to give an answer.

a. Professional and managerial?

b. Clerical and sales?

c. Skilled and technical?

d. Unskilled?

24. Is the decision as to racial classification based upon:

a. Law?

See 23

b. Policy of the Commission

c. Individual views of the classifying officials?

25. In handling job orders from the federal government, or from contractors with the federal government, is the race of the applicant considered in filling the orders?

Only after legal requirements for government contracts have been called to the attention of the contractor.

C. TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES:

26. Does N.C.E.S.C. assist in providing job training for those who want to qualify for skilled positions?

We cooperate in every way possible with all educational officials in providing training for all races.

27. If so, please describe such programs, indicating how and where operated and by whom directed.

These programs are operated by the various educational institutions. We provide them with information concerning skill needs for curriculum planning.

28. In the past year, how many persons received such training?

This information should be secured from the educational institutions, The State Department of Education and Apprenticeship Division of the State Department of Labor.

a. How many white?

b. How many non-white?

29. What procedure is followed in informing job applicants of the availability of such training?

Advising eligible applicants of the training facilities available.

30. Is the same procedure followed in the case of white and non-white applicants?

Yes

D. POLICY AS TO EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES:

31. Has the Commission taken any steps to encourage employers to hire qualified persons without regard to race?

Yes

32. If so, please describe the steps.

Pointing out to employers the availability and advisability of using these workers from the standpoint of skill and production and the economic advantage to the community.

33. If not, please give your reasons.

34. Assuming that an employer is willing to employ non-white workers in skilled positions, would the Commission give priority to white workers, to non-white workers, or ignore the racial factor in filling the position?

Referrals would be made on the basis of the workers qualifications regardless of race.

35. Please give for the past year the number of job orders, by categories mentioned in question 23 specifying a preference for

Data of this nature for job orders are not compiled or available.

a. white workers?

b. Non-white workers?

c. None?

36. How many persons received employment pursuant to such orders?

Non-farm placements in 1959 according to skill level and color:

a. White workers?

Total	95,576
Professional and Managerial	1,851
Clerical and sales	19,811
Service	8,109
Skilled	12,824
Semi-skilled	33,609
Unskilled and other	19,372

b. Non-white workers?

Total	73,473
Professional and Managerial	25
Clerical and Sales	320
Service	29,376
Skilled	1,315
Semi-skilled	4,241
Unskilled and other	38,196

37. Please give for the past year the number of applications from non-whites for each of the types of jobs mentioned in question 23.

Data of this nature for job applicants not compiled or available.

38. How many non-white workers received employment pursuant to such applications?

See reply to question 36. Roughly 42 percent of all referrals result from selection notices issued to registered applicants.

E. MISCELLANEOUS

39. Are facilities in the N.C.N.S.C. headquarters segregated for use by race?

a. Lunch rooms?

No

b. Rest rooms?

Yes

c. Working quarters?

No

d. Other?

None

40. Are such facilities segregated in the district offices?

Yes

41. What is the current annual budget of N.C.E.S.C.?

$5,555,960.00

a. What amount comes from the State?

- 0 -

b. What amount comes from the federal government?

$5,555,960.00

Send this I have another copy

September 12, 1960

MEMORANDUM

To: Harris Wofford

From: George Bunn

Re: Nixon's Record on Job Discrimination

An examination of Nixon's record in Congress and as Chairman of the Government Contracts Committee shows that he is wholly unsympathetic to the use of governmental power to end job discrimination in industry.

A. Nixon's Legislative Record.

1. House of Representatives

- On June 22, 1949, Nixon was the only member of the Powell Subcommittee of the House Labor Committee to vote against Powell's FEPC bill. This bill would have set up a Fair Employment Practices Commission with power to enforce nondiscriminatory hiring practices in industry.

- On July 29, 1949, Nixon led the opposition to the Powell enforceable FEPC bill in the full committee.

- On February 22, 1950, Nixon, together with two-thirds of the Republicans, killed the Powell bill by voting against it and in favor a substitute bill which contained no enforcement powers. (Kennedy and a majority of the House Democrats voted for the Powell bill).

2. Senate

While a Senator, Nixon again voted against enforceable FEPC. He was a member of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Headed by Senator Humphrey, a majority of that committee submitted a report recommending passage of S. 2080, a bill to "prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion or ancestry". Nixon and the late Senator Taft dissented from this report.

This record shows Nixon's opposition to the use of the federal government's power to end discrimination in industry. It is not surprising to find therefore that when Nixon was placed in charge of overseeing the performance of the fair employment clauses in all government contracts with industry, he failed to use any enforcement power, relying solely on persuasion. The result, as the next section shows, is that only small progress has been made in that field.

Hence the Problem

B. Nixon's Administrative Record as Chairman of the Government Contract Committee.

In late 1953, Eisenhower abolished Truman's "Committee on Government Contract Compliance" and created his own "Government Contract Committee" with Nixon as chairman.

As chairman of this Committee, Nixon has accomplished little -- primarily because he has failed to use any of the enforcement powers available to the federal government:

1. Lack of Real Progress

The Government Contract Committee's own reports show the failure of Nixon's program of persuasion to end job discrimination on government contracts. In 1958, after the program had been in effect for 5 years, this was the record of government contractor employment in the plants surveyed according to the Committee's Six Report (p. 9):

". . . Few Negroes were employed in white-collar positions.

". . . Few Negroes were employed in skilled work classifications.

". . . Few Negroes were enrolled in apprenticeship or on-the-job training programs.

". . . Employment practices in plants of multiplant corporations are frequently at variance with the non-discriminatory policy of their parent organization."

". . . Thirty-three plants employed no Negroes in 1958 [out of a total of 435 surveyed]"

This report also showed that, despite Nixon's program of persuasion, Negroes were fired at three times the rate of non-Negroes during the 1957-58 recession. 47.8% of the Negroes in plants surveyed were fired from 1957 to 1958. Only 15.1% of the non-Negroes were fired during the same period. (pp. 8-9)

In 1959, according to the same report, less than one percent of the white-collar workers in the surveyed plants were Negroes and less than 10% of the production workers were Negroes. In each year, plants surveyed were located throughout the country, not just in the South. Had Southern results been viewed separately, the percentages would of course have been far smaller.

Thus, the report shows that Nixon's persuasion program has produced little progress.

2. Failure to Use Contract Cancellation or Other Enforcement Powers.

The most effective weapon to combat discrimination which the federal government now possesses is the threat that the contract will be cancelled if the contractor does not comply with fair employment practices. Yet, in the seven years of its existence, Nixon's committee has never recommended the cancellation of a single contract. Not one of the 33 plants found to have no Negro employment whatever in 1958 had its contract cancelled.

The Committee has also refused to "black list" offending companies, although the government has for years issued lists of, and refused to deal with, companies violating other federal policies.

Not until the very eve of this election did the government publish the name of an offending contractor. Even then, the letter written to the contractor did not threaten cancellation of his contract, although a publicity man stated to reporters that that was the government's intention if he did not comply. (See Washington Post, August 26, 1960, "Contractor on Government Building Ordered to Hire Negro Workers.")

The committee did not even give reports to complainants on the action taken on their complaints until 1958, after repeated demands for information by the NAACP had made adherence to the committee's nondisclosure policy more embarrassing than disclosure.

3. Failure to Use Effective Investigatory Procedures.

Nixon's Committee relies primarily on complaints for information about violations of fair employment policies. A Negro who has been denied a job because of his race must make a complaint to the Committee and produce affidavits or other proof if he wants action.

This procedure places the burden of proof on those least able to prepare a complaint and most likely to be intimidated from doing so by fear of reprisal. As a consequence, the Committee has received, on the average, less than 150 complaints per year according to its Sixth Report (Tab. III). Yet, as shown by the Committee's reports, discrimination by government contractors affects thousands of Negroes.

After receipt of the complaint, the facts are investigated -- not by the committee but by the government agency which selected the contractor in the first place. This is almost as bad as having the contractor investigate himself. If he can offer any excuse, the agency tends to accept it. And, in more than three-quarters of the cases, Nixon's committee simply approves of the agency's handling of the complaint. (6th Report, Tab. III)

4. Failure to Follow Up Findings of Discrimination.

Nixon's Committee has failed to require contractors who have agreed to mend their ways to live up to their agreements. Reinvestigation by the Bureau of Jewish Employment Problems in Chicago of twenty-three cases "closed" by the Committee revealed that thirteen -- or more than half -- of the companies had placed a total of 106 discriminatory job orders with employment agencies after they had satisfied the Committee that they had abandoned such practices.

5. Failure to Include Large Segments of Industry in the Program.

The standard non-discrimination contract clause used by the Committee is applicable by its terms only "in connection with the performance of work under this contract." In other words, the contractor can discriminate as much as he pleases on all other work which he does.

If Nixon desired to use the government's full power to end discrimination in employment, the Committee could instruct government agencies not to deal with contractors who discriminated anywhere in any of their plants.

There are many instances in which federal funds or other valuable grants are made to industry with no requirement by the Committee that the recipients hire employees fairly. For example, the federal government issues new patents, and licenses to use its own existing patents, without asking for a commitment from the applicant that he refrain from discrimination in the manufacturing plants where products are made pursuant to the patents. Such patents are essential in most manufacturing processes today. By a modification of the Executive Order which gave it life, the Nixon Committee could take jurisdiction over a large majority of plants in this country. But, it has never sought to do so.

George Bunn

FOR RELEASE IN WEDNESDAY MORNING PAPERS, OCTOBER 5, 1960

James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

- -

THE WHITE HOUSE

The number of Negro-Americans employed in upper-grade white-collar positions by Federal agencies in five large cities of the nation has nearly doubled in the past four years, the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy reported to the President today.

Archibald J. Carey, Jr., Chairman, stated "the Committee is highly gratified to observe the substantial increase in the number of Negroes moving up to sub-professional and professional levels. Although Negroes continue to represent a small proportion of the total number of jobs in these levels, the present trend demonstrates a manifest rise in the job status of Negro employees in the Federal government."

The figures are drawn from a recently completed study comparing the number of Negroes in Grades 5 through 15 in 1960 with the number so employed in 1956. Fifty-three agencies in Washington, D. C., along with their field establishments in Chicago, St. Louis, Los Angeles, and Mobile were studied for a comparison of these statistics.

The Committee's report indicated that for the five cities combined, Negroes in these upper grades rose from 4,979 in 1956 to 9,295 in 1960. Negroes gained 1,852 jobs in Grade 5 over the four year period, 850 in Grade 6, 568 in Grade 7, 508 in Grade 9, 234 in Grade 11, 98 in Grade 12, 41 in Grade 13, 3 in Grade 14, and 4 in Grade 15. In the little used Grades 8 and 10, these gains were 93 and 65, respectively.

Rising proportions of Negroes in these better-paid and more responsible Federal jobs were found in each of the cities surveyed. In Washington the proportion of Negroes to the total number of Federal workers in these grades rose from 4.1 percent to 6.4 percent; in Chicago, from 3.7 percent to 7.5 percent; St. Louis, 2.2 percent to 4.3 percent; Los Angeles 1.4 percent to 2.7 percent; although in Mobile only from two-tenths of one percent to six-tenths of one percent.

The report also indicated that the greater percentage of the increases occurred in the grades above Five, representing an advance toward Grades 6, 9, 10, and to some extent, 11.

The President's Committee on Government Employment Policy was created by President Eisenhower in January 1955 to assist the Federal executive agencies in eliminating discrimination in Federal employment on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin. The Committee conducts employment surveys, acts as an appeal body on individual complaints of discrimination, and has initiated a broad program of training for Federal supervisors to implement the non-discrimination policy. In addition, it has held Area Conferences in 35 major cities of the nation with 4,000 top Federal administrators to accelerate the program.

Other members of the President's Committee, in addition to Dr. Carey of Chicago, include Vice Chairman Branch Rickey of Pittsburgh; Milton Eisen of New York; the Honorable Charles C. Finucane, Assistant Secretary of Defense; Charles H. Kendall, General Counsel of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization; Mrs. Alice K. Leopold, Assistant to the Secretary of Labor; W. Arthur McCoy of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Jane F. Warnock of Eagle Butte, S. D.; and William T. Coleman, Jr., of Philadelphia. Dr. Rose Clinchy is the Committee's Executive Director.

more

TRENDS IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO-AMERICANS IN UPPER-LEVEL WHITE-COLOR POSITIONS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT POLICY
Washington, D. C.
September 27, 1960

In March of 1956, the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy undertook a survey of Negro-Americans employed by agencies of the executive branch of the Federal government in five principal cities of the nation. Those cities were Washington, D. C., Chicago, St. Louis, Los Angeles, and Mobile.

The results of this survey indicated that while the number of Negroes employed by this group of agencies was substantial, the figures on Negroes employed in the General Schedule, or white-collar, positions indicated that the great majority were in the first four grades, serving for the most part in clerical positions -- with few in the upper professional, administrative, or technical levels. At the Grade 5 level Negro white-collar employment began to drop off sharply. Thus the basic question which the 1956 survey posed was not so much whether Negroes were getting into Federal civil service at the lower grades as whether they now find it possible to advance into the upper grades in any significant numbers.

In planning for a follow-up on the 1956 survey, therefore, the President's Committee decided to concentrate on a special study of changes which might have occurred in Negro employment in white-collar positions in Grades GS-5 through GS-15 during the four-year interim period. While it is difficult to draw any clear line of division between Grade 4 and Grade 5 in terms of over-all job characteristics, the great bulk of clerical jobs fall within the first four grades, whereas at the Grade 5 level many jobs involve responsibilities of a technical, professional, or administrative nature; these responsibilities increase as the grades increase.

This current study is based on the number of Negroes in Grades 5 through 15 employed on March 31, 1960, compared with those employed on March 31, 1956, by 53 agencies of the executive branch in Washington, D. C., and their field establishments in the other four cities. In order to make comparisons with total white-collar employment in these upper grades, these 53 agencies were selected because total white-collar employment figures were available from the annual surveys of the Civil Service Commission as of June 30, 1956, and June 30, 1960.

The first question of importance in making the comparison was that of the basic increase in the numbers of Negroes serving in these upper grades from 1956 to 1960. The following table illustrates the extent of these increases:

City	Number in 1956	Number in 1960	% of increase
Washington	4,215	7,414	75%
Chicago	489	1,116	128%
St. Louis	141	378	168%
Los Angeles	128	353	175%
Mobile	6	34	466%
All cities	4,979	9,295	86%

While percentages of increase can be misleading in terms of actual numbers, the Mobile increase means far less than the Washington increase -- nevertheless, the results of this survey demonstrate dramatic

more

(OVER)

improvement. The question then arises, therefore, as to whether these increases represent a larger share of the upper-level jobs being filled by Negroes or whether they are only a reflection of an over-all increase in upper-grade employment. To present an accurate picture of this, the Committee obtained figures on total upper-grade employment for the same agencies and the same grade levels from the Civil Service Commission reports as of June 30, 1956, and June 30, 1960. Although each of these periods was three months after the respective surveys of Negro employment, the Committee believed the time lag was not too great to make comparisons at each of the periods. The following table shows the percentage of Negroes in these upper grades to total upper-grade employment at each of the two periods:

City	% of Negroes to total employment GS-5-15 in 1956	% of Negroes to total employment GS-5-15 in 1960
Washington	4.1%	6.4%
Chicago	3.7%	7.5%
St. Louis	2.2%	4.3%
Los Angeles	1.4%	2.7%
Mobile	.2%	.6%
All Cities	3.7%	5.9%

The third important question is whether these increases have resulted in any relative change in the distribution of Negroes in these upper grades. Over-all increases such as those listed in the first table have less meaning, for example, if the increase came only in Grade 5; they have more meaning if they indicate some shifting in the distribution of Negroes from the lower toward the upper end of the grade scale.

The breakdown of the increases in Negro employment by grades for all five cities over the past four years is as follows:

GS Grade	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Increase in No. of Negroes	1,852	850	568	93	508	65	234	98	41	3	4

While these figures indicate that 42.9% of the total increases fell in Grade 5, the Committee was particularly interested in learning whether or not the increases shown above in all grades have resulted in any relative shifting of the distribution of Negroes in the upper grades from Grade 5 toward the higher Grades. The following tables list the percentage of Negroes at each grade level to the total number of Negroes in these upper grades for 1956 and 1960, respectively.1/

City	% in	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Washington	1956	59.1	10	17.8	.8	6.8	.1	3.4	1.3	.3	.2	.1
	1960	52.8	15.4	15.8	1.0	7.6	.4	3.8	1.7	.7	.3	.1
Chicago	1956	37.8	7.9	34.7	4.7	8.4	.1	3.4	1.6	.2		
	1960	40.7	9.7	17.	5.1	16.3	2.7	5.8	1.8	.3	.1	
St. Louis	1956	60.3	10.6	17.7	.7	7.8	.7	1.4	.7			
	1960	40.4	12.3	20.6	1.	18.5	.7	5.2	.7			
Los Angeles	1956	47.6	8.5	24.2	.7	11.6	.7	5.4	.7			
	1960	38.5	11.3	22.	3.3	11.6	1.9	8.7	2.2			
Mobile	1956	83.3	16.7									
	1960	47.	2.9	35.2		8.8	5.8					
Total, All Cities	1956	56.8	9.8	19.4	1.1	7.1	.2	3.4	1.3	.3	.2	.1
	1960	50.3	14.4	16.5	1.6	9.3	.8	4.3	1.7	.6	.1	.1

1/ It should be understood that GS Grades 8 and 10 are little used grades in the total classification system. Negro employment here reflects this general situation.

more

These tables seem to indicate that although a large proportion of the total increases came at Grade 5, the total effect of the increases was to cause a shifting in the distribution of those upper-grade Negroes from Grade 5 toward the upper-middle grades. Looking at the totals for all cities, the major gain in distribution developed in Grade 6, with a relative loss in Grade 7. However, in the upper-middle grades of GS-9, 10, 11 and 12, there was a combined relative increase of 4.1%.

The tables also indicate that there has been little change in Negro employment at the highest levels, namely in Grades 13, 14 and 15. There were increases at all three of these levels in Washington, and in Grades 12 and 13 in Chicago. In the remaining three cities, however, Negroes have not yet appeared at these grades.

CONCLUSIONS

The current study has aimed at determining whether Negro-Americans have registered any significant advances in the grades above GS-4 since 1956. It has revealed three distinct facts and corresponding trends.

1. A substantial increase of Negroes has appeared in Grades 5 through 15;

2. There is a significant increase in the proportion of Negroes to the total of all employees in these grades;

3. A wider distribution and diffusion of Negroes has occurred in Grades 6 and above.

######

LWD

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

ROOM 5600

November 1, 1960.

Dear Harold:

Thanks for yours of the 25th. I am glad to know that Pollitt is at work. Of course, I shall be delighted to be of any help that I can.

I think that it might be difficult to spell this out as a very specific project for the Ottinger Foundation, but why don't you make some reference to it when you put in for a renewal of last year's small grant? Incidentally, we will be having a meeting of the Foundation in early December - a word to the wise--.

I am still hoping to get off for southern climes on Friday but will be back here on the 14th, in case things have progressed by then to the point where I can be of some service.

Sincerely,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LWD
note

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 22, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

8 November 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of November 7.

I shall be happy to read and comment on Pollitt's draft memorandum.

My wife, Mary Frances, would like to attend the supper tomorrow night. I am not sure that I requested a reservation for her. I should appreciate your adding her name to the list.

Sincerely

Bell

Bell I. Wiley

LWD

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November 9, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I would be pleased to comment on Pollitts' draft whenever it is available, and I will return the statement on time. Thanks for asking me to read the statement.

The whole idea is great and I want to thank you most sincerely for undertaking this most important task. A forthright statement to the new chief executive, at this particular time, could make the difference in living in the South

With very best wishes, I am

Always,

Tom

R. A. Thompson
Executive Director

RAT:mj

LWD

ADAM YARMOLINSKY
BARR BUILDING
910 17TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C.
2017 CONNECTICUT AVE., N. W.
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

November 9, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Yes, you may. Yes, I can.

It's been too long between drinks.

RECEIVED
NOV 14 1960

Yours,

Adam

ret-LWD

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 5 TENNESSEE

School of Law

November 9, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of November 7, 1960. I shall be pleased to see the memorandum referred to and to make such comments as time will permit.

I am not sure whether or not I would be able to attend a meeting on December 8, but would make every effort to do so, if at all possible. I would like to be informed as to the location and exact time of the meeting as soon as this is decided.

Very truly yours,

Paul H. Sanders

Paul H. Sanders
Professor of Law

PHS/ai

LWD

JULIUS C. SMITH
BEVERLY C. MOORE
McNEILL SMITH
JULIUS C. SMITH, III
BYNUM M. HUNTER
BRAXTON SCHELL
STEPHEN P. MILLIKIN
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JOHN J. DORTCH
RICHMOND G. BERNHARDT, JR.
CHARLES E. MELVIN, JR.
DAVID McK. CLARK
RICHARD J. TUGGLE

SMITH, MOORE, SMITH, SCHELL & HUNTER
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
SUITE 700 JEFFERSON STANDARD BUILDING
GREENSBORO, N. C.

November 9, 1960

TELEPHONE BROADWAY 3-8265
P. O. BOX 868

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Howard:

I will be glad to read Dan Pollitt's draft and to meet on December 8, if I am not in the middle of a trial on that date. I have some depositions which are set to start on December 5, and they may run through Thursday of that week.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:mmc

LWD

WOMBLE, CARLYLE, SANDRIDGE & RICE
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
WACHOVIA BANK BUILDING
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CALDER W. WOMBLE
CHAS. F. VANCE, JR.
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LESLIE E. BROWDER
H. GRADY BARNHILL, JR.

TELEPHONE
PARK 5-1311

November 10, 1960

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NOV 14 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your letter of November 8, concerning the memorandum being prepared by Professor Pollitt of the University of North Carolina Law School, was received. I shall be willing to read and to comment on his draft of the memorandum along the lines and for the reasons mentioned in your letter of November 8. I understand that it will be coming to me sometime around December 1. At that time, I wish you would let me know what the deadline is on my comments.

Yours very truly,

Irving E. Carlyle

Irving E. Carlyle

IEC:BA

LWD

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IN WASHINGTON
JEROME PICKARD
ROBERT GLADSTONE

November 11, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Dear Colonel:

Thanks for your good letter of November 7.

I would consider it a privilege to review Dr. Pollitt's draft. This sounds like an excellent idea and I hope that I can make some small contribution.

I look forward to getting the memorandum. In the meantime, let me know if I can help in any way.

Warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

Phil

Philip Hammer

PH/pjh

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NOV 14 1960

18 Robinson St.
Cambridge, Mass
11-11-60

Dear Harold.

Extremely interested in your timely & needed suggestion for a memorandum to the new adminstration. Please send me the material and also count me in for the meeting which I hope is in Washington.

Having a wonderful experience.

Sincerely
Whitney

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 5 TENNESSEE

Department of Political Science

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NOV 15 1960

November 11, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In reply to your letter of November 7, I shall be very glad to serve on a committee to read the memorandum by Professor Pollitt and to convene with other readers for a day of discussion. I shall look forward to seeing the memorandum and I am making plans so that I will be at the conference.

If there is anything you would like me to do in the meantime, you may inform me of it.

Sincerely yours,

Robert J. Harris

Robert J. Harris

RJH:gz

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MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
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MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Nov. 12, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

When I got home I found your letter about the proposed memorandum to be submitted to the incoming national administration. I think this is an excellent idea and will be happy to read the memorandum carefully and offer such comments as I can. The last speaking engagement I have set up for this year is Dec. 1, and therefore I should be able to return the memo to you promptly.

I thought the meeting went off well Th rsday--and Wednesday evening. Thanks for handling it so well. I had a lively meeting out at Emory Thursday evening--the Student Colloquium. There were several members of the faculty present.

As I said, I will register at the Piedmont when I get in from St. Paul next Friday, and will then phone SRC for instructions.

~~Sincerely,~~

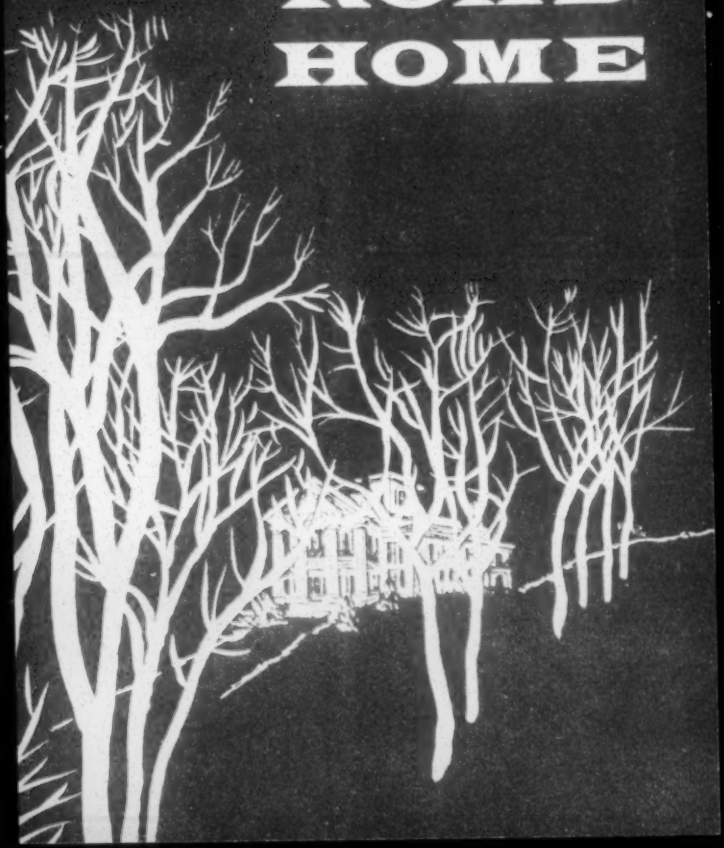
J. M. Dabbs

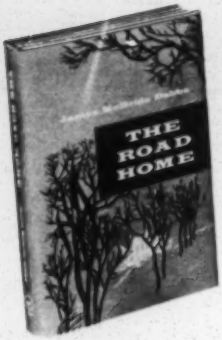
J. M. Dabbs
President

James McBride Dabbs

Author of THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE

THE ROAD HOME





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OFFICE OF THE DEAN

November 12, 1960

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NOV 15 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I will be glad to look over Dan Pollitt's draft. I will be out of town most of the time until December 1, but should be able to give attention to it within ten days or two weeks after that.

It was good to hear from you.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Alex -

Alexander Heard
Dean

AH:mjf

LWD

LWD

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GEORGE MEANY
PRESIDENT

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

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REGION NO. 8. PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, DIRECTOR
216 FLATIRON BUILDING
705 BROADWAY, N. E.
KNOXVILLE 17, TENNESSEE
4-7481-2

November 14, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Although there are grave doubts in my mind that I can make any worthwhile contribution to the project discussed in your letter of November 9, I would be happy to look over the document after December 5th and try to give you my opinion around December 10th or 15th.

We are having a Collective Bargaining Conference at the University of Tennessee on November 30-December 2, which is an annual three-day event, and I shall be occupied with this from about November 28th through December 3rd.

Incidentally, I thought our November 10th annual meeting was one of the best yet.

Fraternally yours,

Paul R. Christopher

Paul R. Christopher
AFL-CIO Region VIII Director

PRC:lr
oeiu 144 afl-cio

LWD

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
BATON ROUGE

DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT

November 14, 1960

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NOV 17 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of November 10. I should be very happy to comment on Professor Pollitt's memorandum. I believe that this is a splendid project for the Council to undertake.

Sincerely,

Robert J. Steamer

Robert J. Steamer
Associate Professor of Government

RJS/js

LWDV

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

ROOM 5600

November 14, 1960.

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NOV 16 1960

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for the formal but still very persuasive epistle of November 7.

I will, of course, be more than delighted to read over and comment upon Professor Pollitt's draft. I have marked December 8 on my calendar and will make every effort to attend the meeting. I cannot promise at this point, but it would, of course, be somewhat easier for me to get to Washington than to Atlanta.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David F. Freeman

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

CABLE ADDRESS:
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FEDERAL 8-3700

LWD ✓

November 14, 1960

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Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of November 10th concerning the proposed report by Daniel Pollitt on executive action.

I would be pleased to receive a copy and to give you my comments.

Sincerely,

George Bunn

George Bunn

Duke University
DURHAM
NORTH CAROLINA

SCHOOL OF LAW

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NOV 15 1960

LWD ✓

November 14, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I shall be glad to have you send me the draft of the memorandum you describe in your letter to me dated November 7. Unfortunately, I cannot attend the conference on December 8. On that day the law students here at Duke have arranged to have Thurgood Marshall address them. At their request, I wrote Mr. Marshall saying that I hoped he would accept their invitation. Under the circumstances I must be here - and I want to be.

I am far from certain that my comments on the draft will be of any value, but I shall be glad to write out comments and send them to you.

Very truly yours,

Douglas B. Maggs

Douglas B. Maggs

DBM/lu

PHILIP A. HART
MICHIGAN

LWD
V

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C.

November 15, 1960

RECEIVED
NOV 17 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I'd be very pleased to see Pollitt's draft.

Cordially,

LWD

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

November 15, 1960

RECEIVED
NOV 17 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I appreciate your offering me the opportunity to read and comment on Professor Pollitt's memorandum. I will be very glad to do so.

Probably you have already thought of it, but if not I would like to suggest that you consider sending the memorandum also to Joe Rauh. Joe has done considerable work on the subject and takes a more sanguine view than I do of the potentialities of executive action.

Yours very truly,

Tom Harris

Thomas E. Harris
Associate General Counsel

TEH:ld

LOOBY AND WILLIAMS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
McCLELLAN-LOOBY BUILDING
CHARLOTTE AT FOURTH
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
ALPINE 5-8457-8

Z. ALEXANDER LOOBY
AVON N. WILLIAMS, JR.

RECEIVED
NOV 16 1960

15 November 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I shall be glad to read and comment on the memorandum being prepared for the Council by Professor Pollitt.

It seems that the meeting of the Board has conflicted with other commitments during recent years, but I want you to know that I am interested in the work.

Very truly yours,

Z. Alexander Looby /c

Z. Alexander Looby

ZAL:c

LWD

Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

JOHN H. WHEELER
PRESIDENT

November 15, 1960

RECEIVED
NOV 16 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

My delay in answering your letter of November 7 is occasioned by the fact that I have been away from the office constantly since the election.

Please be assured that I shall be happy to work with you and the others on the draft which Dan Pollit is preparing for us.

I shall also try to meet with the group for at least one day at the time and place which you shall designate.

Sincerely yours,

John

J. H. Wheeler

JHW/p

LWD

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

SCHOOL OF LAW (BOALT HALL)
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

November 16, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The answer of course is affirmative. I think your scheme is a good one, and I am glad to participate. Dan Pollitt is a good choice to prepare the memorandum. The task of comment will be accordingly simplified.

Perhaps the current frightful difficulties in New Orleans are too specific for the subject matter of the proposed memorandum, but what, if anything, do you believe can be done?

Sincerely yours,

Bob

Robert B. McKay

RBM:egh

LWD

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

November 17, 1960

Dr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

This letter confirms my verbal statement to you in Atlanta that I would be glad to read critically the proposed memorandum which you anticipate [redacted] presenting to the Executive Branch of the Federal Government at the beginning of the next Administration. If the document reaches me about December 1, I should be very glad to read it and return it promptly.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion
Chairman

CGG:mac

LWD✓

Pulaski Heights Christian Church

Colbert S. Cartwright, Pastor

Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

November 17, 1960

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am gratified that the civil rights project is being undertaken, and am particularly happy that Dan Pollitt is working on it. We in Arkansas have been greatly impressed with his knowledge in this field and have been recipients of his help.

I would be pleased to receive the draft and to share promptly any observations I might have.

Sincerely,

Bert

Colbert S. Cartwright

LWD

FREDERICK B. LEE, *President* • ISADORE SEEMAN, *Executive Director*

HEALTH AND WELFARE COUNCIL

of the National Capital Area

1101 M Street, N. W., Washington 5, D. C. — DEcatur 2-7330

November 18, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I hasten to say an emphatic yes to your invitation to read and comment on Professor Pollitt's draft memorandum. I appreciate the invitation and the indicated confidence. I saw and heard Professor Pollitt perform on a panel last week in Durham at North Carolina College. I was struck by the quality of the man and by the scholar-professional that shone through. He seemed to be the kind of person with whom we can identify and communicate in both humane and professional terms. All of this gives an added fillip to my interest and involvement.

I just read today the release from California on your scheduled speech there. I trust you had a good trip. Please give me a ring when you are in or going through Washington.

Sincerely,

Hylan

Hylan Lewis
Director
Child Rearing Study

HL/bob

HWC
Sharing in UNITED GIVERS FUND

LWD

November 18, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I will be happy to read and comment on Dan Pollitt's memorandum.

Very truly yours,

Jack Greenberg

LWD

MIlton 8-9073
8-9074

Oliver W. Hill
Attorney-at-Law
Southern Aid Building

214 East Clay Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

November
18th
1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

My reply to your letter of November 7 relative to the proposed policy suggestions to the new national administration has been delayed due to my absence from my office.

If you still desire my participation in the mentioned project, I will be happy to give any assistance I can. I will endeavor to hold the date of December 8 clear until I hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Oliver W. Hill

OWH:ews

Oliver W. Hill

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 22, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 18, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The idea of preparing a memorandum to be submitted to the new administration in Washington is an excellent one. If you wish to send me a copy of the memorandum as prepared by Professor Pollitt, I will read it and send it back to you promptly with any comments which might occur to me.

The meeting last week was an excellent one which was due in a large part to your excellent annual report and the good planning by your staff. I commend you most highly for the very effective manner SRC is doing its job.

Sincerely yours,

A. W. Dent
President

AWD:db

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

LWD

EDWIN E. DUNAWAY
ATTORNEY AT LAW
SUITE 1610-TOWER BUILDING
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

November 21, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201,5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I think your plan to submit a memorandum to the new administration is an excellent one. I will be very glad to go over Pollitt's draft and make any comments that I may have on it.

Very truly yours,

Edwin E. Dunaway

Edwin E. Dunaway

EED/al

LWD

HODDING CARTER
EDITOR & PUBLISHER

JOHN T. GIBSON
GENERAL MANAGER

The Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

November 22, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Please send the memorandum to me. I look forward with interest to reading it. It sounds as if it will be extremely helpful.

Sincerely,

Hodding Carter

HC:IBL

RADIO GREENVILLE - WDDT - 1,000 WATTS 900 KC
"Center of dial"

LWD

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Linville Falls, North Carolina
November 26, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta
Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is the first opportunity to reply to your letter of November 7 with reference to the study to be made by Professor Pollitt.

I am greatly interested in this undertaking ~~in this undertaking~~ and regret that I have an engagement on December 8 to speak at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations. Hence, it will be impossible for me to participate in the Washington discussion on that date.

Please advise Paul Anthony who has written me about hotel reservations.

If I could see a first draft of Professor Pollitt's memorandum I would examine it critically and submit any suggestions which may occur to me.

You may note on your calendar that on December 14, I am to speak before the Houston Council on Human Relations. I inform you of this in order to avoid any future conflicts.

November 26, 1960

I thought the Field -Taconic safari into the darkest South was superbly handled.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

M.A.W.

Marion A. Wright

MAW/jep

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

November 27, 1960

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Here is the opus. I am sorry I missed my deadlin of Thanksgiving (the 24th) but we have had measles in the family and things became confused.

I also appologize for the length--83 pages of text and 25 pages of footnotes--but I became very interested and wanted to do a good job. Also, you might note, the last five pages consist of a summary and analysis, and I tried to include the meat of the ideas in sequential order--in order of presentation in the body proper. So, it will not be difficult to use the summary as an index to those portions of the paper which may be of particular importance.

Please tell Mr. Paul Anthony that I intend to drive up to Washington on the 7th (if my 1950 Plymouth holds up) and stay with a sister in surburban Maryland.

Sincerely yours,

Dan

Daniel H. Pollitt

P.S. This is the only copy. I would appreciate 5 or so copies when it is mimeographed for family distribution.

I have not had time to proof read except rapidly, & I am the world's worse speller.

LWD
fyi + files

November 28, 1960

Mr. Sterling Tucker
Washington Representative
National Urban League
626 Third Street, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Tucker:

We see no problem about duplication since (a) we are, presumably, on the same side, and (b) two voices may be more effective than one.

The pollitt draft memorandum should reach you in a few days, and we shall be grateful for your comments and criticisms. Please bear in mind that the memorandum will represent Mr. Pollitt's independent and unaltered work; it may or may not coincide with SRC's final recommendations.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

L WD - Advice, Pls.
HCF

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, Inc.

FOR EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

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STERLING TUCKER
Washington Representative

Address Communications to:
National Urban League
626 Third Street, N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.
Telephone: REpublic 7-0367

November 16, 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is in response to your letter of November 10 in which you graciously request advice and assistance relative to your memorandum under preparation for the attention of the next administration.

In reply to an earlier request from Professor Pollitt, I indicated that I have been engaged for the past ten months in the preparation of a similar statement for the National Urban League also directed to the attention of the incoming national administration.

I'm sure you must share the hope that our efforts are not duplicatory. At the moment, however, it appears so.

While I would be pleased to serve in the capacity requested by you, the fact that I am engaged in a similar study seems to automatically disqualify me as an impartial and disinterested observer.

If, however, after consideration of these factors, it is still your wish that I review the memorandum, then I shall be free to do so around the middle of December.

Very sincerely,

Sterling Tucker

Sterling Tucker
Washington Representative

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Our Golden Fiftieth Anniversary 1910-1960

490

LWD
fyi + file

via air mail

November 28, 1960

Miss Margaret L. Fisher
Assistant Director
National Committee Against Discrimination
in Housing
426 West 58th Street
New York 19, New York

Dear Maggie:

I was glad to have a chance to talk with you the other night about our hopes for the next administration.

We've discussed the question of coordination internally and have concluded (a) that we probably should keep the forthcoming conference in the SRC family, but (b) that we certainly want to work closely with you and Fran. That means I must undertake to get together with you sometime in December.

At the moment, I'm not sure whether it would be best to meet before or after our head-knocking. But I'll be in touch with you again soon.

We are sending you a copy of the draft memo done for us by Dan Pollitt. Please comment and criticize at will. Bear in mind this is entirely

his work and doesn't necessarily reflect what SRC's final recommendations will be.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

LWD file & files

via air mail

November 29, 1960

Mr. John Silard
Rauh and Levy Law Offices
1631 "K" Street
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Silard:

Your letter of November 18 was much appreciated.

You should be getting Dan Pollitt's memorandum in a day or two, and we shall look forward with special interest to your comments.

I realize that the plans of the new administration are taking shape rapidly. Unfortunately, there are insuperable obstacles to our making a consultant or adviser officially available -- even one so able as Mr. Pollitt. However, the draft memorandum is going to Harris Wofford, among others, within the next few days; so perhaps the thinking embodied in it will have some immediate impact.

In any case, we are going to proceed just as fast as we can, and hopefully we can formally transmit a document in December.

With appreciation and best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

LAW OFFICES
RAUH AND LEVY
1631 K STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.
DANIEL H. POLLITT
JOHN SILARD

REPUBLIC 7-7795

November 18, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for the invitation in your letter of November 9th to be of some assistance in your preparation of a memorandum on executive action in civil rights to be submitted to the new Administration. I will, of course, be glad to give you any comments or assistance which I can, as I fully share your views of the importance of this matter on which I have been working with the Civil Rights personnel for the new Administration.

May I suggest, however, from my own observations of the activity within the Kennedy group on this subject that it is of considerable importance that your memorandum be submitted in December rather than in January. It is possible that the Administration will not publicly or privately announce its executive action program prior to January, but even were this to be the case, I think the important decisions will have been reached by the first of the year. Therefore, views and information submitted after that date will be of diminishing value in our efforts here.

Finally, I would suggest that by far the most useful and influential way in which Mr. Pollitt's work could be made available to the Administration would be

if Mr. Pollitt himself could be detailed for, say, two weeks in December to work with the group here on this general problem. In interest, experience and talent there are no more than two or three people in Mr. Pollitt's category who are now available to assist in the preparation of an executive action program for the Administration. Mr. Pollitt's active assistance would thus be of great additional help and influence. If, therefore, funds could be made available for Mr. Pollitt to take a week or two in Washington early in December for this purpose, I think the investment would be well worth while.

Sincerely yours,

John Silard

John Silard

P.S. May I say how much all of us in New York appreciated Mr. Marion Wright's capacities and contribution to the total effort of the Constitutional Rights Conference.

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

November 30, 1960

MEMORANDUM

November, 1960, Tour

Preliminary Report and Comment on What the

Next Administration Might do

Traveling by car with my wife November 1 through 25 I made personal contacts in Petersburg, Va., Durham and Laurinburg, N. C., Columbia, S. C., Atlanta, Ga., and Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, Montgomery, Mobile, Tuskegee and Auburn, Ala. There were many interesting discussions which call for comprehensive reporting, but it seems advisable to give priority to delayed correspondence, etc. and translate my notes on the trip into reports when time allows.

I may say, however, that genuine friends met, or made, along the way made the trip a pleasant one for both my wife and me, and helped in many ways. An encouraging conversation with Henry Cauthen, editor of the Columbia Record, suggested that there may be more (partially) open minds in South Carolina than I suspected.

In Alabama, cordial reception by more or less silent liberals whom I found at each stop made us feel agreeably at home in that state. Nevertheless, the oppression of Negroes, the intimidation of moderates and the generally dangerous situation in the Birmingham and Montgomery areas were shockingly evident. At the same time there is a really numerous element in Alabama which is quietly opposed to all this, and something like an under-ground moderate apparatus, of which I shall write more fully.

I raised the question of what the next Administration might do in the civil rights field with a few thoughtful people in Alabama, and their reactions, as far as they go, may be of interest since they come from one of the most difficult states.

All with whom I talked felt that the moral force of positive and often expressed Administration support of the school desegregation rulings and civil rights in general would be immensely helpful.

My Birmingham friends all agreed that a helpful attitude on the part of Roger M. Blough, of New York, board chairman of U. S. Steel, could trickle down through the Birmingham power structure with a wonderfully beneficial effect. It was anticipated that Blough would be found to be stubbornly conservative, but believed that a private heart-to-heart talk with him by the President or someone near to the President would be effective.

A. G. Gaston, of Birmingham, the Negro millionaire, was apprehensive lest Senator Kennedy's obligations to Southern political leaders would tend to tie his hands in the civil rights field. Others felt that the new association of Southern leaders with a liberal President would work the other way. Dr. Donald Strong, professor of political science at the University of Alabama, said that Southern politicians would be eager to win the new President's favor with a view to federal money and federal projects of various kinds. (During my stay in Alabama, Governor Patterson flew to Washington on the off-chance of getting to see Kennedy on the latter's way to Florida -- and missed him!) George W. Dean, a Montgomery attorney close to the Alabama powers that be, said that Patterson was anxious to get "on the inside track" to the new Administration; he added that Patterson was instrumental in raising $50,000 for Kennedy's pre-convention campaign.

The possibility of the President's helping by an informal "word here and a word there" among Southern governors, etc. was discussed at length with "Chuck Morgan," chairman of the Alabama speakers' bureau for the Kennedy campaign, and Hugo Black, Jr. They thought in some cases this would be possible. Dr. Strong and Dr. A. S. Thomas, ULA professor of history, had more confidence in this possibility. All four of these thought the next Vice-President could be particularly helpful in this field -- with Lyndon Johnson's inimitable horse-trading techniques. Morgan thought Johnson could mesmerize even Eastland!

None of the Alabama liberals with whom I talked were much interested in new civil rights legislation, but all favored vigorous and thoroughgoing action under present laws to insure Negro voting rights. They believe that progress could be made on this front with the minimum loss of Southern good will generally. Many Alabamans are ashamed of their state's record in this regard. Also Alabama liberals, who are confident they will someday "rise again", feel that heavier Negro voting would help their cause.

One of those most interested in the problem of what the next administration might do was Neil Davis, courageous and astute editor of the Lee County Bulletin in Auburn, only a

few miles from Macon County and Tuskegee. "Southerners in Congress" Davis said, "are getting steamed up for an ugly civil rights fight. Kennedy should take the wind out of their sails and grab a lot of Southern good will by laying off in the matter of new civil rights legislation now. Then the next President could use moral force, with the backing of the courts and the powers he has, to get a great deal done. Above all, he should go all the way on Negro voting rights."

Benjamin Muse

Pollitt Memo

same letter: Miss Josephine Wilkins
Mr. Joseph F. Haas

November 30, 1960

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
223 Chestnut Street S.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

As Harold mentioned in the Annual Report, we are endeavoring to prepare a staff paper analyzing the existing powers and responsibilities of the federal executive in the fields of civil rights, together with recommendations for action by the new administration. As a first step, we had Daniel Pollitt, Associate Professor of Law at the University of North Carolina, prepare the enclosed memorandum. This is being circulated for comments to nearly fifty persons with specialized knowledge in these areas. Late this month or early in January we hope to complete our staff paper, drawing on the Pollitt study and the comments which we shall receive about it. At that time, we shall submit it through the most advantageous channels available to the Kennedy administration.

We are especially desirous that every officer of the Council have an opportunity to read the Pollitt draft, and to contribute whatever comments you may have. We hope that you may find time to do so.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Return to M. A. W.

To the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights:

The Sub-Committee on employment submits the attached as a partial report. It relates entirely to the employment practices of the North Carolina employment Security Commission.

The Sub-Committee is continuing its inquiry into such practices and contemplates filing a subsequent report on that subject.

Respectfully submitted

Marion A. Wright
Chairman of Sub-Committee

November 30, 1960

The 1960 budget of the North Carolina Employment Security Commission is $5,555,960,00. This entire amount comes from the Federal government.

The policy of the Federal government is employment of all persons upon the basis of merit, uninfluenced by consideration of race, religion or national origin. Serious question that such policy is strictly followed by the NCESC is raised by the admitted facts of its operation.

As of July, 1960, in the state office of the Commission at Raleigh there were only ten Negro employees. These were one maid; two elevator operators; five janitors and two janitor messengers. There were no employees above the rank of janitor messenger, which means no typists, stenographers, clerks, bookkeepers, accountants, or persons in administrative or executive capacity.

The Commission as of July in its operation throughout the entire state had a total of 945 white and 51 non-white employees. By categories, these were divided as follows;

Managerial and professional, 681 whites and 39 non-whites; clerical, 264 whites and two non-whites; unskilled, no whites and ten non-whites.

There are in the state 54 district offices. Not a one of these has a Negro director.

However, there are in the state eleven divisional offices which are staffed by non-white personnel. These are used for "processing non-white applicants."

Applications for jobs designate the race of the applicant. Where the applications are for jobs outside the Commission, and the applicants are non-white, they are referred to the Negro-staffed divisional offices where they exist. Applications of whites are not referred to such offices. There

is, therefore, segregation of applicants by race from the outset of the Commission's handling of the application.

When a "job order" - that is, a request from an employer for a certain number of employees - is received by the Commission, the method of handling seems to be as follows:

If the order specifies white employees, the order is handled by offices manned by whites; if the order specifies Negro employees, the order is handled by the Negro-manned divisional offices. If the order does not specify race, it is ordinarily placed in both offices which are housed in the same building.

However, in the absence of specification of race of the desired employees, the Commission may request the employer to indicate a preferance. The decision to do so may be determined, in the Commissions words, by "social and economic characteristics of the community and local knowledge of the customary hiring requirements." The nature of the job may also be considered, "depending on the community and knowledge of usual community practice."

The facts on applicants placed in non-farm jobs by the Commission in 1959 are as follows:

	White	Non-white
Total	95,576	73,473
Professional and managerial	1,851	25
Clerical and sales	19,811	320
Service	8,109	29,376
Skilled	12,824	1,315
Semi-skilled	33,609	4,241
Unskilled and other	19,372	38,196

Consideration of the foregoing statistics raises significant questions, answers to which are not readily available:

Are Negroes in substantial numbers not applying for white-collar jobs? If not, why not?

Are they not properly prepared for such jobs?

Are employers excluding Negroes from consideration for these positions?

Is the method of handling job orders calculated to preserve customary patterns of employment?

Is North Carolina making full use of its Negro potential?

Incidentally, in the Commission's Raleigh office, rest rooms are racially segregated; all other facilities are not. The same pattern exists in the district offices.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Please reply to:
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

December 1, 1960

Our sincere thanks for your willingness to read the Pollitt memorandum on executive powers in the field of civil rights.

We are forwarding the memorandum exactly as Prof. Pollitt has written it; it has not been edited or in any way altered in this office. We would like to remark again and emphasize that this is a draft prepared as a basis for discussion, and to assist the Southern Regional Council in formulating its own analysis and recommendations.

In addition to the matters which Prof. Pollitt was asked to cover, there are questions of executive policy on which we would be most grateful to have your opinions if you care to express them. These include such questions as (1) the coordination of plans and activities of the Commission on Civil Rights, the Department of Justice, and White House staff; (2) the appointment of Negroes to high positions; (3) the principles to be followed by the U. S. Information Agency and others in depicting abroad the state of our racial relations.

In the interest of time, we did not stencil Prof. Pollitt's introductory pages. This explains why the Footnotes begin with No. 33.

We look forward to seeing you in Washington on December 8. The meeting will be unpublicized and, we think you will agree, should remain so.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 2, 1960

We have no wish to burden you further with reading matter. The Pollitt paper is, however, long and could not possibly be discussed in detail in one day. The attached list is made up of questions whose discussion would be of interest to us. The floor will be wide open at our Washington meeting for any issues, whether or not indicated in this listing, the participants may introduce.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure:
Questions for discussion

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

December 1, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Visit to Washington Post, November 30, 1960

I discussed the question of what the next Administration might do in the field of civil rights today with Bob Estabrook, editorial page editor, and Al Friendly, managing editor of the Washington Post.

Estabrook thought something should be done to break committee log jams in the House of Representatives, but believed Senate Rule 23 should be left alone for this session. He wanted to see some changes in "structural procedure" to eliminate discrimination in employment on federal contracts and in federally subsidized housing. However, he felt that a great deal could be done without new legislation.

He expressed approval of these several suggestions which I made:

1) That an assistant secretary of state visit Southern governors and discuss with them the international implications of segregation, etc. in this country;

2) That the Federal Office of Education should publish officially a handbook on school desegregation similar to "Action Patterns";

3) That the President should speak privately with Roger Blough (and possibly other executives influencing Southern power structures.)

Estabrook thought Kennedy would be firm and clearcut in desegregation crises. Friendly thought the President-elect had genuine compassion for the underdog, in addition to strong civil rights convictions.

I asked how many Negroes had been entertained at the White House during the Eisenhower Administration. Friendly believed, none, except foreign officials. He called the society editors and they confirmed this estimate -- except in that Ralph Bunche might have attended something there.

Friendly remarked that this was not necessarily a matter of race prejudice. There had been no effort to bring representatives of American intellect and talent to the White House. He said, unkindly, that, apart from official entertaining, Mamie and Ike had received only a few oil and Coca Cola magnates, and there were no Negroes in that group.

Benjamin Muse

Benjamin Muse

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RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

LWD

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 2, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have read with great admiration Prof. Pollitt's statement on the powers of the President in the field of race relations. It is a superb job and I find it difficult to suggest any amendments.

First of all, there is nothing in his statement that I would leave out. I think everything that he says is factual and it is put in as few words as the nature of the subject permits.

There are minor typographical errors which I am sure will be picked up before the manuscript is in final form.

On the positive side, I venture the following;

(1). The division C on the United States Employment Service might be more fully treated. What appears on pages 23 and 24 has to do with the practices of the service in filling job orders. Perhaps a stronger case might be made against the Service in its handling of such orders. But I am here concerned with its own employment practices --that is, the evident discrimination against Negroes in filling positions within the service itself.

For the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission on November 30, I prepared a report dealing with this

subject. The report is based entirely upon the admitted facts as to the practices of the North Carolina Employment Security Commission. These facts appear in answer to a questionnaire sent to the Commission.

For the information of yourself and Mr. Pollitt I enclose copy of the questionnaire as answered and attached correspondence. I also enclose copy of the proposed report of the subcommittee on Employment. By comparing the two, I think it will appear that the report contains no statements that are not justified by answers to the questionnaire. These are my file copies of both papers and I will have to ask that they be gotten back to me.

My report was sent to McNeill Smith for approval by all other members of my subcommittee. I would like to suggest that Prof. Pollitt might phone Smith to urge that the report be formally adopted and sent on to Washington as a report of the full North Carolina Advisory Committee. If this is done, Pollitt would be able to use the facts in the report as being the official findings of the full committee. As the matter stands at present the report represents only my individual judgment.

However, if the report cannot be filed in Washington before final approval of Pollitt's paper, he is at complete liberty to use the questionnaire and answers, drawing from them such inferences as seem proper.

(2). I have a suggestion as to VI (page 31) on Health and Hospitalization.

Hospitals all over the country have gotten federal grants for construction. I have never seen the forms of application for such grants but I am hopeful that many, if not all, of these applications

may pledge the hospital to follow a non-discriminatory course in its treatment of patients. Whether or not that pledge appears in the application, I think it would be a proper activity of the federal government to make periodic checks on possible discriminations practiced by the hospital. These checks should cover bed allocations by race; treatment of colored patients in separate wings or separate branches; quality of service furnished patients of both races; exclusion of Negro doctors from staff membership or other limitation upon their medical practice; employment of nurses, technicians, etc..

If, as I hope, the applications contain the pledge referred to, upon disclosure of a deviation from that pledge, the Department of Justice could take appropriate steps to require the hospital to observe its pledge. The Department should not require a Negro doctor or patient to assume the burden of such action. This course seems to be entirely consistent with the course followed by the Department of Justice in connection with federal beach erosion projects as treated by Pollitt on pages 30 and 31.

If the applications do not contain non-discriminatory pledges, the President should direct the proper federal agency in the future to refuse to make grants in the absence of such commitments.

(3). I cannot put my hands on it at the moment, but somewhere in the report sanction is given to use under certain circumstances of the amicus curiae device by the attorney general. I should like to see that subject receive sonewhat fuller--perhaps even separate--treatment.

What is happening all over the South is a clear use by states and cities of their police powers to deprive persons of constitutional rights and to harass and persecute them. Passengers on busses, patrons

of railroads, bus stations and airports, persons seeking to register to vote and attempting to vote, and persons seeking service at lunch counters and restaurants are among those who have felt the brunt of this abuse of police power.

The investigatory function of legislative committees throughout the South has notoriously been abused by irresponsible officials to subject to public humiliation and penalty any individual or organization which not merely favors integration but goes no further than to support observance of law.

I think, upon prima facie showing of abuse of police power or the investigatory function, the attorney general should have a capable member of his staff present as an observer of these proceedings with full authority to intervene as amicus curiae if these obvious facts justified that procedure.

At present, a lone individual, frequently Negro, usually poor and having few friends in high places, must run the gauntlet with no one to sustain him. What he contends for is a right which is not peculiar to himself but one which is precious to every American citizen--the right to think and speak and act in accordance with his own convictions on a matter of public policy. Government is, therefore, vitally concerned in the treatment this individual receives. It exercises that right by having counsel representing the public interest to appear actively as a representative of the public concern.

To save time I am sending a copy of this letter to Pollitt though the enclosures referred to go to you! Please get them back to me.

I think that what Pollitt has done is to give the new administration a blueprint of action which may be taken under existing law. I am immensely hopeful that the powers of the President, rusty from

eight years of disuse, may be exerted along the lines Pollitt has laid down.

I thank you for giving me the opportunity to have even a small part in so important an undertaking.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

enclosures: 2

cc: Prof. Daniel Pollitt

P.S. I should like to see the final result indexed and footnotes appear at bottom of each page as indicated.

M. A. W.

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

December 3, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Pollitt's draft is a valuable survey of the possibilities for the advancement of the democratic ideal in many areas by the federal government, with its present legal equipment.

In the opening paragraphs the draft might have noted that, reaching in a sense beyond the question of civil rights, the President has a responsibility to sustain the authority of the Supreme Court and uphold the Constitution of the United States.

The first nine chapters are tremendously helpful from my point of view. Chapter X, however, is a very inadequate treatment of the problem which in its magnitude, complexity and urgency transcends all the rest -- that of public school desegregation. The author apparently took a narrow view of his limitation to "Constitutional and statutory responsibilities," but I do not concur in all the comment in this chapter as far as it goes.

In the memorandum as a whole the author seems generally oblivious of political and psychological factors. They probably were not included in the field assigned to him. Politics is not a direct concern of the Southern Regional Council. But public psychology is. And politics is a weighty concern of the President of the United States. National unity is a concern of us all, and the climate of Southern sentiment and opinion has a vital bearing on the cause which we are trying to advance.

If the international situation lends urgency to the task of confirming democracy and freedom at home, it emphasizes also the necessity for national unity. If the

next President is to make the great strides in civil rights and human relations which we long to see, he must have strong, even enthusiastic, popular support. An acute awareness of the delicacy of the problem from these aspects must be reflected in all our suggestions if they are to receive the serious attention of statesmen.

Every proposal must be weighed with a view to its effect upon Southern tranquility and good will. ("South" in this letter means the dominant white segregationist element of the South.) That does not mean that we should be stymied by Southern opposition. It means that the Administration must strive to get the most civil rights at the least cost in Southern exasperation.

Most of Pollitt's suggestions merit high priority by this criterion. Action to combat discriminatory employment practices (discussed in Chapters II, III and IV) and to secure Negro voting rights represents the fields in which the Administration could proceed vigorously and sternly and at once with least depletion of Southern good will in proportion to the gains made.

Chapter IX offers only one specific suggestion in the matter of voting rights. I think the evil here should be attacked with more momentum on a broader front -- more suits instituted and unrelentingly prosecuted.

A much more important role should be given the federal Office of Education than Pollitt has suggested. That agency should take a clear and positive position on public school desegregation and extend information, advice and aid to school administrators in making the adjustment.

The Department of State might bring the damaging effects of race discrimination upon our world position quietly to the attention of Southern leaders.

Insofar as the problem touches its functions, each department and agency of the federal government should proceed on the assumption that the elimination of race discrimination is right, mandatory and imperative.

The systematic inclusion of distinguished Negro Americans among White House guests would do much to improve the popular image of the Negro, and offend few.

An item in Pollitt's draft which our research department may be able to develop further: Under X, B -- "More that $2 billion a year of federal funds go for educational purposes to the nation's colleges, etc." How much of this goes to still segregated institutions of higher learning? Likewise, how much

of the $150 million for local school districts goes to "federal impact" areas where segregation still prevails?

I would also like to see an analysis of the Commission on Civil Rights and its statutory scope.

I have thoughts, of course, about school desegregation, but I may not be able to get them into useful shape before our meeting next Thursday.

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 22, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

4 December 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth St., N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Harold:

I have read carefully and with much interest the Pollitt memorandum "The President's Powers in Areas of Race Relations". It is in every sense a impressive document, very revealing of the need and opportunity of vigorous and sincere action on the part of the executive arm of the government.

The report strikes me as well-organized, cogently phrased and effectively presented. I wish that the President-Elect would read it.

My only specific suggestion for revision relates to the statement about Negroes in the armed forces, on pp. 3-4. The statement "several Negroes rose to command rank" is vague and somewhat misleading. A more accurate and precise statement would be that while the Union policy was generally opposed to placing Negroes in command positions, a few colored men commanded small units in Negro regiments organized in Massachusetts and Louisiana. William N. Reed of the 1st N. C. Regiment (it was re-designated the 35th Regiment U. S. Colored Troops shortly before the battle of Olustee) was lieutenant colonel, not colonel, and I have serious doubt that he was a Negro. Certainly this point ought to be checked. I have looked in the Official Records and other sources available to me here at Emory and I find no statement about his color. My guess is that the person who prepared the Defense Department study from which this statement is taken assumed that he was Negro because he commanded a colored unit. As a general rule Negro regiments were commanded by whites and I should be surprised to find that one of these regiments went into combat under the command of a colored man. It was only after much, much hesitation and argument that the North adopted the policy of arming Negroes.

I also question the statement on p. 4 that "Negroes assigned to combat did very well." I know that I am in disagreement with some other authorities on this question, and I have do desire to belittle the combat performance of Negroes. But I have read reports, while still secret during WW II, and even allowing for prejudice on the part of those who prepared these reports, I do not believe that it can be said without qualification that Negroes did very well in combat in WW II. One of the reasons that they did not do well was the fact of their use in large segregated units (a more basic reason was the suppressed status of Negroes in civilian life). After integration of Negroes, even to the extent of adding a fourth platoon of Negroes to white infantry companies, as was done in March 1945 in Germany, their combat performance improved greatly. It would be more accurate, it seems to me, to state that in WW II <u>despite the policy of segregation</u> there were many instances of gallantry on the part of Negro officers and enlisted men.

Reference your request for an opinion in paragraph 3 of your covering letter: I can only state that I think that it would be very helpful for the President to appoint some Negroes to high positions: specifically, I wish that he would appoint a Negro of the stature of Charles Wesley or John Hope Franklin to the Civil War Centennial Commission, to fill a vacancy soon to occur.

Sincerely,
BIW
Bell I. Wiley

LAW OFFICES
RAUH AND LEVY
1631 K STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.
DANIEL H. POLLITT
JOHN SILARD

REPUBLIC 7-7795

December 5, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for sending me a copy of Dan Pollitt's study. Unfortunately because of a slight illness and other commitments, I was not able to get to it prior to the time of your Washington conference. If my comments on it later on in the month would be of any assistance, I would be happy to make detailed comments.

Sincerely yours,

John Silard

John Silard

HF ✓
LD

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 5, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Dunbar:

I have carefully read the manuscript by Daniel Pollitt. I think it is a good one and would hope that two things would be stressed in the staff paper to be submitted to the new administration: 1) that the President, himself, must provide leadership in the areas of race relations, and 2) every effort must be made to see that in Federal employment, in every part of the Nation, there will be no discrimination on account of race or religion.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:b

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

LWD

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

December 6, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

When I agreed to read and comment on the memorandum on "The President's Powers in Areas of Race Relations" I had the notion that I could do so as an individual, rather than as a representative of the AFL-CIO. On further reflection, it is clear to me that it is not possible for anyone in my position to maintain such a distinction. I am, therefore, returning the memorandum to you, with my apologies for the trouble I have caused you.

Yours very truly,

Tom Harris

Thomas E. Harris
Associate General Counsel

TEH:ld
Enclosure

LWD

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
BATON ROUGE

DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT

December 6, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed are my comments on the Pollitt report along with the report itself. I appreciated very much your giving me the opportunity to read it, but I found that I could add very little. I did jot down a few ideas that occurred to me in the process of reading.

Sincerely,

Robert J. Steamer

Robert J. Steamer
Associate Professor of Government

RJS/js

Enclosures

Comments on Professor Daniel H. Pollitt's The President's Powers in Areas of Race Relations: An Exploration

I congratulate Professor Pollitt on a splendid job and concur wholeheartedly with his recommendation based on a most comprehensive and acute analysis. As I read the report the following ideas occurred to me:

1. I believe that the report ought to place a greater emphasis on desegregation in education. This is, after all, the key to the ultimate solution of fair and equitable treatment of Negroes in the other nine areas covered. For example, a statement might be made to the effect that segregated schools have meant and always would mean inferior schools, which in turn makes it virtually impossible for Negroes to compete for a fair share of the nation's prosperity. Once this factor is eliminated the Negro has a greater chance of competing favorably with whites. I see no way that other forms of discrimination can be eliminated without a major attack on the source of the evil--segregated schools.

2. In order for desegregation to proceed smoothly and rapidly it needs the support not only of the executive and judicial branches, but the legislative branch as well. In this regard executive leadership might be brought to bear to obtain a Congressional resolution supporting a general federal policy of desegregation including a statement of approval of the Supreme Court's decision in the Brown case. I am aware of the difficulties (filibuster, Rules Committee in House, etc.) in this matter, but the proper kind of executive strategy might well bring this off.

3. Perhaps something ought to be said about proposed legislation in the President-elect's program to provide more federal aid to education. Such a bill ought to contain a provision that segregated school districts will receive no aid, or in the event that such a bill cannot be enacted into law, an alternative proposal might provide for basic grants with an additional

bonus for desegregated schools.

4. The President might appoint a full-time member of the White House staff to act as a civil rights coordinator. Such a person would be able to keep in touch with both public and private activities on the desegregation front and could keep the President apprised of the latest developments including advising the President on possible courses of action to insure fair treatment of the Negro.

5. The President might call a conference of Negro and white leaders. This might best take the form of a national meeting in Washington at which national goals would be agreed upon for gradual desegregation of all phases of public life. This could be followed by similar conferences in all states with carefully selected members of both races in attendance. Not only would such a move help to reestablish communications between the races, but it would also give official White House backing to moderate leadership. Establishing the authority of the moderates in the South would be an important step forward in the ultimate erasure of segregation.

6. The President should be urged to use qualified Negroes in important executive and judicial posts. As a matter of strategy, however, it might be wise to use Negroes in positions, the duties of which have a minimum concern with race relations. Appointing the best man for the job is a high sounding phrase, but as everyone knows, the top level appointments in any new administration involve in some measure, the payment of political debts and in part giving representation to the various regions and groups which helped elect the President. On this basis there is no question that the Negro deserves some representation.

Incidentally, with the emergence of nationalism in Africa educated American Negroes could be used advantageously <u>as Negroes</u>. More specifically,

entire teams of American Negroes consisting of physicians, lawyers, educators, and technicians of various kinds might be recruited and sent to help the new African nations. The United States, after all, contains the largest group of educated, talented, cultured Negroes of any nation in the world, and the possible advantages which would accrue to the Negro as an individual, to the Negro as a race, and to both America and Africa are of significant proportions.

THURMAN ARNOLD
ABE FORTAS
PAUL A. PORTER
WALTON HAMILTON (1881-1958)
MILTON V. FREEMAN
NORMAN DIAMOND
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ARNOLD, FORTAS & PORTER
1229 NINETEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

CABLE ADDRESS:
"ARFOPO"
TELEPHONE
FEDERAL 8-3700

December 6, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for sending me a copy of Daniel Pollitt's memorandum on the President's power in the civil rights field.

The Pollitt memorandum is excellent. His research is obviously thorough and his recommendations exceedingly imaginative. I believe the memorandum will be a great contribution to forward progress in this field.

My specific comments are as follows:

1. On page 8, the memorandum suggests that a "state can maintain a lily-white 'defense force' at its own expense for operations within the state." This is a statement made for argument only. But, even so, I believe that it concedes too much. I think that the use of state funds to discriminate in this fashion would violate the 14th Amendment.

2. On page 10 and in the final conclusions the memorandum suggests that "all" places of public accommodation which refused service to Negro servicemen be placed off limits. It seems to me that in areas where there are no alternative non-segregated recreational facilities available, either on the base or within say fifty miles of the base, that this is too harsh. Moreover, placing a qualification like this on the proposal -- a qualification which would probably exclude only a few areas from the general rule -- would make the proposal more likely of execution.

Let me add that I consider this an ingenious suggestion.

3. On page 12 at note 76, the memorandum refers to the "most recent" report of the President's Committee on Government Employment. Enclosed is a copy of a more recent report.

This report shows that Negroes held less than one percent of the jobs in each of the top three grades. No Negroes held any such jobs in these three grades in Mobile or in any of the other cities tested except Chicago and Washington.

Less than 6 percent of the Negroes employed by the Federal Government held civil service positions above grade 5, which meant that over 94 percent earned less than $4,000 per year. In Southern cities, the report showed almost no Negro employment whatever in white-collar jobs.

4. The suggestions on pages 14-15 for improving the federal employment picture are excellent. I would add that it is important that the Committee hire investigators and carry out its own investigations rather than relying upon the agencies.

The importance of the federal contract employment procedures can be emphasized by referring to Vice President Nixon's statement in a nationally televised speech that one out of four U.S. jobs is with a company having a government contract. This means that the non-discrimination clause could be applicable to perhaps 17 million jobs.

In this connection, note that the non-discrimination contract clause applies only "in connection with the performance of work under this contract". I see no good reason why, at least in most cases, the clause could not be broadened to include all jobs under the contracting company or companies under common control.

There are additional areas to which the clause could be made applicable. For example, the government (through the Alien Property Custodian, the Small Business Administration, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Defense Department and other agencies) offers licenses (in many cases, royalty free) to use government owned patents. I have checked the policy of several of these agencies and have found no instance in which a non-discrimination clause is inserted in the patent license.

Another example is the issuance of new patents to inventors. It seems to me that patent applications should contain a promise that the inventor would not discriminate in employment during the manufacture of products pursuant to the patent. Patents should then be issued with a condition stating that the patent would terminate when this promise is violated. It may be argued that this would not "promote the Progress of Science and useful arts" (Const., Art. I, Sec. 8, cl. 8), or that it would not serve the purposes of the patent statutes. I have done some research on the point but not enough to reach a conclusion. At the moment, however, this seems to me an excellent avenue of approach to an executive FEPC. Moreover, the same sort of policy could be applied to the issuance of radio and television permits and licenses; second- and third-class mailing permits; maritime operating differential and ship construction subsidies; telephone and telegraph certificates of convenience and necessity; gas pipeline certificates; federal power dam permits; acreage reserve and soil bank payments; savings and loan and F.D.I.C. permits; tax exemption certificates, etc.

5. Pages 19 and 20 list the Nixon Committee's "Examples of Progress". I enclose a copy of a memorandum I wrote some time ago which includes at page 2 a study of other reports of this Committee. The situation with respect to white-collar jobs and recession layoffs shown on page 2 of my memorandum might be referred to in your final report.

6. On page 21 where the recommendations concerning federal contract employment are listed, I suggest the addition of recommendations somewhat similar to those appearing under federal employment. For example, discrimination should be presumed to exist if the company's percentage of Negro to white employment in a particular classification is not even half that of the proportion of qualified Negro applicants in that classification in the area surrounding the plant according to USES. This would place the burden on the company to prove that it had not discriminated. Also, the Committee should hire its own investigators and not rely solely on the contracting agencies and the contracting companies.

7. At the conclusion of the section on Recreation on page 31, the memorandum contains a proposal for the filing of suits by the Department of Justice. Would an executive order be helpful which simply stated what the policy of theExecutive Branch was as to areas under federal control or for which federal moneys have been expended?

8. In the discussion of transportation terminal restaurants (p. 35), I recommend the consideration of the following cases: H. J. Palmer v. Eastern Air Lines, CAB Do. 1142 (copy enclosed); NAACP v. St. Louis-S.F. Ry. Co., 297 I.C.C. 335 (1955); Boynton v. Virginia, No. 7 on the Supreme Court's docket for the October Term 1960. If the Supreme Court reverses the Boynton case on the grounds urged by the NAACP, both the CAB and the ICC may take action to eliminate segregation in all transportation terminal restaurants. However, it seems to me that these agencies and the Department of Justice would be more likely to move if an Executive Order were issued stating the President's policy in explicit terms.

Dictated over week end. See Boynton dec in S. Ct on monday

Thank you for the opportunity of commenting on a draft of the report. I would appreciate receiving a copy of the report in final form.

Sincerely,

George Bunn

George Bunn

Enclosures

LWD

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

Over Thirty-Five Years of Preventive Social Service

JAckson 1-2355 • 239 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. • ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

December 7, 1960

MEMORANDUM

TO: Harold Fleming - Executive Director - Southern Regional Council

FROM: R. A. Thompson - Executive Director - Atlanta Urban League

RE: The President's Powers in Areas of Race Relations
An Exploration - By Daniel H. Pollitt

I. MILITARY SERVICE

B - The Military Academies and R. O. T. C. Units

There are no R. O. T. C. units in Negro High schools in Georgia. Efforts should be made to establish such units in all Negro High schools in major cities, at least in the South.

II. FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

Page 14 - Negroes and members of other minority groups should be appointed to the "task-force."

III. FEDERAL CONTRACT EMPLOYMENT

Page 19 - I would add that public utilities or quasi public utilities are the biggest and foremost violators of government contracts, as well as, General Motors.

Attention should be called to the discrimination in the Southern Bell Telephone Company which employs thousands of women in jobs which require practically no skill and in jobs which Negro women could qualify easily.

Doesn't the Federal Government have a contractual relations with Southern Bell, American Telephone and Telegraph and with the

subsidiaries of the latter.

IV. OTHER FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS AND POLICIES: Good. No comment.

V. RECREATION: Good. No comment.

VI. HEALTH AND HOSPITALIZATION

Page 22 - Hospitals - Same reference to the expenditure and use of Federal funds for hospitals should be included.

Some states, for example, like Georgia, secured Federal funds, under the Hill-Burton Act, to build the Hughes Spalding Pavilion as a teaching facility. To date the provisions of the agreement have not been kept; therefore, it is recommended that, within the framework of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, that a "policy committee" be established to insure agreement and to see that all such hospitals are open to all people as patients and for employment.

VII. TRANSPORTATION: Good. No comment.

VIII. HOUSING

Page 40 - Each contractor and developer should sign a statement of F. H. A. that such property will be available to all people regardless of race, creed or color.

(a) That all mortgagees who make construction or permanent loans to builders and developers sign a statement that such property or properties will be sold without regard to race, religion of the purchaser.

(b) To expedite the housing of the nonwhite population into decent, safe and sanitary housing, it is recommended that there be appointed Intergroup Relations Specialists (Negro) to the Administrator of each F. H. A. in each Southern State.

(c) That Negroes be employed on the staffs of the F. H. A. in each Southern State.

(d) P. H. A. - All projects sponsored by P. H. A. should be open to all people regardless of race, creed, religion and color.

(1) In the South, where the majority of the public housing units are being built, there is need for the employment of additional persons in the Intergroup Relations Division to expedite the work-load and make possible "open occupancy" at the local level.

(e) URBAN RENEWAL - High land prices are America's number one problem and our failure to cope with it in big cities adversely effects the growth and development of cities, tends to force the poorest families into public or subsidized housing at the tax payers expense and contributes to increased urban sprawl. High land prices mean asking federal tax payers to subsidize slum clearance by buying up slum property at two and three times the re-use value of the land.

In other words, our present tax laws relative to slum property rewards the slum property owner and penalizes the builder of safe, sanitary and decent units. Ways must be found immediately by both the Federal and local governments to take the profit out of slum and undeveloped land so that low and middle-income families may have decent shelter in suburbia and in the central city.

Cities without urban renewal programs, are handicapped by the Federal Highway Programs that are being sponsored jointly by the Federal and State Governments. Such cities should be eligible to receive relocation (Section 221 and 220) housing as Federal Highway developments as do cities with urban renewal programs.

(f) That Negroes be employed in each regional office of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

IX. VOTING

The President is also considered as the Head of his political party, which may or may not include Minority Groups. Aside from and over above the legal means for securing the right to vote, would it not be cogent for the President of the

United States to appeal to both political parties in each state to admit Negroes into the parties on the local level. Acceptance of the President's appeal would be politic at this time and it would afford greater opportunities for communication between the races on issues affecting the welfare of both.

The Negro issue, as Stephen K. Bailey wrote in "The Condition of our National Political Parties" "has been the single most useful device of the economic conservatives to keep the political parties from becoming coherent instruments of majority rule" largely because the Negro is on the outside of the political parties. If the Negro were included in the considerations of political parties, the problem of securing voting rights would be minimized, as would many other problems relative to employment and civil liberties.

X. EDUCATIONAL: Good. No comment.

XI. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (ADDED)

While the Chief Executive ponders the practical suggestions for removing injustices in our society, it would be wise for him to consider making greater use of Negroes in dealing with foreign countries. The time has come for the President and the State Department to use Negro intelligence, ability and money-not in window-dressing - in positions of authority when dealing with foreign nations.

America cannot fail to use the talent and skills of the American Negro, who has become perhaps the most articulate Negro group in the world, in spite of segregation and discrimination, in winning the peace or in jeopardizing America's leadership. Utilization of this talent would not only be a tribute to America's leadership but it would lift the horizons of succeeding generations of Negroes.

RECOMMENDED CHANGES IN THE FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY ACT OF 1956
TITLE I OF HOUSING ACT OF 1949 AND NATIONAL HOUSING ACT.

SUBMITTED BY

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JANUARY, 1957

A -

AMEND PUBLIC LAW 627 - FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY ACT OF 1956 - by adding:

1. Declaration of Housing Policy with Respect to Federal-Aid Highway Program:

   (a) "It is hereby declared to be in the intent and policy of the Congress to equitably aid any state or subdivision thereof in relocating individuals, families and small business concerns in primarily urban areas."

   (b) "Relocation payments to families, individuals and small business concerns are authorized to be paid through the Housing and Home Finance Agency to displaced families, individuals and small business concerns."

   (Note - A provision of the Housing Act of 1956 provides:

   1. "Payments will be made in amounts not exceeding $100.00 in the case of an individual or family, and $2000.00 in case of a business concern."

   2. "They will cover the reasonable and necessary moving expenses and any actual direct loss of property, except goodwill or profit, which are incurred on and after the enactment of the Housing Act of 1956.")

   (c) "The Federal Highway Administrator is authorized to become a member of the Advisory Committee to the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency in order to give information with respect to the location and land requirements of Federal-Aid Highway plans and receive information relative to the number of displaced individuals, families and small business concerns in urban communities."

2. Federal-Aid Highway Planning Advances to Housing and Home Finance Agency.

   "A provision is added to Public Law 627 of 1956 which authorized

the Secretary of Commerce to make advances to the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency for surveys and plans for determining the number of individuals, families and business concerns to be displaced by Federal-Aid Highway projects."

B -

AMEND TITLE I OF THIS HOUSING ACT OF 1949 by adding:

1. Relocation Payments to Families, Individuals and Business Concerns Displaced in Federal Highway Areas:

   "The Housing and Home Finance Administrator is authorized to make relocation payments to individuals, families and business concerns displaced by a Federal-Aid Highway project respecting which a contract for a Federal grant has been executed."

2. Advances to Determine the Extent of Relocation:

   "The Housing and Home Finance Administrator is authorized to make advances to local public agencies for surveys of urban areas to determine the extent of relocation of individuals, families and business concerns displaced by Federal-Aid Highway projects."

C -

AMEND NATIONAL HOUSING ACT by adding:

1. F. H. A. assistance to families and individuals in Federal Highway Areas:

   "Section 220 and 221 of the National Housing Act, with respect to F. H. A. mortgage insurance, are amended to include individuals and families displaced by Federal-Aid Highway projects in urban areas where there is no Workable Program."

LWD

Duke University
DURHAM
NORTH CAROLINA

SCHOOL OF LAW

December 8, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the Pollitt memorandum and "The President's Powers in Areas of Race Relation: An Exploration."

Professor Pollitt has, I think, done a superb job. I am very doubtful whether I have any comments to make on Professor Pollitt's paper that are worthwhile. But since you asked me to send you comments, I shall set forth below a few minor points that occurred to me when I was reading it.

1. Page Eight, first complete paragraph. Although it may be difficult to find a way to challenge a state's maintenance of "a lily-white 'defense force'", I think Mr. Pollitt would agree that it is unconstitutional for the state to do so. This fact might well be pointed out.

2. Page Twenty-three, first complete sentence. I wonder if Mr. Pollitt has sufficient grounds for assuming that because the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation has issued the order he refers to, there is, as he says, "no problem of racial discrimination in this program." My experience has made me believe that it is dangerous to assume that "law in the books" always indicates what "law in action" is.

3. Page Twenty-five and Twenty-six; compare Page Fifty-six. Although I may be mistaken, I believe that it would probably take an Act of Congress to change the practice of the National Labor Relations Board not to treat as an "unfair labor practice" a labor union's exclusion of Negroes from membership or its maintenance of segregated local unions. In the first place, I wonder if the statutory language in the legislative history may not justify the Board and its General Counsel in their reading of the relevant provisions of the Act of Congress. In the second place, I wonder if the President has or ought to exercise authority to direct an independent agency for the government or its general counsel how the agency's fundamental statute should be interpreted.

4. Page Twenty-eight. Professor Pollitt seems well satisfied with the criminal sanction he describes in the third sentence of the first complete paragraph. My experience has been that criminal sanctions are rarely effective in this field. I wonder if some better sanction such as cancellation after an administrative determination would not be more effective.

5. Page Twenty-eight. I wonder whether one could be as certain as Professor Pollitt indicates he is that the clause about discrimination in grants and leases of public lands made by the Bureau of Land Management is sufficiently policed and invariably enforced.

6. Page Thirty. After reading the paragraph that ends at the top of this page, I wrote in the margin: "Well, what happened?". I am very skeptical about whether there is nondiscrimination in practice.

7. Professor Pollitt obviously did not conceive it to be part of his job to suggest some specific program for the President to undertake. Someone needs to determine what official or officials under the President should propose a program to him, who should draft executive orders and instructions to federal officials, and who should be charged to see that these executive orders and instructions are actively put into effect.

Let me repeat what I said at the outset. It seems to me that Professor Pollitt has done a superb job.

I am sorry that I am unable to attend the meeting in Washington on December 8, at which this memorandum and connected matters will be discussed.

Very truly yours,

Douglas B. Maggs

Douglas B. Maggs

DBM/bb

LWD

WOMBLE, CARLYLE, SANDRIDGE & RICE
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
WACHOVIA BANK BUILDING
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WM. F. WOMBLE
LEON L. RICE, JR.
CALDER W. WOMBLE
CHAS. F. VANCE, JR.
WADE M. GALLANT, JR.
LESLIE E. BROWDER
H. GRADY BARNHILL, JR.

TELEPHONE
PARK 5-1311

December 9, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

A copy of the memorandum prepared by Professor Pollitt was received. I have had an opportunity to read the memorandum, as requested in your recent letter, and same is returned herewith, with a few comments.

In my opinion, Professor Pollitt has done a good job. His memorandum is concise, thorough and helpful. It faces the facts in a forthright manner, and I think the suggestions contained in the memorandum, and the description of agency functions, should be a material help in the formation of the executive policy in the areas of race relations covered by the memorandum.

I think, also, that the content of the memorandum measures up to the standards of the Southern Regional Council in these areas, and that the Council should be able to stand on the memorandum without any difficulty or embarrassment.

As my instructions were to read the memorandum and to make comments thereon, I have not checked or investigated the authorities cited. This would have taken more time than I had to give; and, furthermore, I did not think it was necessary.

There are a few typographical errors which should be corrected before the memorandum is given circulation. For instance, on page 8, in the sixth line of the second

paragraph, the word "gold" should be changed to "golf". In the first line, on page 34, the word "unheaded" should be changed to "unheeded". On page 53, in the fourth line of the second paragraph, the word "newspaper" should be changed to "newspapers". There are probably others which I did not detect.

In conclusion, I think the Southern Regional Council can thank and commend Professor Pollitt for preparing such a good memorandum.

Yours very truly,

Irving E. Carlyle

Irving E. Carlyle

IEC:lj

LWD

44 Witherbee Avenue
Pelham Manor, N.Y.
December 9, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

~~Dear Harold:~~

I have read Mr. Pollitt's manuscript and am really impressed with the job he has done. It seems to me that he has covered a wide range of topics in a relatively small space and that he has covered them well. I found nothing in it with which I would disagree, and I feel that all of his recommendations are well worth making. I do have some additional things to suggest, which I will list below:

1. It would seem to me important in any discussion leading to a recommendation concerning Federal employment to point out that within specific Federal departments and agencies there is not only discrimination in employment, as Mr. Pollitt has pointed out, but also discrimination in the form of segregation within the total group of employees. This is particularly true, for example, in the Department of Agriculture as it applies to county agents, farm loan administrators, and so forth (see Chapter 15: The Southern Temper).

2. I would expand Mr. Pollitt's discussion of the U.S. Employment Service to include mention of the fact that in many places in the South the USES-State employment offices segregate the white and negro interviewers--the whites interview white applicants, the Negroes interview Negro applicants, and thereby make it possible to have separate, segregated lists of job applicants. This, then, makes it possible to fill job requests with either whites or Negroes.

3. In Mr. Pollitt's recommendations concerning the investigation of complaints as to discrimination in both Federal employment and employment on Government contracts, he has made no recommendation to deal with the problem of the accused agency or department of the Federal Government in effect investigating itself or its contractor. It seems to me that all complaints must originally be investigated by the independent committee

3. (cont.) or organization specifically set up to handle the overall question of discrimination in that area. Thus, for example, under the current committee setup, the Government Contract Committee would do the initial investigation of all complaints in its area, and the Employment Policy Committee would perform this function in its area.

4. It is important, I think, that the current interpretation of the President's Committee on Government contracts to the effect that in multi-plant operations the non-discrimination clause applies only to the plant with the Government contract be revised. Companies have contracts, and companies with Federal contracts should not be permitted to discriminate in any plant or branch because of an administrative interpretation.

5. Something needs to be done to break the vicious circle under which a Federal contractor with a union contract can blame his discriminatory employment policies on the union while the union, in effect, blames its discriminatory policies on management. It would seem to me at least possible that a contract with a union by an employer might be interpreted as being a subcontract within the meaning of the executive order dealing with non-discrimination on Federal contracts.

6. In both Federal contract and Federal employment complaint cases, and particularly in the latter, access must be granted to the complainant in some way to the vital employment statistics which alone will help him prove his case of discrimination. Perhaps the way to do this is to set up a rule under which refusal on the part of the agency or department to grant this access will be taken as a presumption of discrimination.

7. A change must obviously be made in the Civil Service "rule of three" to preclude its use to effect discrimination against Negroes. I have no specific suggestion as to how this might be done, but someone more familiar with Civil Service procedures can certainly think of an effective method which will still leave the employer some leeway as to choice of personnel.

8. Federal agencies and departments which make a practice of recruiting personnel from colleges and universities must be required to recruit on an equal basis from Negro colleges and universities to avoid discrimination at its source.

9. While Mr. Pollitt mentions in the body of his manuscript the possibility of disestablishing ROTC units at colleges and universities which discriminate, he failed to include this in his summarized recommendations. I think it should be included.

10. In regard to discrimination at colleges and universities, it would seem to me that in addition to the tactics suggested, a refusal to make research grants to institutions which discriminate (or better, to make such grants subject to non-discriminatory provisions applicable to the entire institution) might be an effective recourse.

11. I think also that the Administration should be urged to at least study the possibility of recommending to the Congress in a forceful way utilization of the constitutional provision for congressional reapportionment in those states where the vote is systematically denied to Negroes.

12. You know my feelings about the declassification of "Project Clear". This Army study of desegregation could be an invaluable social document to all individuals in schools and other organizations faced with the question of desegregation. The Administration should be urged to make declassification of this document and subsequent editing of it into usable form a first-priority action.

13. In an overall sense I feel that it is important that any list of recommendations to the Kennedy administration stress at the outset the vital importance of having someone with status sufficient to deal with Cabinet officers in a well-defined position between the President and the committee or committees that will deal with civil rights and race relations on an executive level. I feel also that executive orders setting up such a committee or committees should specifically require that the committee report any instance to the President (obviously through this White House man) in which an agency or department does not immediately follow the recommendations of the committee in all cases, complaint or otherwise, in which discrimination has been found. I agree with Mr. Pollitt that the handling of complaints should be a vital but secondary function of this committee or committees, and that they should have specific power and responsibility to conduct their own research and investigations in the absence of complaints.

Thanks again for asking my advice. I hope that you won't feel I have taken advantage of your request by giving you so much. If I have further thoughts I will get them off to you as quickly as possible.

Cordially yours,

Bill

William Peters

WP:mr

LWD

Pulaski Heights Christian Church

Colbert S. Cartwright, Pastor

Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

December 10, 1960

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have read with great interest the document by Pollitt on executive powers in the field of civil rights. He has done a magnificent and thorough job and there is little comment I wish to make.

There is one question I would raise in regard to the use of the staff of the Attorney General in entering school desegregation cases as a friend of the court. I am not up-to-date on what this role has been in New Orleans. However it seemed to me in Little Rock that there was very little significance to this role of the Attorney General's office . The NAACP had things well under control and about all the federal lawyers did was to say "me too". I doubt if this had even much psychological effectiveness. It may have even served to give the President the impression he was really doing something, when in reality he was doing little.

Possibly there is a more creative role which could have been played by the Attorney General. In 1957-1958 in Little Rock there was a need for requesting injunctions against students who were interfering with orderly desegregation. Both the NAACP and the school authorities were reluctant to take this action. If the Attorney General could have done this, it would have greatly expedited the end of "occupational troops" at Central High. A few court cases could have done what the soldiers could not do. I suppose I am basically asking the question as to whether there is a role which the Attorney General can play independently of the NAACP lawyers. If so, can this be spelled out?

Sincerely,

Bert

Colbert S. Cartwright

December 12, 1960

Mr. Joseph B. Robison
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robison:

We are mailing you today the requested copy of the Pollitt memo.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

SCHOOL OF LAW (BOALT HALL)
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

MA - return for Pollitt
HF ✓
LD

December 14, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have waited until today to answer your inquiry about the Pollitt memorandum because of plans to have lunch today with Bill Foster. That was for me a very profitable session because, as you know, he has been following these matters very closely in recent months, and he had the benefit of your recent session in Washington. Incidentally, I think his Saturday Review piece excellent, perhaps worth your reprinting and distribution.

By way of general reaction, my own feeling is broadly sympathetic with the recommendations in the Pollitt memorandum. I share the view that the time has come for a forthright, many-pronged attack on all forms of racial discrimination which can be reached by the executive branch.

(a) I endorse without reservation the steps recommended in connection with further implementation of integration in the military academies and R.O.T.C. units, in the National Guard, in government-owned military facilities, and in off-base recreational facilities.

(b) I would support the recommendations made in connection with federal employment, federal contract employment (although I somewhat doubt the effectiveness of liquidated damages and injunctive relief suggested on page 21), and in other federal employment programs. (I may have some reservation about decertification of labor unions that have a history of racial discrimination. In principle, of course, I support the recommendation in the memorandum, but do not know enough about possible consequences to the union movement that might result from rigorous application of such a policy.)

(c) To the limited extent that problems remain in connection with recreational facilities in which the federal government plays a part, I would favor extension of federal controls.

(d) In the area of health and hospitalization, I believe that the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare can do much to eliminate

discriminatory practices through the attachment of conditions to the dispensing of federal funds in connection with, for example, the Hill-Burton Hospital Program.

(e) The suggested proposals for further regulation of discrimination in transportation are worth pursuing although I think there are some tricky legal problems involved in the proposals on page 36.

(f) Needless to say, the housing proposals are among the most important and the most controversial. Yet I do believe that a good deal can be done by an administration of the various federal housing programs that consistently looks for ways of lessening the existing patterns of segregated housing even though it may mean in some instances that particular communities will be unwilling to accept federal assistance under the prescribed conditions. For a new Administration that professes high ideals of nondiscrimination in all federally administered programs I see no alternative to pushing these objectives relentlessly in connection with federal housing programs because, as we all know, this is one of the areas in which there is the greatest danger of perpetuating segregation in public schools and in other aspects of community life, both North and South.

(g) In seeking extension of the franchise, it seems to me that the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts are at best awkward tools. However, since they are the best means now at hand, I believe that the Department of Justice should pursue them vigorously, and perhaps some good will result. If they prove as deficient in practice as I think likely, then it would seem appropriate to recommend new and less confusing legislation.

(h) In connection with education, it seems to me a continuing scandal that the Civil Rights Commission could report as fact that federal aid is still given to segregated institutions of higher learning as well as to segregated public schools. I believe that policy must be reversed as to institutions of higher education and probably should be reversed even as to public schools at the primary and secondary levels.

More difficult is the question of what strategy should be adopted to allow the federal government a more direct measure of participation in the process of school desegregation. If the best available political judgment is that Congress, in 1961 or 1962, would authorize suits by the Attorney General to implement the School Cases, I would favor an all-out effort in that direction. If the consensus is that such an attempt would fail, then I would favor initiation of judicial

proceedings to try out the theory of inherent power to act without further legislation. It may be better not to try both devices simultaneously, though I am doubtful on this point.

You ask also for comments on the following matters:

(a) Coordination of plans and activities of the Commission on Civil Rights, Department of Justice, and White House staff. I see no reason why the President could not have an adviser on his personal staff who could be responsible for coordination of these activities as well as those arising in Defense, Health, Education and Welfare, and anywhere else that discrimination can be struck down. If the President means to pursue this policy vigorously, such an adviser would have ample authority.

(b) The appointment of Negroes to high positions. I would of course assume that some would qualify on merit for appointment and would be chosen. But certainly the Lodge mistake of promising appointment of Negroes because of race should not be repeated.

(c) Policies to be pursued by agencies concerned with presenting race relations questions abroad. At the risk of naive oversimplification, I believe that the presentation should not only be truthful (obviously), but, more important and rather different, it should be candid. I see no alternative to frank and probably frequent discussion of the difficulties and what efforts are being made to overcome them. Every other country shares these problems to some degree.

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert B. McKay

RBM:egh

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WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE

December 14, 1960

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Now that I have had an opportunity to read Professor Pollitt's "Exploration", I am afraid that I shall not be of much help to him. Unless, of course, it would be helpful for me to pat him on the back and say "Well done!".

I can find no legal fault with his exposition of the areas in which the President might exercise his powers under existing law. Ultimately, of course, the basis for and limits upon action in each of these areas will have to be defined more precisely. I think Professor Pollitt's decision not to use his report as a vehicle for this purpose was a wise one.

Although I am returning the copy of the draft you sent me, I would appreciate it if I might have a copy of the report when it is published.

Sincerely yours,

Vincent A. Doyle

Vincent A. Doyle

Enclosure

December 15, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have read Dan Pollitt's "An Exploration on the President's Powers in Areas of Race Relations" and I am sorry that I cannot add a great deal to what he says. His views closely correspond with mine and closely parallel some of my own writing.

The first problem, of course, seems to be one of priority and my view would be that this should be given to (1) voting; (2) education, particularly to intervening in impending cases; (3) employment; and then housing, health and hospitalization, etc. The closeness of priority among many of these items is such that you might readily skip two or three places with almost any one of them.

I would like to add, however, that from my experience the most important aspect of any action which the President might take would be the vigor of his enforcement policy. We have plenty of standards and some of them are enforced to some extent, but I think that if executive action could be counted on in any significant case or situation, and if it were to be vigorously pursued, we would achieve much more than would be possible by the mere declaration of principle coupled by ineffective implementation.

It goes without saying, of course, that these are my personal views and not those of the Legal Defense Fund.

Sincerely,

Jack

Jack Greenberg

MA - shown for Talbert

HF

LD

108 Presidio Avenue
San Francisco 15, Cal.

December 15, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Copies of a letter and memorandum just sent to Ben Read, in the office of Senator Joe Clark of Pennsylvania, are enclosed. I assume they are largely self-explanatory and I shall not repeat their substance here.

Last Friday morning after leaving you and Leslie I spent an hour with Harris Wofford. With him I discussed our conversation concerning the suggestion that Paul Freund of Harvard be asked to help out in setting up your meeting with Kennedy. He wished me to tell you he thought this a first-rate idea and both of us agreed that you would want to work both approaches - i.e., to ask Freund to pass the word direct that you were responsible people whom the President should see, and secondly to address separately to the President your own request for an audience.

Finally, I am quite content at the prospect of continuing the occupation of college professor rather than trading it off for that of federal bureaucrat. It is not that I shy from the political wars, but rather that I prefer a position in which I am freest to slug.

Needless to say again but I will anyway: I shall always be grateful for the chance to come to your party. My best to you and Leslie.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

P. S. My school article made the Saturday Review for December 17th. Now all they need to do is pay me, and we'll eat for the rest of the month since I spent much of the proceeds of the article in going East, but spent it before, instead of after, the proceeds arrived.

106 Presidio Avenue
San Francisco 18

December 15, 1960

Mr. Benjamin Read
Legislative Assistant to
Senator Joseph S. Clark
Room 260, Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

Here, later than I had wished it to be, is a memorandum addressed largely to the Executive and Legislative handling of the Title III suit by the United States in school desegregation actions.

After returning to San Francisco I put in a day checking out some questions about U. S. intervention into pending judicial actions. My conclusion is simply intervention raises a terrible host of procedural problems of its own, and I think it quite likely such a suit would fail on these grounds long before the question of the Attorney General's authority to participate in school cases was ever reached. And even if a particular intervention suit were successful, it would be a device of only very limited utility for a long period that would be required to open it up for general application. The head-on approach to the application of the Debs doctrine arising where the United States initiates the suit at least avoids the major procedural problems you buy with the intervention approach.

So, for reasons indicated in the accompanying memorandum, I would prefer a judicial test of existing authority by route of an action brought anew by the United States. A new action by the United States against authorities in Prince Edward County, Virginia, appeals to me (see memo on this).

I will not repeat here what the memo suggests. Obviously, I am too far from your scene to be aware of all I would need to know in making the kind of recommendations here offered. And I won't turn against any of you for rejecting what I suggest. There are some questions in the memo, however, which I believe you should consider before pushing ahead on John Silard's suggestion for meeting the Title III dilemma.

Copies of the memorandum are going also to those named below.

It was pleasant seeing you last week and I look forward to doing so again.

Sincerely,

G. W. Foster, Jr.

cc: Harold Fleming
John Silard
Harris Wofford

December 14, 1960

Memo to: Ben Read
From: Bill Foster

Subject: Executive and Legislative Action for School Desegregation

This memorandum responds to your request for my reactions concerning actions by the President and Congress on behalf of school desegregation. I shall attempt to summarize hereafter my reasons in support of these conclusions:

I. Three kinds of federal help are of urgent importance:

(a) Judicial actions in the name of the United States to enforce school desegregation, thus relieving Negroes from the costs of enforcing their public rights and placing national authority on the side of desegregation;

(b) Collection of information about programs and techniques of desegregation and widespread dissemination of this to responsible local authorities; and

(c) Massive infusion of federal funds to upgrade the academic standards of inferior schools (in the South and elsewhere); desegregation can have real meaning only when <u>all</u> public schools in a district have comparable academic standards and can be used interchangeably. Most Negro schools in the South presently maintain academic standards so low that they cannot be used interchangeably with white schools.

II. The President should, early in his Administration, indicate the need for (Title III) actions by the United States; should express the view that he believes the Attorney General may initiate such suits under existing authority but that he will ask the Congress to clarify this matter as quickly as possible on the ground that such a course is preferable to using a test case for resolving the question. If by late Spring or early Summer Congress has refused to clarify the matter, a full-blown test case should be commenced with announcement by the President that this course is being pursued in view of the failure by Congress to clarify Executive authority.

III. The President should recommend a substantial increase in the budgeted funds for administration of the "Cooperative Research in Education Act," July 26, 1954, c. 576, 68 Stat. 533, 20 USC §§331-332, and call on the Commissioner of Education to enter contracts and jointly financed cooperative arrangements "with universities and colleges and State educational agencies for the conduct of research, surveys, and demonstrations in the field of education" with reference particularly to problems of desegregation. The same legislation specifically provides for making the results of these projects publicly available. See also Senate Report No. 1596, 83rd Cong., 2d Sess., 1954 U.S. Code Cong. and Adm. News pp. 2675-76.

IV. Financial aids for schools should not be sought in conjunction with coercive civil rights legislation, but separately on terms which aid schools because they are deficient, not because they are racially segregated. The same schools may be reached by either route and the connection of sanctions with school aids almost certainly diminishes the probability of Congressional support for needed federal aids to education.

Clarifying Authority for "Title III" Actions

In mid-November 1960 John Silard advanced a proposal for seeking a limited kind of "Title III" authority by concurrent approaches through Congress and the Judiciary. As I understand his proposal he would attempt to differentiate the kind of relief sought in Congress from the relief sought through court actions. To this end, he would ask Congress (1) to create a duty on the part of all school districts to commence a program of school desegregation by Fall 1963 (thus implementing the 1960 Platform pledge); and (2) to authorize enforcement of this provision by the Attorney General in judicial proceedings. Paralleling this, he would have the Attorney General obtain a limited test of the existing authority of the United States to participate in desegregation actions by testing the power of the U. S. to intervene in an action which Negro plaintiffs had already commenced.

These two courses, Silard argues, are sufficiently different from each other that neither would be likely to detract argumentatively from the other. I have a series of difficulties with John's position on this. Among them are these:

(1) A test case grounded on testing the circumstances in which the Government might intervene would, even if successful, be a device of only very limited utility when contrasted with the sweeping scope of authority which enactment of Title III would define. Where Government participation in the suit was grounded on intervention, a host of complex problems growing out of Fed. Rule 24 (b) [Permissive intervention] is invited. Intervention under 24 (b) is subject to the discretion of the trial judge. Appealability by the Government of an order denying the right to intervene is a sticky question, though probably permitted under the rule of Cohen v. Beneficial Industrial Loan Corp., 337 U.S. 541 (1949). Assuming appeal is permitted from a denial of intervention, a reversal will follow only upon a finding that the district court abused its discretion in permitting the action to remain in the hands of private parties and the state.

(2) Assuming that the Congressional part of John's recommendation were enacted, there might be serious questions of construction growing out of the grant of authority to the Attorney General limited to enforcement of the 1963 deadline - e.g., could the United States institute another action to speed Little Rock along when it appeared that some token desegregation had taken place there prior to 1963?

(3) John further indicated that he believed the real push for civil rights legislation should be withheld until 1962, an election year, when he believed it possible to round up a larger number of votes than could be marshaled in this first session. If this does reflect the probable tactical thinking about civil rights legislation, I have more doubts than ever about trying hard (from Kennedy's point of view) for a legislatively set 1963 deadline. It seems to me most unwise for him to associate himself with anything other than a public position of urging Congress to act as promptly as possible to provide civil rights legislation.

In short, the proposal John has made to resolve the dilemma of seeking Title III authority concurrently in Congress and the courts seems to me to water down each goal so far that neither would promise much help if obtained. To me, a different course is much more attractive.

My alternative would have the President take the lead in capitalizing the case for Title III. No real effort has yet been made to build broad public support for Title III as a device to equalize a situation in which public money pours into evasion of public, constitutional rights and private funds of individuals represent the only source of support to vindicate the public rights of a whole class of Americans. Such an argument for equalization, better stated than I have put it, can be turned into a strong appeal to a sense of fair play and sets up an issue rather different from the question of whether there shall be school desegregation.

Tactically, I would like to see the program develop along these lines:

(1) Strong emphasis upon the affirmative case for Title III by the President in a general statement on civil rights issued prior to the convening of Congress or very soon thereafter. In stating the need for Title III actions the President would state his belief that the Attorney General may initiate such suits under existing authority but express his wish that Congress clarify the question by prompt action rather than compel a test case which might take longer and be perhaps narrower in its utility than would be the result if Congress spelled out the authority in detail.

(2) Carefully arranged hearings before Congressional committees in which officials of Southern states would be called to furnish statements on the amounts of public money expended in defending suits against school desegregation. [The decision to push hard on the financing of desegregation suits may raise matters which Thurgood Marshall and others may not wish raised. On the other hand I would think that aggregate expenses could be given on both sides, with neither side anxious to disclose detailed expenses and information about sources. And, again without checking this out, I would suppose any information furnished before a Congressional committee would be under grants of immunity from state prosecution under some of these new champerty and maintenance statutes aimed at the NAACP].

(3) A strong push by the President for legislative action on Title III (coupled, probably, with a dead-line 1963 duty to get something started). This would aim at Congressional action by April or May of 1961. I can understand that the President may not wish to burn up his honeymoon period with this question so quickly. On the other hand I cannot see how he would dare allow himself to be identified with approval of holding up on legislative action until the election year of 1962; publicly, he must maintain the appearance of supporting prompt action by Congress.

(4) If by late April or early May the prospect of legislative action on Title III during 1961 seems unlikely, I would like to see the Attorney General commence an action in the name of the United States in some area in which private action has been so far unavailing. Prince Edward County, Virginia, still has its public schools closed down and the County was one of the original defendants in the 1954 School Cases. This would not be on a theory of intervention (although Negroes would be invited to intervene after commencement of the action by the Attorney General). As previously indicated, I believe the judicial hazards growing out of cases construing Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 24(b) argue strongly against testing Title III authority on a theory of intervention. It seems to me far better to face the question of suit by the United States in a situation like Prince Edward County where private resources have been unsuccessful after a decade of judicial effort. And I would rather frame the case cleanly and without some of the side issues which have been put into the case previously. There are sometimes serious questions of how far an intervenor may go in compelling prior parties to modify their pleadings to meet new issues.

(5) Throughout the course I suggest it would be desirable to keep alive publicly the argument in favor of Title III as an equalization device. There

has been much in the press since the election to suggest that many Republicans attribute Nixon's defeat to the shift in the Negro vote. You people at Washington will have a better measure of the significance this may have in picking up more Republican support than you've had in the past for civil rights measures. But by now Title III has become something of an institution and I can see real merit in taking advantage of the public support already created for it, rather than dropping it in favor of the sort of oblique Title III authorizations which John Silard has proposed.

In short, I would prefer concentrating fire on Title III, head-on, and not by indirection. The oblique approach which John suggests would not in any case give you as much as you could potentially achieve either by outright enactment of Title III or by full judicial approval of a judicial test suit initiated by the United States.

PHILIP A. HART
MICHIGAN

MA. chec for Pollitt
HF
LD

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

December 15, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Please accept my apologies for the delay in commenting on Pollitt's memorandum. I have been out of the city and our office has been short-handed.

Together with a few others here in Washington, I have given this memo a careful review. It is excellent in its description of the areas of Federal responsibility. It is the kind of document that can help us re-think what kind of structure will be needed for the total job. We have already found it useful.

Give me a call when you get to Washington next.

Cordially,

John

John G. Feild

MB. also for Bill
HF
LD

LAW OFFICES
RAUH AND LEVY
1631 K STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.
DANIEL H. POLLITT
JOHN SILARD

December 15, 1960

REPUBLIC 7-7788

Harris Wofford, Jr., Esq.
Democratic National Committee
1001 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Harris:

I am directing your attention herein to the problem of intra-agency resistance to an executive-action civil rights program.

COPY

Much reliance has been placed in recent months upon the President's executive powers in the field of civil rights as a means for major civil rights advances during the next few years. Little attention, however, has been given to a pervasive problem in executive enforcement of civil rights -- the "massive resistance" which will be encountered within the governmental agencies themselves to meaningful enforcement of executive programs of non-discrimination in government employment, government contract employment, government supported housing, etc. Such intra-agency resistance is by no means derived only from hostility to civil rights or Negroes, of which substantial amounts will be found within the agencies themselves. Resistance will result equally from sheer governmental inertia, the expense and the effort involved in making major new advances, and the habit of tolerance towards discrimination in these areas created by lack of policy and enforcement in previous administrations.

How can intra-agency resistance be minimized so that the executive civil rights program will have the largest potential for success? Perhaps the most significant element is that there be a centralized "coordinator" somewhere (either in the White House or in an interdepartmental committee) of the entire executive civil rights program. This letter is not, however, addressed to the problem of the location of the Civil Rights Coordinator. Rather it is addressed to another important ingredient in overcoming internal resistance -- the creation of a policing authority

outside particular governmental agencies with the necessary information gathering, fact-finding and "adjudicatory" apparatus to assure continuing progress in the executive civil rights program.

Of course, it is possible to leave the enforcing machinery and authority entirely within the respective governmental agencies. Thus, the present contract and employment committees could be abolished and each agency left to carry on the functions of investigation, administration and enforcement of those aspects of the civil rights program in which it is involved. The danger, however, is that "massive resistance" within the governmental departments will have its maximum debilitating impact upon the executive civil rights program if there does not somewhere exist a committee or committees chargeable with the single task of policing the executive civil rights program.

If the principle of extra-agency policing is accepted, as it should be, the question remains to what extent the committee or committees charged with that responsibility should have exclusive investigatory and fact-finding authority distinct from the agencies themselves. Here another important consideration comes into play -- the need not to remove from the departments and agencies their own primary obligation to carry forward the executive program within the agency. If the vesting of policing functions in a committee or committees would result in removing the obligation from each agency of carrying forward its own program, the result would be disastrous. The problem thus becomes one of balancing responsibility between the non-departmental committee or committees vested with policing responsibility over the executive civil rights programs and the agencies vested with primary administrative responsibility. In this regard there seems to be fair unanimity on the following propositions:

1. <u>Ultimate enforcement left flexible</u>. The committee or committees charged with executive civil rights policing responsibility should neither be expressly granted nor expressly divested of final authority to <u>require</u> agencies to take necessary action in this area. Such committee or committees ought to have their own final fact-finding authority, with the inference left unstated that if the committee or committees determine that dis-

crimination or unfairness exist, then the agencies will make the necessary adjustments.

2. Independent investigatory power. The committee or committees charged with executive civil rights policing responsibility should have adequate funds, staff and machinery to carry on independent investigation, fact-finding and "adjudication" necessary to achieving the task. Probably the committee or committees should not be (as they are now) precluded from investigation until termination of intra-agency hearings and fact-finding, but should be able to move ahead without awaiting any specific action taken within the agency.

3. Agency civil rights officers. Each agency and department should have a civil rights officer directly responsible to the head of the agency or department, whose job it should be to carry forward every aspect of the executive civil rights program pertaining to his agency, whether the matter be one of government jobs, government contracts, employment, housing grants, etc.

4. Agency civil rights staffs. Some agencies with large responsibility, such as Defense Department has over contracts and the Housing Agency will have over the housing program in civil rights, should create separate offices (comparable to the Defense Department Industrial Security Office) with adequate investigatory staffs of their own to carry on internal policing and administration. Where the problem is large, such as that of defense contracts, the agency should by no means relegate the enforcement of the nondiscrimination requirement to hundreds of individual employees charged with diverse responsibilities, unless there is also created an overriding office or supervisory authority within the agency with prime responsibility for the effort involved and staff adequate to achieve it.

5. Relationship left flexible. The working relationship between the committee or committees and the agencies and departments should be flexible. Time and experience should work out the degree to which, in the first instance, "complaint machinery," investigation, implementation and check-up should be carried out within or without the agency in particular areas. The objectives

of the working relationship in each instance should be maximum agency or department responsibility for accomplishing the task and maximum extra-agency committee authority to police the progress being made towards the civil rights objectives involved.

Sincerely yours,

John Silard

cc: William Welsh
William Taylor
Vincent Doyle
Hyman Bookbinder
Burke Marshall
Charles Slayman
Benjamin Read
Berl Bernhardt
Harold Fleming

December 16, 1960

Mr. Charles H. Slayman, Jr.
Chief Counsel and Staff Director
Committee on the Judiciary
Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Slayman:

We are pleased to send you under separate cover the requested three copies of Daniel Pollitt's memo. We are glad that you share our high regard for his work.

Professor Pollitt was commissioned to do this as an aid to our preparation of a statement by the Council regarding executive powers and their desirable use. We are hoping that some time later this month or early in January our statement will be issued. I mention this because we want you to understand that the Pollitt paper, excellent as it is, will not necessarily represent the Council's own views; these are to be stated later.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Notes of telephone call 12-19-60 from John Hope re Pollitt memo

Other employment program

Uses term "apprenticeship program" misleadingly--should use "federally supported vocational program"

see 198-200, 206-210 Hope Memo Studies in Unemployment prepared for Sepcial Committee on Unemployment Problems U. S. Senate, 86th, 2nd

see National Manpower Council, A Policy for Skilled Migrx Manpower, pp. 45-53

U.S.E.S. is fund dispersing, regulating agency--makes no job referrals (see p. 22, 23, 24--these made by state services.

p. 44 - anti-discrimination laws protect in areas where only about 1/3 Negro population; other 2/3 go unprotected.

Transportation non-discrimination has moved far enough so that a decisive push could gain much ground.

Presidential refusal--announced--to patronize or worship in segregated establishments would be a powerful, dramatic symbol--however, President has to be very careful in selecting symbolic acts.

Good, careful reporting procedures by government agencies most important.

Committee on Governmental Employment should be independent of CSC.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA

425 NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE · CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

Office of the Editor in Chief
Box 4068
Santa Barbara
California

December 19, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Cousin:

I have read the Pollitt paper with interest. It is a good summary of the possibilities in the executive department and it points the way.

It has seemed to me for a long time that we have got plenty of declared federal policy, and it is pretty good. I'm even inclined to the view that we may have gone about as far as the law, and the courts' interpretation of the law, can take us in the present climate. We probably need some new devices -- particularly in the area of voting -- and the time is going to come when we'll need some new federal statues to take us into critical areas like private housing. But tactically, the important thing now is to bring practice into closer conformity with existing policy before we start blazing any new trails. There are too many people, in and out of the South, who in the last eight years have become convinced by executive sloth and indifference that the federal government doesn't really mean <u>anything</u> it says about racial discrimination.

I have an idea, too, that the South desperately needs actual experience in genuinely integrated situations, and here Negroes are standing in as great need as whites. Any action that subjects a substantial number of people to such experience, and cuts across class lines, may create some tension at the outset but all experience (and the military's is most pertinent) indicates that the ultimate effect is to establish integration in a given area of activity in the minds of the participants, and even of the public at large, as inevitable, therefore standard and customary, and therefore no longer of matter of public concern.

The place to begin, it seems to me, is at the very center of the circle of government authority and influence. That is, with those activities that are clearly, directly and indisputably federal -- the enterprises wholly operated by the federal government and manned by the federal civil service. There is no moral or legal excuse for discrimination in federal employment, and in fact not even a good rationalization to defend it. My earliest memories in South Carolina include white and colored mail carriers and postal clerks working amicably together, and complete acceptance of this condition by the community at large. Even in private employment in the South there has always been a high incidence of effective integration on the job; there might be some wage discrimination in an Arkansas saw mill, but customarily a white man handles one end of a log and a Negro the other, and even in the post-Faubus period I have seen white workers cheerfully working under the orders of a Negro straw boss. I know there are exceptions to this pattern, and bitter ones, as in the textile villages. But against this is the long tradition that federal employment is a special preserve; a Citizens Council zealot may denounce integration of a federal establishment, but he knows he can't do anything about it, and that he will certainly suffer retribution if he reaches for his trusty dynamite; an ordinary segregation-minded Southerner will simply shrug and say, well you know how they are in Washington, and forget it. Finally, employment has a real saving grace -- it is, by its nature, the least social of any integrated activity. A reluctant white may work on the job with Negroes and keep his personal distance; when the whistle blows the whites and Negroes go their separate ways to home and family. In this it differs, in a significant psychological sense, from schools, and from recreational facilities.

I believe it is possible, with no more than transient disturbance, to integrate the post offices, federal buildings, and all other directly-operated federal establishments. It should be done as completely, and as firmly, as it was done in the military services. The law already requires it; in many places a start has been made. The directives of the new administration should leave no doubt that the law will be carried out. And special task forces,

answerable directly to a central authority on the highest level, should be put in the field immediately with the mission of a continuous check from one end of the civil service to the other. There should be no waiting for individual complaints. If the proportion of Negroes in federal employment in a given city, or the proportion in a given job category, appears to be abnormally low the investigators ought to have full authority to find out why, and force appropriate action.

The biggest problem will be to find the right people for these task force missions. They have got to be as understanding as they are tough. The problem is only secondarily the diplomatic handling of whites concerned; it is primarily with the Negroes. In many of these situations the first Negroes forced into an integrated situation will, like Jackie Robinson in his first days with the Dodgers, only get two strikes instead of the usual three. Inevitably, there is a sentimental tendency to use a dark skin as an excuse for incompetence, and if this gets out of hand the whole program can become a boomerang used by the segregationists as a horrible example to prove their point. You have to begin with the proposition that the pattern won't work out mathematically; the number of Negroes genuinely qualified for the better jobs will be proportionately low, but many a Negro leader will not accept this fact as anything other than evidence of discrimination. Actually, the job may require two task forces -- a group of enforcers who will leave no doubt that integration is going to begin now, and a group of "human engineers" who will see that it is done intelligently.

Integration of all directly operated federal installations would provide a limited, but projected and readily visible laboratory experiment in every Southern state. It would confine the experiment initially to the urban places, where acceptance is greatest, and effectively bypass the rural areas of highest resistance. Its success (and I do not doubt that, properly done, it can succeed in short order) will strengthen the government's hand when it moves into other areas, as it will have to do in time.

I am not suggesting any softening of policy in the other critical areas -- state and local activities financed in whole or in part by federal funds; recreation areas in which the government has a primary or secondary stake; public housing or private housing secured by government loans; employment by government contractors, etc. I am suggesting the wisdom of first bringing practice in areas directly under federal control into conformity with policy before any concerted move is made outward toward the perimeter of federal authority and interest. If for no other reason, it is essential for the feds to resemble Caesar's wife a great deal more than they now do. And, as I have suggested above, it is important for Southern whites to have at hand a local example which demonstrates that integration does not cause the skies to fall.

I'll see you at Shiloh.

Regards,

Harry S. Ashmore
Editor-in-Chief

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 22, LOUISIANA

Rec 12-22-60

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 20, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have read the Pollitt memorandum and am of the opinion that it presents the case rather effectively. After reading it through myself I took the liberty of showing it to two of our teachers, one a professor of sociology and the other a professor of political science. Each of them gave me a written memorandum of their reactions and I am sending them along to you for any value that they might be.

With the Greetings of the Season, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. W. Dent
President

AWD:db

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

MEMORANDUM TO PRESIDENT DENT

1. A summation of the examples of how presidents have taken decisive leadership in regard to legally and morally controversial issues is an important contribution.

2. Pointing out the fact that integration has been achieved, with commendable results in the Armed Forces is another worthwhile aspect of the project.

I am convinced that many top white leaders would implement our civil rights laws if they are convinced that integration is indeed practicable.

3. The President and his official family should scrupulously avoid discriminating against <u>any group</u> in making legitimate appointments. This observation by Pollitt, in regard to the West Point appointments, is a sound principle and would have far-reaching effects if applied generally.

4. Pollitt's recommendation that the President should apply legal pressure in the various areas of public life (national guard, housing, voting, recreation and employment) is, of course, absolutely necessary. Laws already on our statue books, if enforced, would effectuate the citizenship equality, insofar as the Federal Government is concerned. <u>The President's duty is to see that this is done</u>.

5. Perhaps, the most significant area in which the President of the United States could lend effective leadership is that of public opinion. The author suggested that this might be done in regard to the May 17, 1954 Decision. Actually, President Kennedy has already done this in his political campaign and should pronounce his position on this question again <u>as President</u>.

It seems, however, that a fundamental task, which can best be done by the President is to restore the confidence of the American people in our judiciary system. It might be then, that a series of nation-wide television programs (Fireside chats) should be scheduled, during which the President would explain both the legal and moral foundations of our Republic.

One subject of greatest significance at the moment is this: <u>What is a good American</u>? In discussing this topic, the President coulddeal objectively with race relations.

MEMORANDUM TO PRESIDENT DENT

In my opinion this report is woefully inadequate. In the first place, it is written by a man who conceives of the office of the presidency in narrow, legalistic terms. It is a perfect example of "the legal mind at work". In the second place, even as a legal document it is inadequate. It is a very weak summary based on very poor sources. While the author lists no less than two hundred and fifty footnotes, most of them are law reports or second-rate literature in the field. Among the missing sources are The Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights. This report could scarcely be used as a source of information to the people who compiled that report which was a far superior job.

However, I will make some comments on the issues brought out in the report which you may find interesting.

The Office of Presidency

As I mentioned above, the report tends to conceive of the presidency in narrow legalistic terms. The presidency consists of a great deal more than a series of legal, constitutional grants of power. It is primarily a personality. The personality of the man who holds the office becomes mirrored throughout the administration and throughout the country. One of the main tasks of President Kennedy is to establish an atmosphere which is hostile to and refuses to conform to racial hatreds and prejudices. During the past decade there has been great change in this country. Many states have adopted anti-discrimination laws, many attitudes have changed even in the deep South. The Eisenhower administration has been extremely sluggish in adapting itself to the new feeling. Eisenhower has continued his golfing and hunting trips to the South where he has followed without any evident objection, the traditional policy of segregation. Other administrative leaders have done the same.

Considerable criticism has been leveled at our foreign diplomats for their practices of drinking cocktails with the elite and never getting to meet the people. Yet the very people who level this criticism did the same thing and continued to do the same thing in the South. When Kennedy and Johnson campaigned in the South they spoke to segregated audiences. Mrs. Joseph P. Kennedy met segregated audiences. President Kennedy, the Kennedy family and the whole Kennedy administration must break this pattern. When they come South they must break away from the elite and insist that they be given an opportunity to meet the people. This cannot mean two separate meetings, one with white and one with colored. They must refuse to conform to the pattern of segregation and must insist upon integrated meetings.

VOTING RIGHTS, Section IX page 48 of report

During the past ten years the burden of breaking down segregation barriers has defaulted to the federal courts through a

lack of action on the parts of either the President or Congress. The burden must be transferred from the judicial to the executive. The Civil Rights Bill of 1960 calls for referees to be appointed by the Courts to investigate complaints of discrimination at the polls. This task should not be on the shoulder of the Courts.

The Pollitt Report (page 49) points out that such action is preceded through the United States Attorneys, and points out that the United States Attorney is usually a local citizen. In the South these local citizens have been noticeably lacking in enthusiasm in regard to prosecuting Civil Rights cases. Pollitt recommends that the Civil Rights Division be staffed with lawyers who could bypass the local United States Attorney. What Pollitt seems to overlook is that these attorneys would also probably be local people who might also be lacking in enthusiasm.

The solution I see is for the Attorney General to open more branch offices throughout the South. These offices should be staffed by trained investigators already on civil service with civil service tenure, so that they will not have to fear for their jobs and so they will follow orders of the Attorney General regardless of their personal feelings. For the time being these investigators could be borrowed from seasoned governmental agencies such as the FBI, The Secret Service, Internal Revenue Department, Bureau of Narcotics, etc. So far all action in the South has depended upon the injured party registering a complaint. Reprisals are many; complaints are few. The Attorney General's office must initiate action in civil rights cases just as it does in criminal cases. In other words, denial of rights to American citizens must be regarded as a crime. The Attorney General must act as vigorously to stamp out this crime as he does to stamp out counterfeiting or narcotics. There is little need for new laws, all this could be done under the Law of 1960.

<u>FEDERAL CONTRACT EMPLOYMENT</u>, Section III page 17 of report

One of the most important areas, because so many people are affected where the president can take action, is in the field of discrimination in employment in government work. All the government has done so far has been to create Commissions which have accomplished little. It is true that every government contract carries high sounding phrases regarding discrimination (see page 18 of report), but in practice the phrases have been blindly ignored.

The Pollitt report recommends that the government cancel contracts if the contractor discriminates in employment practices (page 21) or withhold contracts (page 21). Professor Pollitt has not looked into this question very deeply. At times for reasons of national defense or for economic reasons it may not be feasible to withhold or to cancel contracts. Sometimes only one contractor is available for an emergency job. The industrial capacity of the United States has not yet reached infinity.

Pollitt also suggests the issuance of a governmental "black-list." To my mind this smacks a little of totalitarianism.

I think that what the government could do is to ussue a "preferred list" of Contractors. Companies which discriminate in employment would not be put on the list. The contractors on the list would be given priority at government work. All contracts which are not of an emergency nature, which are not concerned with national defense and are not let for economic reasons (e.g. to relieve unemployment) are to be let only to companies of the "preferred list."

Pollitt

December 22, 1960

Father Theodore M. Hesburgh
President
University of Notre Dame
South Bend, Indiana

Dear Father Hesburgh:

We have learned, through Mr. Harris Wofford, that you would be interested in seeing the enclosed memorandum prepared for the Council by Prof. Daniel Pollitt of the University of North Carolina Law School.

We are attaching a memorandum which we used in circulating the report to a few students of government. This will explain the basis on which Mr. Pollitt prepared the document.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF
Enclosures - 2.

University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana

Office of the President

December 28, 1960

Cable Address "Dulac"

Mrs. Mildred Flowers
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Flowers:

In Father Hesburgh's prolonged absence from the University, I wanted to acknowledge your note of December 22 and the memorandum which you enclosed. You may be sure that they will be on Father Hesburgh's desk when he returns, and I know he will appreciate your kindness in sharing this material with him.

With assurances of Father Hesburgh's best New Year wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Hum Hoeinski

Secretary to the President

December 22, 1960

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference
208 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. King:

We have learned, through Mr. Harris Wofford, that you would be interested in seeing the enclosed memorandum prepared for the Council by Prof. Daniel Pollitt of the University of North Carolina Law School.

We are attaching a memorandum which we used in circulating the report to a few students of government. This will explain the basis on which Mr. Pollitt prepared the document.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF/mf
Enclosures - 2.

Washington Urban League, Inc.

"Equal Opportunity for All"

626 3rd Street, N. W. Washington 1, D. C. REpublic 7-0367

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Sterling Tucker
Executive Director

December 22, 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have read the Pollitt draft memorandum and offer the following observations.

I consider the statement well documented and comprehensive. However, it is of such broad coverage that one gets the feeling that effort has been made here to include all areas. If this has been the purpose, then Professor Pollitt has omitted several considerations, most notably welfare. There are many problems in the general welfare field, aid to dependent children, and other areas which are of vital concern to Negroes everywhere. On the other hand, if there is no desire to cover all areas of possible governmental concern, I would suggest that subject matter be selected and grouped in such fashion as to convey the desired emphasis.

Other suggestions which I might make would have only to do with possible recommendations, but such a list could be endless. Much of the thinking I have on this general subject is embodied in the report of the National Urban League to Mr. Kennedy. A copy of the report is enclosed.

Again, I believe that Professor Pollitt has done a most creditable job of research and has interpreted, rather accurately, the role of government in matters of race relations.

Very sincerely,

Sterling Tucker

Sterling Tucker
Executive Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Member, Health and Welfare Council, National Capital Area

Affiliated with The National Urban League

Contributions to the Washington Urban League are Income Tax Deductible

SHARING IN UNITED GIVERS FUND

WE PROPOSE: That there be direct intervention by the new President, endowing the President's Committee on Government-Employment Policy with White House authority for a forceful, if need be, coercive program, to establish and oversee execution of a non-discrimination job policy in every department, agency, commission and bureau. (p. 7)

WE PROPOSE: That exceptions to the "rule of three" be outlawed; and that either a "rule of one" be instituted or precaution taken to insure the Negro federal worker of just treatment. (p. 8)

WE PROPOSE: That some dispassionate arm of government do the investigating; that if the burden of proof is to be on the complainant, he be permitted to review the file compiled by the accused agency; that findings of fact be made at the site where the grievance occurred and be based on briefs filed by the accused agency, the complainant, and an independent investigator. (p. 8)

WE PROPOSE: That it /Committee on Government Contracts/ be abolished in favor of an organization reporting directly to the President and able and willing to bring direct pressure on offending contractors. (p. 10)

WE PROPOSE: That steps be taken to doubly insure that when firms working on government contracts say they have given up discriminatory practices that the practices "stay" given up. The Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems in Chicago looked recently into 23 "closed" complaints and found that 13 of the 23 companies had placed discriminatory mob orders after they had satisfied the Contracts Committee that such practices had been abandoned.[8] (p. 10)

WE PROPOSE: That the Urban Renewal Administration conduct a "crash" program to encourage "open" moderately-priced housing; and that clearance and redevelopment ~~projects not be permitted in seriously house-short communities except concurrently with creation of "open land" projects. (p. 14)~~

projects not be permitted in seriously house-whort communities except concurrently with creation of "open land" projects. (p. 14)

WE PROPOSE: That the Housing and Home Finance Agency encourage neighborhood upgrading and conservation projects, by offering inducements to home owners and home buyers in neighborhoods threatened by shifts toward segregation.

WE PROPOSE: That to-be-displaced families be surveyed as to their needs and their preferences; that centralized, community-wide relocation service be established; that concrete programs be set in motion to provide needed housing - in advance of, or simultaneously with, the upheaval. (p. 15)

WE PROPOSE: That the federal government require that policy-making boards of local housing agencies include representation from the total community, and be required to consult during planning stages with delegates of the residents who are to be displaced. (p. 16)

WE PROPOSE: That "demonstration projects" be encouraged and fostered such as to: 1) Report and exchange information on efficient creation of low and middle income rental housing, 2) Assess, in terms of statutory compliance, the effects resettlement has on racial living patterns and 3) Demonstrate what can be done in the way of integrated housing in given cities, using community-wide approaches. (p.16)

WE PROPOSE: That such categories as "employed" and "employable" be eliminated or greatly liberalized in the federal grants-in-aid programs to the states. (18)

WE PROPOSE: That HEW take the lead in convincing states if possible, forcing states if necessary, to face up to the obvious needs of these "stateless" people. (p.20)

WE PROPOSE: That federal legislation be enacted which would provide grants to state welfare departments, to accredited colleges and public and voluntary agencies to be used for individual scholarships and for expanding and improving training resources for child welfare work. (p. 21)

WE PROPOSE: That this be done through an Occupational Information program designed by the U. S. Office of Education for use in all schools, with definite recognition of the specific job problems of Negroes and other minority groups. Such a program should be accompanied by detailed supplementary instructions for vocational ~~guidance, primary, and junior~~ guidance counselors and teachers with guidance responsibilities; and through special courses introduced into the program of the Counseling and Guidance Training Institutes established under the National Defense Education Act. (p. 23)

WE PROPOSE: That the Labor Department's Bureau of Apprenticeship not only could focus attention onthese problems, but also develop channels through which qualified students would pass directly from school training to apprenticeship. (p/24)

****

TO

JOHN H. KENNEDY

President-elect

THE TIME IS NOW

A Statement Of The National Urban League

National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Henry Steeger, Sr.
President

Lester B. Granger
Executive Director

December 29, 1960

****

THE TIME IS NOW

The National Urban League believes that the time is now for the United States and its more than 179 million people,[1] individually and collectively, to face up squarely to the one national problem that can be described accurately in the black-and-white terms: "white and non-white."

There is an unparalleled feeling of urgency among both colored and white Americans as to the need for reconstruction of the American social order. This is expressed in the widespread support for movements carried on by both adults and youths in the form of sit-in and other protest demonstrations against the archaic and unjust system of racial segregation. Surely, the time is ripe for imaginative, determined steps to correct social and economic inequities constituting a denial of the American heritage.

For almost 100 years after the abolition of slavery, even the most fortunate of Negroes have been unable to rise above second-class citizenship.

It's almost a cliche, this phrase: second-class citizenship. It has rolled off so many glib tongues that it has acquired roll-off characteristics, and its assault on duck-like ear-drums is without effect.

But there is meaning in the phrase, if you wring the juice out of each word, separately and equally. The anti-social forces that hurt the white citizen, do even greater violence to the Negro.

*In areas where education offered white children is bad, education offered the Negro is worse.

*Where jobs for whites are scarce, jobs for Negroes are virtually unavailable.

*Where public welfare assistance to whites is miserly, to Negroes it is miserable.

*Where homes for whites are substandard, homes for Negroes are intolerable.

The Urban League believes that the non-white child born today should be given the same chance as the white child for:

1) An education - high school, college, graduate school, apprenticeship and vocational training, depending only on his ability.

2) A job - whether with the government or with firms doing business with the government or with private firms privately engaged; whether as a secretary or a clerk, as a laborer, a production-line worker, a skilled building tradesman or a professional man.

3) A home - in a decent neighborhood of his own choice.

4) And, yes, for public welfare - if his needs demand it.

Millions of Negro children born today do not have these benefits in full measure, these needs of the whole man, these advantages, these "rights" within the concept of equal treatment.

An endless list of Washington-based orators has suggested - with credit to Justice Department sculptors, if not to Shakespeare - that "The Past Is Prologue." But none has acknowledged the corollary notions that "The Future Is Epilogue," and "Now Is The Time."

But "NOW" is the time. Change must await sequence, and already under present circumstances generations of unborn Negroes have been sentenced to lifetimes of second-class citizenship, in a nation that is first-rate by any measuring stick except the determination of its people to make its dreams come true.

When the religious issue was raised during the Presidential campaign, you asked the question: "Did I lose this election the day I was baptised?"

The thought was a sobering one to every Negro citizen. The bitter fact is that some Americans are not able to hold on - even as far as baptism - to their citizenship "rights." Their disability is genetic and prenatal.

For them, "NOW" is the time, the time for government to act: with determination, with clarity, and with speed unqualified - unqualified because the past six and a half years indicate that "Deliberate Speed" bears the same resemblance to speed that "Separate But Equal" bore to equal for decades.

Only determined, clear, swift action can sustain the hopes of Negro Americans. For hope is the key that unlocks the shackles of dichromatic myopia. But hope must be for the living, for the "NOW." The time of epilogue is too late.

No longer can the Negro citizen dream only for his children. He must also have reason to dream for himself.

Words can induce the dream but only action can prevent vision from becoming delusion, for both white and Negro Americans. Both have a stake in these problems, though they affect the Negro with greater direct severity.

This is true in the fields of employment and training, housing, public welfare and education - the quadrangle that confines the hopeless.

Let us examine momentarily the nation's dilemma particularly in the area of employment and training.

I. EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING

In the materialistic society, whether godless or godly, the standard of living of the individual citizen is largely determined at the paymaster's window. The Negro male worker in 1958 earned 58 per cent as much as the white male worker.[2] The Negro female worker earned 44.6 per cent as much as the white female worker.[3] The result is, of course, a correspondingly lower standard of living for the Negro than for the white.

Ironically, at some point or other in the nation's employment structure, every labor, management and government device intended to put the right man in the right job or to protect the worker is used to keep out the Negro.

At some points in the country, the U. S. Employment Service offices work with personnel departments and job foremen and union hiring halls, not to select in and select out the round pegs and the square pegs, but to select in and select out the black pegs and the white pegs and less often, the Jewish pegs, the Catholic pegs, the Baptist pegs, the Oriental and the Latin pegs.

The optimists among the concerned conclude: "It's better now than it has ever been."

The pessimists among the concerned conclude: "It's worse than it will ever be."

Both, perhaps, would agree that we are on the brink, on the threshold, that more can be done in a short period of history now than ever has been done or than ever will be done.

While it is easy to call to mind public advocates of school segregation, lunch counter segregation, public assistance segregation, residential segregation, even religious segregation, we have progressed as a nation to the point where only bigots would publicly espouse the position that a man is not entitled to get and to hold a job commensurate with his talent, education and performance. Misuse or underuse of talent is publicly unforgivable.

Job discrimination is no longer publicly defensible, and it is not even defended on that basis by those who resist most strongly the racial-economic judgments of history.

Here is the area where government can work with dispatch, without awaiting as in other areas the slowly dawning evidence of public enlightenment. And here, too, the government, has far more weapons than it has used. But let's take it from the top:

GOVERNMENT JOBS - The Negro has gained a foothold on government employment as such, but the path to advancement is barred often even when qualifications are undeniably superior. About 70 per cent of all Negro government employees are concentrated in the lower, subprofessional job classifications.[4]

The federal policy is clear on hiring and on upgrading, but it has never been implemented with determination.

THE PROBLEM: The practice is less than the preachment.

WE PROPOSE: That there be direct intervention by the new President, endowing the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy with White House authority for a forceful, if need be, coercive program, to establish and oversee execution of a non-discrimination job policy in every department, agency, commission and bureau.

THE PROBLEM: The President's Committee on Government Employment Policy has been reluctant to survey practices in specific departments, and has "found" no discrimination in 53 of 63 cases referred to it in one 18-month period.[5]

WE BELIEVE: That this White House-sponsored program can fairly question "why" large sections of some departments are all-white, that the President's Committee should be induced to abandon its historic reluctance to "spot check" key departments for information on employment and promotionsl practices;

That a firm hand must be used to deal with all federal offices, especially in the South; that the "subtle approach" of the President's Committee, no matter how well-intentioned, will never be effective.

THE PROBLEM: Federal Civil Service rules "invite" discrimination by allowing choice of "any of the top three" applicants, and exceptions to even the "rule of three" make it possible to avoid hiring a Negro even when all three top candidates are Negro.

WE PROPOSE: That exceptions to the "rule of three" be outlawed; and that either a "rule of one" be instituted or precaution taken to insure the Negro federal worker of just treatment.

THE PROBLEM: Over a three-year period less than 19 per cent of the 535 discrimination complaints filed - in a government of more than two million workers - were resolved in favor of the complainant.[6] And even in those cases the complainant could not get the job he was denied, but had to await the next opening.

WE BELIEVE: That a reasonable system of handling of complaints would result in far more decisions for complainants; and that the justified complainant should not only get immediately the job he was denied, but should get the back pay differential for the interim period.

THE PROBLEM: The President's Committee on Government Employment Policy lets the "defendant" agency investigate itself.

WE PROPOSE: That some dispassionate arm of government do the investigating; that if the burden of proof is to be on the complainant, he be permitted to review the file compiled by the accused agency; that findings of fact be made at the site where the grievance occurred and be based on briefs filed by the accused agency, the complainant, and an independent investigator.

THE PROBLEM: Responsibility for various aspects of the Negro's job troubles is divided among three groups, and sometimes one hand doesn't know what the other is doing.

The three federal agencies are the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy, the President's Committee on Government Contracts, and the Civil Rights Commission.

WE BELIEVE: That better coordination of these three units would resolve jurisdictional problems and provide the benefits which result from open communication lines and exchange of operating experience.

THE PROBLEM: Federal contracting agencies fail to take the non-discrimination clause seriously. All 30 contracting agencies have the power to terminate, amend or refuse to negotiate contracts for any failure to comply with all parts of the contract.

WE BELIEVE: That the non-discrimination clause in each of these contracts is as legally binding as any other part of the contract. The government can and must insist that the non-discrimination provision be strictly observed.

THE PROBLEM: Now as under previous administrations, only a small portion of the more than 17 million jobs currently being performed under government contracts[7] are in fact, as well as in contract, awarded on a non-discrimination basis.

WE BELIEVE: That the President's Committee on Government Contracts, like others before it, has not done its job well. The reasons being, not only failure to prosecute its task with vigor, but also lack of a clear, firm charge and lack of sufficient authority. The President's direct responsibility has never been made evident.

WE PROPOSE: That it be abolished in favor of an organization reporting directly to the President and able and willing to bring direct pressure on offending contractors.

THE PROBLEM: Sometimes the "end" to discrimination is only temporary..

WE PROPOSE: That steps be taken to doubly insure that when firms working on government contracts say they have given up discriminatory practices that the practices "stay" given up. The Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems in Chicago looked recently into 23 "closed" complaints and found that 13 of the 23 companies had placed discriminatory job orders after they had satisfied the Contracts Committee that such practices had been abandoned.[8]

THE PROBLEM: Union-run apprentice training programs and hiring halls make it extremely difficult for the Negro to get the background of skills necessary to qualify for some skilled trades.

WE BELIEVE: That the federal government can assume a more vital role in promoting an effective program for the training of skilled workers and guarantee that federal assistance to all craft training systems is limited to programs which do not discriminate or differentiate according to color.

II. HOUSING

This is the only commodity in America distributed on a racial basis.

There is no non-Defense segment of American economic life so dependent on the federal government. Yet nowhere in the government's housing or housing related programs is there any attempt to disturb the racial status quo, or to bring about the integrated pattern which concerned Americans believe essential to the cultural absorption of the Negro in American society.

Must the nation be struck blind before it can accommodate the cultural integration of the Negro, at least in the relative fashion it has accommodated the Slav, the Italian, the Greek, the Irish, the French, the German?

Cities are sprawling through the suburbs, in some cases merging with other cities, but no one takes an "over-all" look at the sprawl problem. Some authorities have suggested a cabinet-level Department of Urban Affairs and Housing, which might be in a better position to recognize, analyze and deal with the problems of sprawl and the concurrent problems of neighborhood deterioration, family dependency, juvenile delinquency, increased crime, school "drop outs", overcrowded and inadequate educational, health, and recreational facilities.

The Negro's housing problems are made more acute by sorely needed urban renewal programs which upheave whole blocks of homes to make way for new buildings, apartments, streets, highways.

The uprooted, more often than not, are cast adrift on a housing sea that knows few racially-dispassionate ports. There is no place to go, to relocate, except to a neighborhood of the same hue as the dispossessed; and urban renewal constantly narrows this choice by eliminating some of these "possible" neighborhoods.

As its name implies, the National Urban League has as its mission the needs of the city-dweller, and we well recognize the urgency of need for rebuilding and revitalizing our cities.

But our joy that urban renewal has become a focal point of the federal housing program has been tempered by the fact that it is administered with little regard for the people and with crushing impact on minority citizens.

The unhoused invariably are settled within racially-drawn geographic areas, and the program tends to extend the segregated pattern.

The housing segregation in turn, determines the de facto racial pattern in schools, recreational facilities, and other aspects of community life.

As a result, our great metropolitan centers are pushed more insistently than ever toward increased segregation, portending a day when they might become great enclaves of poor and frightened people, mostly Negro and largely of rural origin, ill-equipped for city life.

Urban renewal can and should be used to reverse, rather than support racist tendencies that form the death drift of the cities.

We in the Urban League, through the eyes of our local affiliates in these metropolitan centers, see here and there evidence of a fresh trend.

In some cities, discerning citizens and leaders of the housing industry are consciously and conscientiously trying to make urban renewal really work - work in the context of social as well as geographic redevelopment.

No city can claim yet a bold and complete program of this needed kind. But, project-by-project, a few forward steps of this kind are being taken - taken without either federal direction or stimulation.

"NOW" is the time to build upon and extend this experience, to set the course of all urban renewal in the direction of "open" housing and decent environment for those who choose to live in these areas.

"WHERE SHALL WE LIVE?" asked the Commission on Race and Housing in 1958. This independent body of distinguished civic and housing industry leaders recommended creation of a Presidential Committee to examine all Federal housing agency policies and operations and to present a time-scheduled program for eliminating every vestige of discrimination in distribution of the housing dollar. We subscribe to the findings of the group and particularly endorse the proposal that the President issue an Executive Order to abolish discrimination in government-aided housing and to create a Presidential Committee to administer the order.

But let us look at more specific problems, starting with urban renewal programs:

THE PROBLEM: The most important urban renewal problems are: 1) That integration is not acknowledged as a goal of the program, 2) That there is no emphasis on creation of low and middle income housing, 3) That there is an overwhelming need for "open land" projects which are moderately priced.

WE BELIEVE:

1) That no urban renewal projects providing housing should be approved, or approvable, except when all facilities in the project area will be open to all - open without regard to race or religion.

2) That incentives, including special supports to localities providing effective subsidy of moderately priced housing, should be used to encourage construction of such housing; and that luxury housing should be permitted only on demonstration that low and middle income housing is economically unfeasible.

WE PROPOSE: That the Urban Renewal Administration conduct a "crash" program to encourage "open" moderately-priced housing; and that clearance and redevelopment projects not be permitted in seriously house-short communities except concurrently with creation of "open land" projects.

THE PROBLEM: The so-called "workable program" against slums and blight which communities must work out to qualify for urban renewal funds, does not require a program aimed at eliminating racially segregated housing.

WE BELIEVE: That racial restrictions in housing are a major cause of slums and blight; and that the "workable program" should be required to include specific steps for eliminating race restrictions and facilitating freer movement of Negroes into neighborhoods from which they are now excluded with tacit approval of government.

THE PROBLEM: The long arm of the federal government lies listless, apparently unable to help the individuals and the communities that are trying to stabilize "open occupancy" neighborhood patterns.

WE PROPOSE: That the Housing and Home Finance Agency encourage neighborhood upgrading and conservation projects, by offering inducements to home owners and home buyers in neighborhoods threatened by shifts toward segregation.

THE PROBLEM: Relocation needs of hundreds of families are often approached piecemeal and haphazardly.

WE PROPOSE: That to-be-displaced families be surveyed as to their needs and their preferences; that centralized, community-wide relocation service be established; that concrete programs be set in motion to provide needed housing - in advance of, or simultaneously with, the upheaval.

THE PROBLEM: HHFA "urges" people to participate in planning and execution of urban renewal projects. But it "required" only that a public hearing be held even if after planning is complete and important decisions are already made. In the South particularly, this makes possible the "Negro advisory committee" which creates the illusion of approval for virtual dispossession.

WE PROPOSE: That the federal government require that policy-making boards of local housing agencies include representation from the total community, and be required to consult during planning stages with delegates of the residents who are to be displaced.

THE PROBLEM: The Urban Renewal Administration administers a program of "demonstration grants" for improving redevelopment methodology, but has not used these grants to focus on housing problems of the Negro.

WE PORPOSE: That "demonstration projects" be encouraged and fostered such as to: 1) Report and exchange information on efficient creation of low and middle income rental housing, 2) Assess, in terms of statutory compliance, the effects resettlement has on racial living patterns and 3) Demonstrate what can be done in the way of integrated housing in given cities, using community-wide approaches.

THE PROBLEM: In Public Housing the chief problems are: 1) The stereotyped design of such projects, 2) The perpetuation of the economic and racial status quo, 3) The failure to stablize good "old" communities, 4) The lack of planning for other services, 5) The insufficient planning latitude given local authorities to meet some problems, and 6) The failure to rehabilitate Public Housing occupants.

WE BELIEVE:

1) That design should conform to the neighborhood pattern and that this could best be done through smaller units on scattered sites.

2) That proper long-range planning could and should prevent economic and racial stratification.

3) That Public Housing should be used as a stabilizing force, distributing low-income families throughout cities, whether by buying or renting older homes or by subsidizing the rental.

4) That adequate social services and community facilities for tenant families be planned along with the programming of new public housing.

5) That local authorities should have the greatest possible latitude in determing design, type of dwelling, space standards, rent schedules, income limits for admission, eligibility-for-occupancy standards, budgets, and organizational patterns for local authorities.

6) That families in public housing should be encouraged to become self-dependent through cooperative rental or purchase plans, when they reach the over-income stage.

III. PUBLIC WELFARE

The very humanity of federal-state public assistance programs assisting over 6 million people[9] - dependent children (38 per cent Negro),[10] the aged (17 per cent Negro),[11] the blind (30 per cent Negro),[12] the sick and the disabled (38 per cent Negro)[13] emphasize the inhumanity of denying such aid when the family's breadwinner is employed, no matter how inadequately, or when he is "employable," no matter how theoretically.

These legal categories pose problems for the non-white and the non-black. The Negro suffers out of proportion to his share - as 11 per cent of the population[14] - but this is in part because of other sides of the quadrangle.

> THE PROBLEM, then, is "theoretical employability" in the face of joblessness and the "technical ineligibility" of a sub-marginal job, as much a cross to the white West Virginian, the coal-less miner, as to the urban Negro.

The nation can no longer tolerate these pigeon-hole categories which have allowed us to ignore destitute and near destitute Americans.

WE PROPOSE: That such categories as "employed" and "employable" be eliminated or greatly liberalized in the federal grants-in-aid programs to the states.

THE PROBLEM: The "no family" plan. The father who stays with his family makes it more difficult for his wife and children to obtain aid, because he is "employable". The 244,000 fathers whose whereabouts were unknown during a selected period in 1958 made their families eligible under the "Aid to Dependent Children" program,[15] whether or not this was the compelling consideration.

WE BELIEVE: That the emphasis of ADC should be on meeting the needs of ALL children, without regard to desertion, employment categories or color. To qualify the rights of needy children, is to obscure the problem.

THE PROBLEM: Six states already have passed legislation aimed at "punishing" illegitimacy by cutting assistance to unwed mothers. Similar moves are being pushed in a dozen other states. This threatens the basic concepts of the Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) program and, if the movement grows, will completely wreck both the motivation and the operation of federal aid to dependent children.

WE BELIEVE: That the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has the authority and must accept the responsibility for making certain that individual states comply with both the spirit and the letter of the law regarding the ADC program; that all federal aid should be halted to any state that seeks to pervert the intent of the law; that the serious problem of illegitimacy might better be approached positively, rather than negatively, and emphasis be put on programs stressing the positive aspects of family life.

Though the sinless have been urged since Biblical times to cast the first stone, history offers little evidence indicating the efficacy of economic censure of immorality.

> THE PROBLEM: "You've not lived here long enough to be OUR problem." Again we hide behind technicalities to justify not meeting needs, this time those of persons who have not lived in one area long enough to qualify for welfare assistance.

WE BELIEVE: That residence requirements have absolutely no relation to need. They can be abrogated either through unlimited reciprocity or through a federal "interim" program, covering the needy during the waiting-to-qualify period.

WE PROPOSE: That HEW take the lead in convincing states if possible, forcing states if necessary, to face up to the obvious needs of these "stateless" people.

The problem would end quickly if a state were required to use the same "waiting period" yardstick in both the case of collecting taxes from new residents and in the case of meeting welfare needs of new residents.

> THE PROBLEM: The Advisory Council on Child Welfare Services reports that the nation is not meeting the problems created by an increasing rate of illegitimacy, that one agency alone "was forced to reject 92 Negro unmarried mothers...for lack of resources to place the infants in pre-adoptive homes, or for staff to recruit and study homes, to make and supervise placements..."[16]

WE BELIEVE: That unwed mothers - many children themselves[17] - must be given medical, legal and social services, financial assistance and shelter if we are to avoid having this problem beget itself endlessly.

> THE PROBLEM: The Social Security Act defines federal participation in child welfare in terms of "the protection and care of homeless, dependent and neglected children and children in danger of becoming delinquent" and for the return of runaway children who have not attained the age of 18. This definition is inadequate in that it is narrow and exclusive.

WE BELIEVE: A broader definition of child welfare services is necessary, one which would allow for the inclusion of services dealing with any social problem affecting the well-being of children and eliminating the possibility of a narrow interpretation of the scope of services.

> THE PROBLEM: The shortage of personnel in child welfare programs is acute. At present, 3,000 additional such professional workers are needed in public agencies to provide minimum coverage of the country.[18] This shortage threatens to grow more acute.

WE PROPOSE: That federal legislation be enacted which would provide grants to state welfare departments, to accredited colleges and public and voluntary agencies to be used for individual scholarships and for expanding and improving training resources for child welfare work.

IV. EDUCATION

This is a national problem, with special emphasis for the Negro only because here, as elsewhere, the Negro's lot is as bad as the worst. Seven and a half per cent of the non-white population over age 14 is illiterate as compared to 1.6 per cent of the white population.[19]

The problem in the South is self-evident. It demands the personal attention of the President, continued and intensified action by the Justice Department, and the planning and preventive measures that could come from an alert and energetic Office of Education.

For the Negro, "operation bookstrap" starts at the point of inspiration - whether inspired by his government's sense of justice or his President's moral leadership or the realization that some portion of the world is his, if he applies his talents.

The problem of education is linked with a special adhesiveness to the other problems of the Negro. Examine a few:

> THE PROBLEM: The Negro sees little to inspire him to higher education, to special training.

WE BELIEVE: That the incentive must be created by opening up fields to the qualified Negroes who are available; and that the government should vigorously expand its activities in this area.

THE PROBLEM: The average Negro's background and early environment are such that goals accepted and sought by much of the society are to him unknown or ill-considered.

WE BELIEVE: That a federal program of special educational assistance in substandard school districts throughout the country would help white and Negro alike. It could be devised along the line of special training in regular grades, with emphasis on preregular school classes to occupy, instruct, guide children in urban areas where the working mother is the rule rather than the exception.

THE PROBLEM: By the time the society makes known to the culturally disenfranchized its demands and its potential, it is already too late.

WE BELIEVE: That ways must be found to break through the barriers of doubt and self-depreciation erected by generations of denial and rejection; that especially does the Negro need to have impressed upon him over and over in the schools what jobs are possible to him; what jobs may open up in the near future; and, for the talented, which job areas he can move into with the hope of self-fulfillment and for the greatest possible contribution to the entire society.

WE PROPOSE: That this be done through an Occupational Information program designed by the U. S. Office of Education for use in all schools, with definite recognition of the specific job problems of Negroes and other minority groups. Such a program should be accompanied by detailed supplementary instructions for vocational guidance counselors and teachers with guidance responsibilities; and through special courses introduced into the program of the Counseling and Guidance Training Institutes established under the National Defense Education Act.

THE PROBLEM: Both the white and the Negro workman is the victim of galloping obsolescence. While better initial training will ease the mental, physical and psychological adjustment, only adult education and retraining will provide the "brass tacks" knowledge of new skills.

WE BELIEVE: That studies of the education-lag among working adults would point up to industry the vast area in which it could profitably retrain, reeducate. Some such retraining would be done by private corporations or through industry-wide efforts but, for some, federal programs already provided for under the National Defense Education Act should be more fully used, with standardized programs throughout the country, even if administered by the states.

THE PROBLEM: Negroes are blocked from apprenticeship training and experience in some fields, notably building trades skills.

WE PROPOSE: That the Labor Department's Bureau of Apprenticeship not only could focus attention on these problems, but also develop channels through which qualified students would pass directly from school training to apprenticeship.

> THE PROBLEM: Does the Negro get his fair share? The classic ambiguity of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in interpreting the National Defense Education Act of 1958 is almost Alice-In-Wonderlandish. The act administered by HEW has decreed that each institution will receive an amount which bears "the same ratio to the amount requested by such institution as the total amounts available under the total amounts requested by institutions in such States". This apparently means that the more you ask for, the more you'll get.

WE BELIEVE: That loan funds should be made available on the basis of need, not on the basis of "competitive bidding" by colleges to outwit an arbitrary formula; that an HEW study would show little correlation between true needs and the amounts now awarded.

SUMMARY COMMENT

The Urban League believes that beyond all other considerations, it is the power, the will, the talent of the President that will cause the nation to face up to these problems most quickly, most efficiently.

If he has the talent and the will, he can effect a large portion of this program by insisting on compliance, at all levels, with the one most important concept: that no federal dollar be spent to condone, encourage, or tolerate discrimination of any kind, in any part of the country. If federal dollars spent in employment, contracts, housing, training, education, can be used to assist our move toward the integration frontier, the day will come sooner. The federal government can no longer be a party to a compromise of our national purpose, our national goal.

The world will know and judge us, not by what we say on the campaign trail nor even in the halls of Congress; but by what we do to eliminate discrimination wherever it occurs -- whether in the welfare programs of Louisiana and the schools of New Orleans or elsewhere throughout the country.

And by what we do, we shall also be judged at home.

A faltering start in "the right direction" or with "all deliberate speed" is no longer good enough. There must be full speed ahead. And the leadership must come from the top.

Tomorrow may be too late - THE TIME IS NOW.

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2. The Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., October,1960,p.15.

3. Ibid, p. 15.

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5. President's Committee on Government Employment Policy, Third Report. Washington, D.C. August, 1959, p.6.

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7. Ibid, p. 5.

8. Ibid, p. 14.

9. Public Assistance,Report of the Advisory Council on Public Assistance, Washington,D.C.,January, 1960, p. A-5.

10. Joseph H. Douglass, The Negro Family's Search for Economic Security, U.S.Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., July, 1956, p. 101.

11. Ibid, p. 100.

12. Ibid, p. 103.

13. Ibid, p. 102.

14. Conrad Taeuber, "Some Recent Population Changes in the United States", The Journal of Intergroup Relations, Vol. 1, No. 2, Spring, 1960, p. 116.

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16. Report of the Advisory Council on Child Welfare Services, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., December, 1959, p. 47.

17. In 1957, an estimated 81,000 children were born to unwed teenage mothers. Ibid, p. 50.

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19. Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, Literacy and Educational Attainment: March, 1959, Series P-20, No. 99, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., February, 1960, Table A.

December 23, 1960

Mr. William L. Taylor
Americans for Democratic Action
1341 Connecticut Avenue N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Taylor:

At the request of Daniel Pollitt, we are sending you one copy of his paper on executive action for civil rights.

Pollitt's excellent study was done as a resource document to assist us in formulating some opinions and suggestions which we intend within the next two or three weeks to submit to the new administration and, perhaps, to make public. I mention this because it should not be assumed that his analyses and recommendations are necessarily ours.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: Pollitt analysis

HAMMER AND COMPANY ASSOCIATES
Economic and business research

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PHILIP HAMMER
President

IN ATLANTA
LAWRENCE GREENE
JOHN GOULD
AMY COLLINS
RAYMOND HERMAN
ROBERT SILER

IN WASHINGTON
JEROME PICKARD
ROBERT GLADSTONE

December 27, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This will transmit my comments on the manuscript by Daniel Pollitt entitled "The President's Powers in Areas of Race Relations: an Exploration." I appreciate the opportunity to read over this manuscript.

I am impressed with the tremendous wealth of material that Mr. Pollitt pulled together in his document. The implications of his findings are tremendous. I would think that his work would give you a basis for a wide variety of approaches to the problems of racial discrimination that up to now have received too little attention by agencies in race relations and other people of good will. At the same time, the study also indicates the vast progress that has been made through the broad network of Federal government action. One gets the picture, therefore, of many things taking place and many additional channels that might be explored.

My main criticism of the manuscript is its apparent inconsistency in approach. It blows hot and cold, sometimes digs deep and sometimes only scratches the surface, often draws important implication but just as often leaves the reader hanging in the air with a "so what?" in his mind. To a large extent, this criticism might be answered by careful editing, although in some instances the problem is one of apparent research vacuums rather than the handling of materials. I recognize that Mr. Pollitt had to pull together a vast amount of material in a short period of time and I appreciate the difficulties of turning out a finished piece of work under such circumstances. I have a feeling that this is a remarkable piece of work in light of the timetable, but the criticisms might still be made if there is time to smooth up the final product before publication.

Let me be more specific:

1. In some instances Mr. Pollitt editorializes, in others he presents only the straight facts. I would think that a more consistent

pattern could be followed. Mr. Pollitt could well have established a major theme based upon his findings that would give him an editorial framework upon which he could hang his facts as he moves along. Instead, he inserts strong editorial passages at the conclusion of some sections and he treats other equally important subjects in an almost prosaic type of exposition.

For example, on page 54 Mr. Pollitt says, "only the President can sound the alarm and end the conflagration now raging." He was here referring to school desegratation. In other passages where Mr. Pollitt's facts obviously indicate that the President has the same powers, no such ringing statements are made. The reader wonders whether Mr. Pollitt is simply interested in only a few particular subjects dear to his heart, or whether there really is a valid difference in the various situations.

2. Along those same lines, Mr. Pollitt draws conclusions in some cases and leaves the reader hanging on bare facts in others. This is a slightly different point from the first one mentioned above. Quite apart from editorializing, it is possible for a researcher to draw direct conclusions on the basis of an objective analysis of the facts. In some cases, Mr. Pollitt shows clearly that the President has powers to do certain things and indeed has done them in specific instances. In contrast, Mr. Pollitt elsewhere lets you draw your own conclusions and does not give you a clear idea as to what they should be.

   For example, Mr. Pollitt on page 22 said that the President is "honor bound to stamp out Federally financed and controlled discrimination where it exists." Later, when talking about Hill-Burton Hospital and public housing and national parks the President is not mentioned although all the mechanisms for executive action are set forth. Does the President have power or does he not? Is it a matter of presidential discretion?

3. Another mark of this same spottiness is the depth of some of the research and the shallowness in other sections. Some subjects are covered rather fully, with a sound reporting of events that have actually taken place under some public programs in addition to the legal and administrative frameworks in which the programs operate. Other sections give us only the frameworks with no indication as to what may or may not have taken place in actual practice. This may be the result of the speed

with which Mr. Pollitt undertook the assignment, but the reader is still left hanging in the air on some important issues.

The like coverage of the national parks and forests is an example of this teasing process. As a matter of practice, does segregation exist or not exist in these huge national preserves? On the other hand, Mr. Pollitt comes up with a piece of dynamite in describing the events at Biloxi when he implies that the President can in effect sue any local government which discriminates in public recreation facilities using Federal monies. Good research writing should introduce some balance in the total text by admitting the superficiality of coverage in some sections and by throwing some prospective on those specific illustrations that are singled out for more detailed analysis.

4. The manuscript, according to its title, is supposed to be concerned with the President's power, but the President keeps popping in and out of the text with little or no consistency. A large part of the manuscript is devoted to departmental rather than presidential actions. It seems to me that the manuscript should be retitled to cover the powers of the executive departments of government rather than only the powers of the President. In theory, they may be the same, but in practice they are not. I found it very confusing to have the President pop up every once in a while, but to have him completely ignored in some sections which I felt were the most significant in the entire document.

I am convinced that most of these criticisms can be satisfactorily handled by editing even where there are more basic deficiencies in research coverage due to the lack of time. The establishment of a strong central theme and a basic concept would tie the material together. Research reports should not be a series of disconnected expositions or intermittent statements of findings and conclusions; the research should have established a set of working hypotheses which are set forth early in the final report and used as the framwork upon which all the material hangs throughout.

I still say this is a remarkable document under the circumstances, however, and Mr. Pollitt should be strongly complimented for it. It is an extremely valuable piece of work that is useful as it is and could be made even more useful with some additional polishing and recasting.

Please let me know if I can help in any way. Warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

Philip Hammer

PH/pjh

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Linville Falls, North Carolina
Janurary 2, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I reply promptly to your letter of December 30.

The draft of "The Federal Executive And Civil Rights" is excellent. If I have any question at all, it is on the point of length. The draft maybe slightly long but I am not prepared to point out wherein it may be shortened .

A very minor matter: The first lone on page 2 says that "Ours is a government responsible to a Constitution." This is not quite clear to me and you may like to consider re-phasing.

I do believe that we ought not to lose any opportunity to impress upon the President the importance of his personal example. Pollitt developed that point in his draft.

I enclose a brief statement which you and Dr. Dunbar might consider using. It occurs to me that it might appropriately be used at the end of CONCLUSION. If not there, possibly at the end of page 1.

Please feel entirely free to reject this suggestion or to modify my language in any way you like. I merely want to be sure that the point has your consideration.

I tried to phone you this morning but assumed the office was closed in celebration of the New Year, as to which my best wishes are extended.

Yours sincerely,

M.A.W.

Marion.

Enclosures:

Because it seemed somewhat foreign to this discussion, we have omitted from consideration personal, as distinguished from official, activities of the executive. Their importance is to no degree minimized. Since the presidency is a focal point of American interest, all of the acts of an occupant of the office receive national attention. This attention is the normal prelude to emulation. Such is one of the fringe attributes of the office. The total presidential authority greatly exceeds constitutional or legal definition. Much of that authority springs from the high personal regard and even affection in which a chief executive is held.

The Constitution enjoins the President to take care that the laws are enforced. It is of slightly less importance that he shall take care that, in his personal relations and conduct, he set a good example for his fellow citizens. A President of robust convictions will lose no occasion, however trivial, to demonstrate by purely personal action his attachment to principles of equality. Such demonstration may be worth fully as much as executive orders and formal pronouncements.

1/3/61

LWD--

Marion Wright has been heard from; he has written a letter, mailed today, but decided to telephone also. His comments are blessedly few:

(1) The document is "admirable." His only basic concern is its length. It should be ten pages shorter. If there is any major revision, he would hope it might reduce the length.

(2) A flyspeck, on page 2, line 1 -- "Ours is a government <u>responsible to</u> a Constitution." He questions the underlined word -- a puzzling way of putting it. The government is based on, responsive to, the Constitution; being "responsible" to it suggests a human or animated quality of the Const.

(3) He suggests we consider retaining Pollitt'sideas about the <u>personal</u> (vs. official) example of the President, and dictated to Mildred a passage on that subject. He proposes the additional language for insertion at the end of either the introduction or the conclusion.

(4) He closed with his usual permissive assurances -- feel free to disregard his suggestions, etc.

* * *

Dabbs's suggestions were that we consideradding another "premise" at end, dealing with the international importance of civil rights. Also, you will recall, he thought it might end on a somewhat more of an upbeat than the present wind-up of the housing section. He and I discussed the possible desirability of adding an appendix a telescoped summary of all the recommendations, with page numbers of the discussion cited -- for ready reference, review, etc. (I take it contents will also have page numbers.)

HC

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

January 4, 1961

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am sorry that I could not read Dan Pollitt's manuscript until the holidays. (The holidays ended yesterday!)

I am impressed. The document is very well written, clean and direct. I believe his fundamental thesis is correct: actions can be legislated and behavioral patterns influence thought and attitudes.

I cannot pretend to evaluate the legal judgments that are made, but I think generally that you, or a president of the United States, would be on sound ground in following the general spirit of Dan's proposals, and in following most of his specific recommendations. As you know better than I, each of them would require considerable skill and intelligence as well as determination, to be made effective. I have special doubts concerning the feasibility, and perhaps the wisdom, of the "off-limits" proposal with respect to soldiers. I should think, also, that considerable care would be needed in implementing the recommendations concerning housing. There may be more than one way to skin a cat.

Your letter of December 1 asked for comments on three additional matters. I cannot say anything informed or useful with respect to the coordination of plans and activities in Washington. I have simply not been close enough to the problems there.

With respect to the appointment of Negroes to high office, Kennedy seems to have made a start already. Remembering that a poor appointment is worse than none, I should think that you would hope that he will make more high level appointments. If any ought to be made in the South, a lot of common sense should be used.

I have long thought that the only way for our government to interpret abroad the state of our racial relations is to (1) emphasize positive achievements wherever possible and (2) do everything possible to place the horrible episodes in a large enough context so that they can be understood by at least some foreigners. Even Little Rock is a stepping-stone, or a milestone, on a long road. Even when there is a lynching, it is useful to remember that lynching has virtually disappeared. But the context is much larger than these illustrations suggest, and I am fully aware that it is difficult to show contexts in headlines. We should at least try to get some perspective into the paragraphs below.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Alex

Alexander Heard
Dean

AH:mem

(To be routed in order numbered)

Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

HCF

PA

MA

LWD

MM

EW

SM

PR

JC

LEC

MET

BC

RHA

PP

WF

MF

FILE

LWD — No time to write out Wheeler's comments on first half of MS. He will mail MS with marginal notes tonight. As you can see from these cryptic notes, he has serious reservations. I'll interpret them later. H.

Memo | FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

Wheeler -

Fuzzy. Too much philosophy. Apology for South. (Counting our blessings.) Giving South too much.

Sanctions - "Doubt constitutionally" Shd come out.

HEW Shdn't prepare mater. "for courts." Lv out "courts."

Change to "exclusively" in African countries — Africans do want Negroes.

More clearcut style -

MS coming, to be mailed tonight.

TELEPHONE COMMENTS OF JOHN WHEELER RE PRESIDENTIAL MEMO - 1-6-61

LWD explaining changes, "very grateful for several of your comments. We must have accommodated at least 2/3 or 3/4 of the changes--I hope you will find that they were accommodated very satisfactorily.

JW: I have the great fault of saying what I think...I expect other people to do me the same way. When I lose my point I never think about it again. But while I am at it, I give it everything I have.

LWD re staff adviser to the president, what we have in mind...

JW: As I got further into your paper I saw this thing in a different light and I meant to go back and change my comment in the earlier part of the paper. (discussion on meeting, who sat on his right) ...there was a suggestion that some of the people could be on the pay roll of the Department of Labor.

LWD: re recruitment of employees on college campuses.

JW: I merely raised a question....I have a strong feeling that this is not being done. If we could document it we ought to say it; if we cant, we ought not to touch it.

LWD: contract employment, sanctions, reluctance

JW: what I really meant there was that it is just like having a case in court ...you don't put your evidence that the defense could use....I wonder if it is good strategy to give them suggestions for an out.....We can be sure that the government won't apply them (to DuPont, General elctric, etc.).... I was quite fascinated with that suggestion and the only thing I was trying to convey there was that in effect some of these things you are talking about are sanctions after all.

LWD, re difference between punitive and criminal sanctions, and prior sanctions

JW: I thought this was what you were really doing, saying there was more than one way to do it. There are two ways to do it, by one method or the other... but you only talk about one.

LWD Housing, clarification of meaning regarding JW comment "content to rely upon the recommendations of the Committee on Race and Housing."

JW: When we started out, Campbell and I were alone (on the Housing Committee working out the recommendations). We had extended conferences on what the recommendations were to be. When we got into the meeting, no one would buy our thinking. McIntyre, and then Swooce finally bought it. We wound up with everybody on the commission but one person for the recommendations. The point of most discussion was whether or not the public housing would have to be conditioned on guarantees of open occupancy....The question was raised, 'what would it do to public housing in the South? We agreed that we should not recommend something for one part of the country and not for another. The South needed some high goals. We agreed that we could not get full compliance but the goal ought to be set. Bob (Weaver) wrote this. If he is confirmed....he is not going to appreciate anything that gives ground toanything that he is against.

LWD: re committee recommendations --the three things recommended. No. 1 --

JW: (re rec. one) that was in part of my thinking; I go along with that.

LWD, re 2 and 3-- conversation interrupted by knocking noise, discontinued.
LATER:

LWD summarized SRC stand on housing.

JW: I go along with that (recommendation re presidential statement "integration is goal")

LWD: wording so as not to ask policies be reduced because of the South. "This is what you ought to do but this is the consequences. You ought to be prepared for is and you ought to use your moral leadership." Seems to us we have a sort of obligation to ask them to be prepared to meet the special problems that will arise in the South.

JW: As I read each of the recommendations, each one by itself seemed to be all right. But there are times when you lose the possibility of making a lasting impression on the people you are trying to reach by saying too much. In particular one question that struck me was the question of persuasion. I think there is going to be a great deal of persuasion and moral leadership needed on the part of the president.

LWD: in one short sentence: this should not deter the president from announcing and enforcing such a policy.

JW: The South won't wait very long for the benefits of the program if it is convinced that these benefits will come only in the proper manner. I think history has confirmed that when the South has been convinced, they have gone on and taken the package as given. ////

I was a little hesitant in sending back my copy to you...you won't think I thought well of it at all, (I really thought it was excellent) but I was making my observations as you asked me and if none of them are accepted it is all right. ///

I was trying to hit some spots that I thought we could have thrown back in our faces if we weren't very careful. ////

I think we are in agreement on housing but I don't think we should go into too much detail and go too much into the persuasion part of it. ....

People like Russell and Vandiver would say "look what the SRC says, even it knows that the South isn"t ready for this.

LWD, re question mark in margin on public housing

JW:
If I had had an eraser I probably would have taken that out after I had read further. I should have scratched it out.

LWD, urban league report

JW: I like the recommendations and I have no quarrel with it and want you to know that.

Very glad to have talked with you....give Harold my regards....

John Wheeler

THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE

AND

CIVIL RIGHTS

This is a paper prepared by the staff of the Southern Regional Council with the research assistance of Daniel H. Pollitt, Associate Professor of Law at the University of North Carolina. As a step preliminary to writing, the staff consulted 40 persons, qualified by study and experience for responsible judgment in this field. This paper has not been, for reasons of time, submitted to the Board of the Southern Regional Council for review and approval. However, 15 members of the Board, including all of the Council's officers, were among the persons consulted by the staff. There are areas of social policy, such as welfare and farm programs, which basically affect racial relations, although they do not directly raise questions of civil rights; these matters are not discussed in this paper.

I. The Office of the President

A. Internal Policies and Organization

B. National Leadership

II. The Powers of the President and the Executive Branch

A. Broad Policy

B. Federal Employment

C. Education

D. Security of Person and Property

E. Voting

F. Armed Services

G. Health, Recreation

H. Transportation

I. Contractor Employment

J. Housing

III. Conclusion

I. The Office of the President

A. Internal Organization and Policies

The President holds power under the Constitution and existing statutes which, diligently exercised, could carry the country far toward racial relations that are sane and honorable. These powers should be examined and responsibly used.

As with many ideas which are much discussed, the words "Presidential leadership" sometime appear to be an abstraction, unhung from the life of the office and the man who must occupy it. We think that leadership in race relations means a showing of concern, in all the countless acts of the office, that America be a place where men live with each other in confidence, and society cooperates with each of its members in the fulfillment of his search for a good life.

Racial relations is America's oldest unsolved problem. The problem is now at a stage of crisis, though certainly not for the first time. Crises of the past were resolved, by compromise, by war, and, during the long years from 1877-1933, by national avoidance of responsibility. The present crisis will be, somehow, overcome. What is important is that the nation dedicate itself this time to solutions that will endure, and that will not breed future conflict. This ancient and always divisive issue has a claim on us not only for settlement, but for a decisive resolution. It is a burden which national self-respect demands that we finally lay down.

Negroes are not the only disadvantaged minority, and the South is not the only locus of discrimination against Negroes. The racial problems of the South are, however, now and throughout our history the acute test of American ideals of liberty and equality. There is little in the record to encourage the belief that the situation in the South will improve unless recognized as the nation's failure, and properly subject therefore to national policy.

Because ours is a government responsible to a Constitution, Negroes have secured through court action the enforcement of many of their rights. The judicial process is not, however, a valid substitute for political leadership. The courts can only guardedly look beyond the case at bar, and their decrees have limited application. Negro Americans, whose resources have been taxed severely in financing and manning what is in truth a defense of everybody's constitutional principles, have a just claim that the President and his administration give invigorating guidance toward real equality. The nation as a whole needs to feel the impulse of Presidential concern and activity. The free peoples of the world, who value the reputation of the United States, wait to see us act with fairness toward our own citizens.

Although we grant that

Presidential action should not be so emphasized that it will blunt the drive for much needed remedial legislation, ~~wherever that may be needed,~~ ~~But~~ the existing powers of the office should nevertheless be used, and every governmental program ought to be administered in such ways as to move expeditiously to end discrimination and to open all careers to talent.

A new administration cannot give itself a civil rights policy, tie it together, and expect its unwinding over the years to satisfy the problems that will arise. Clarity of policy at the beginning is essential. But racial relations are human relations, and the government needs to equip itself, both organizationally and, more importantly, with inward commitment, to a steady alert, to a sensitivity for people, and ~~to~~ a readiness for imaginative action. More is required, therefore, than broad policy decisions; there must also be solid organizational policing.

The federal government, besides being the country's largest employer, administers many programs affected by, and influencing, racial relations. In the

preceding three administrations, various committees and advisers have been employed to represent and enforce the government's interest in non-discrimination. The committees, such as the President's Committee on Government Employment and the Government Contract Committee, have been understaffed, and have had a disjointed status in the administrative structure; moreover, their enforcement authority has been meagre. The race relations advisers employed by several agencies have appeared to be concessions intended to allay pressures rather than integral figures in policy making and implementation. The time has come for the government to organize itself to do a necessary task. The principal elements of the problem seem to be the following:

(a) Internal Consistency

The federal government's own operations need to be a modle of just race relations, or else the credentials of the government to lead others are weak. This means that the government must hire, fire, and promote with obvious regard for racial equity; must eradicate segregation in its offices; must administer its vast affairs in scrupulous accord with its published statements of belief. It follows that every appointee to high office, whether or not he may personally endorse the goal of immediate non-discrimination, should be informed that in his official acts he is committed to that aim.

(b) Staff Assistance

The President should seriously consider his need for a staff adviser. These are days of tension in the South. The President will from time to time have to react to specific developments, such as a school or a sit-in controversy. He may want to interpret these events to the country and he may want to assert the national viewpoint regarding them. He ought to have an aide whose judgment and experience he trusts. In the normal course of his duties the President will on numerous other occasions meet questions where staff help will be beneficial. He will require assistance in the framing and supervision of Executive Orders.

(c) Coordination

Both the Commission on Civil Rights and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice are engaged in investigations of deprival of rights by state and local governments. Even though the aim of the Commission is reporting, and that of the Division is law enforcement, there should be intimate coordination between the two. To effect this could be another duty of the President's adviser.

more OK
Also, Negro appointees
to Civil rights section
& Outstanding Negro atty
as asst atty general

(d) Administrative Supervision

There is the unavoidable task of policing. This is a function unlike and apart from policy planning and coordination. The President should seriously consider creation of a single office to supervise and investigate the execution of all programs, including federal and contractor employment, which have consequences for race relations. There are practical difficulties in the establishment of such an office, but perhaps they are no greater than have been overcome in other cases. The office would require an adequate staff or else it would not be effective; its director would need to be a person of stature sufficient to deal with departmental and agency heads. He should have access to the President. Conceivably, the staff could be on loan from other agencies, or could be located in some agency, such as the Bureau of the Budget (as President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights recommended). The usefulness of the office would be great enough to justify the administrative ingenuity needed for its formation. Its general function would be as a watchdog over federal programs. It should be empowered to receive reports and to prescribe their nature; to receive complaints and to investigate them; and to counsel with the agencies. The clear responsibility for enforcement of non-discriminatory policies should remain with the agencies. But the equalization of citizenship is a paramount goal which justifies an extraordinary administrative tool, for use in behalf of that decisive resolution which an old dilemma requires.

Director should be paid from Pres. administrative budget and have free hand to direct activities of his Commission

1. An adviser on race relations could perform valuable services for the President, and could also participate helpfully in the program planning of the Commission on Civil Rights and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. There is, furthermore, a strong case for establishment of an office of race relations, with adequate staff, to review the execution of all governmental programs and the expenditures of all government funds, for compliance with the policy of non-discrimination.

would adviser be budget to direct pressure on Pres. from agencies yielded by his race relations ... purpose commission (as in case of Army) financial in part from Pres. budget or partially by allocation from dep. of labor ...

B. National Leadership

To discuss federal policies for race relations without acknowledging the political vicissitudes surrounding energetic action is unrealistic. A declining but still formidable section of political strength, applied at both national and state levels, exists to combat any assertion of the national interest in civil rights. There are thousands of white Southerners who have shown a willingness,

which may be expected to continue, to use their physical and economic strength to frustrate reform. There will be no advance without controversy, intense and sometimes bitter.

We believe we speak with knowledge of the South when we say that controversy and conflict are only worsened when there is any arguable doubt of the beliefs and intentions of the Chief Executive; when heated strife is followed by only slight and ambiguous victories for civil rights; or when the federal government and its agencies proclaim policies which are not enforced.

The President is and should be President of all the people. He has no higher duty than the maintenance and perfection of national unity. He is the representative of white men and Negroes, Northerners and Southerners, believers in equality and believers in segregation. He and his office are the focal point of the wills of all these, and it is no part of his Constitutional obligation to attack any legitimate group, interest, or body of opinion.

Yet the President of the United States in the 1960's ought carefully to decide what are the necessary conditions of national unity. We think they do not reside in the perpetuation of sectionalism. The white population of eleven Southern states is roughly 20% of the nation's total. These are people who, besides being numerous, have been a seed bed throughout our history of able statesmen, treasured writers, and valorous military men. They are not a people to be condemned or shunned. And there could be no greater mistake than to assume that this 20% is a monolith. A large proportion would welcome, or at least have no objection to, a broadening of civil rights because, more keenly than do persons in other regions, they want to be emancipated from the heavy, age-old weight. There are state governments which have given clear indication, in the language of political maneuver, of their willingness to be silent followers of a national consensus. There is, in short, within the ranks of white Southerners practical, effective support for reform which ought not to be undervalued.

Ours is a federal government under a Constitution of limited powers. That this is so is a great national inheritance. There is no reason, however, why we should continue to struggle over long overthrown political theories and long repudiated Constitutional principles.

The South should be informed where the President stands. Statements ought to be more, and not less, frequent than in the past and ought to be genuinely helpful to public understanding. That a state of near anarchy could exist for weeks in one of our largest cities without any public remark by the Chief Executive is well nigh incredible. At the same time, an earnest, informed, and tactful effort should be made to reduce antagonisms and enlist a maximum of Southern good will and cooperation. The millions of Southerners, white and Negro, who want to break loose from enfeebling customs would respond with gratitude to Presidential leadership. The economic and political leaders of the South who feel they need authoritative backing in order to act as their reason and self-interest tell them they should--and there are many in this position--would welcome Presidential support.

2. National unity will be served best if the President speaks forthrightly to and of the South, and if he and his administration confine their statements of policy regarding racial discrimination to that which they are prepared to enforce. The President and his administration could specially contribute to the abatement of sectionalism by frequent conferences and consultations, publicized or not as they see fit, with Southern economic and political leaders, to the end of broadening the base of Southern support for civil rights and equal opportunities.

new page

II. THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

A. Broad Policy

Since slaves were first brought to our shores, and since 1865 when slavery was outlawed, Negro Americans have progressed far in material things and in social and legal status. This is not, however, the pertinent fact. What is

relevant to our day is that Negroes are a disadvantaged tenth of Americans from, literally, the cradle to the grave. By American standards, the typical Negro is born without adequate pre-natal care, of undereducated parents, who dwell in an unstable neighborhood permeated and surrounded by cultural and economic poverty. He is reared amid deprivation and discrimination. His schools are inferior. His contacts with influences which stimulate ambition and civility are few and infrequent. He learns early the handicaps of his color and his incentives are fashioned to fit the bleak reality. If he lives in the South he will work either in jobs white men disdain or within the limited range of the Negro community; if he lives in the North he will have to display superior skills in order to work at the same level with white men. He will be subject to slights, inequities, and ofttimes intimidation or violence. He will endure all his life the ignominy of having to wheedle, bargain, negotiate, or campaign for his elemental rights.

Unless we are recklessly to reject out of hand the findings of scientists, we must acknowledge to ourselves that these conditions are intolerable. The authoritative testimony of science is that there is no evidence of innate racial differences in intelligence; that unstable environments are an extravagance for the public economy and a menace to the public peace; that talents are not the hereditary property of racial groups, but individual capacities nourished by education and security and incentive; that destructive internal resentments and anxieties are the predictable lot of both the systematic oppressor and oppressed.

America has no undeveloped resource comparable to the reservoir of human talent which, in our Negro population, is going to waste. We need manpower and we leave it untrained. We need brains and talents and we allow them to lie fallow. We need to restore the social health of our cities and we do little to prevent their greater infection with the virus of disorganization and spiritual

deadness. We need to deepen our sense of purpose and our confidence in our country and its cause, and we allow prejudice to be institutionalized and our national values to be layered with hypocrisy. We need the friendship of the non-white peoples of Africa and Asia and we subject our own non-white citizens to indignity.

Moreover, unless we are heedlessly to ignore the ministry offered by the near unanimous voice of our Christian and Jewish religious leaders, we must acknowledge the enormous wrong involved in our present racial relations.

The President speaks the moral tone of America. He has an incomparable position from which to define the problems of our polity and to indicate by word and example what needs to be done.

There would be inestimable value if the President gave, simply and clearly, a declaration of national intent to move vigorously to end all discrimination and disadvantages of race, and a pledge that the federal government in the conduct of its own affairs would show the way. The ensuing sections of this memorandum will suggest some of the specific things which the executive department can do toward this end.

3. The President, by public statement, should set as a national goal the full and free development of all our human resources, and should pledge a painstaking effort by all federal departments and agencies to administer their programs in such ways as to hasten the end of discriminations.

The method of candor and open dealing should also inspire our information work abroad. No one wants to "sell America short," but there is a practical value in being believed when you speak. The U. S. Information Agency should, of course, tell the story of Negro Americans' progress. But it and other officials who depict abroad American racial problems should do so with candor, realism, and an explicit awareness of American involvement in a world-wide revolutionary movement. The

peoples of Africa and Asia can understand our problems, which are very close to their own experience. We should relate them frankly, as a people mindful of its troubles and working, as are the former colonial peoples themselves, to remove them. There are African and Asian countries struggling to erase caste discriminations, tribal antagonisms, and religious distrust. There are analogies here which ought to make it possible for them to understand our situation, but only if the government of the United States--far from being an agent of oppression--is and can be depicted as being the friend of equality and Negro advance.

Foreign Service officers when in Washington might well be instructed in the complexities of our racial relations and with the President's policies, in order that they can better explain developments while abroad.

4. The struggle of America to establish racial harmony and justice enables our people to understand the aspirations of formerly colonial peoples, and for them to identify their hopes with ours. Those who represent America abroad should interpret our racial strife and change with truthfulness and candor.

B. Federal Employment

The Third (and most recent) Report of the President's Committee on Government Emp Employment Policy states that discrimination in federal employment unquestionably exists and that the practice is often deeply entrenched. There is little need to add to this official finding in order to conclude that the 1940 amendment to the Civil Service Act (5 U.S.C.A. sec. 1074), expressly prohibiting racial discrimination, is still being flouted. The bona fides of the federal government should not be left in doubt.

The President's Committee has operated with a hopelessly small staff. The

procedures outlined by Executive Order 10590 require the filing of complaints and the investigation of these by the accused agency itself. The Committee has seen its primary task to be long range education rather than immediate compliance.

We have already stated our opinion that the Committee could well be one of the units replaced by a race relations office to oversee all the functions of the federal government.

ok

don't like this term

While channels for receiving and investigating complaints are needful, the main enforcement effort ought to be shifted from the processing of complaints and focused on a continuing review of agency practices. Reports from the agencies, prescribed in detail, plus adequate investigators in the race relations office, would permit a firm check on the disposition of Civil Service Commission referrals and the upgrading of employees.

good! with more emphasis perhaps

With all regard for the values of education, the government could, nevertheless, take instruction from its own policy in regard to the armed services, where compliance was the order of the day, and experience with non-discrimination provided its own educational results.

Another concern of the race relations office would be the prompt suppression of segregation wherever it may be practised in federal offices. Local custom cannot regulate federal conduct.

Beyond the policing role of enforcing non-discrimination, the federal government can, if it wills, make positive contributions toward equal employment opportunities. One would be programs of positive recruitment of qualified Negroes by personnel officers of the agencies. Those agencies, for example, which recruit on college campuses should give full coverage to the Negro colleges. Another would be the development of new techniques for the evaluation of job candidates.

what about that statement this is not being done now?

Some have said that the premise for federal hiring should be "best man regardless of race." Others have argued that the nation owes a debt to an oppressed minority, and that the government, therefore, should take to itself a considerable part of the task of quick advancement of Negroes through a deliberate program of projecting Negroes into our public life; having been systematically excluded, Negroes should, from this point of view, be systematically included.

There are several things to be said regarding these differing premises. First, we do not believe that Negroes should be favored over better qualified white persons. Negroes do not want it; governmental efficiency would be harmed; favoritism toward any group has disturbing implications for our democracy. Because they have been the victims of exclusion, Negroes do, however, have a right that there be a systematic opening-up of opportunities for them to learn and develop skills which will enable them to compete fairly. If the powers of the federal government are squarely behind school integration and if the government is administering its educational programs with the objective of encouraging integration and equal opportunity, then the government will be doing its part.

Secondly, however, there is a considerable enough body of research by now for the employment officers of the government to take cognizance of the finding that the potential of persons from disadvantaged groups is not accurately measured by aptitude and achievement criteria derived solely from the experience of the majority groups within our society. This does not necessarily suggest that Negro applicants for federal jobs should be given, for example, a "10 point preference." But it does suggest that federal employment officers could set a valuable example for private employers by studying, in consultation with outside testing specialists, the best known means of estimating potential, and by careful trial of individuals--

Dictation

white and Negro--select for hire or promotion on the basis of estimated potential rather than past record.

5. There should be overall review of federal employment practices, without primary reliance on complaints and with the aim of immediate compliance with the policy of non-discrimination. Mindful of the cumulative effects of past discrimination, the government could be a yardstick for private employers by careful experimentation with techniques for the measuring of job potential.

(without waiting for complaints) OK
This has been a real weakness of the President's on Govt ICs

Federal service includes both the merit system and appointive positions. In regard to the latter there is real justification for a policy by the President and other appointing officers of deliberately choosing competent Negroes. There would be nothing novel in such a practice. It has been always understood that the higher level posts of any administration will reflect a geographic, an occupational, even a religious distribution. The first administration to sprinkle the higher government posts with able Negroes will establish a practice taken for granted by subsequent administrations and self-consciousness about such appointments will quickly end. The appointment of some Negroes to top regional or district positions in the South would not only be an important symbolic act, but would help establish patterns of deepened respect. To project Negroes into public office will be good for the race, because it will strengthen morale and sense of identification with America and sharpen Negro incentive. It will be good for the South, which needs to get used to the ideaof Negro competence and recognition. It will be good for the nation's world reputation.

Postmasters, policy, district attorneys, U.S. marshals, fed. judgeships OK

There is the special situation of the Negro as American representative abroad. We have serious misgivings about the use of Negroes in African or other non-white posts, until and unless Negroes are stationed in the capitals of white countries. We believe that American prestige in Africa would be far more enhanced by the appointment of a Negro Ambassador to a European country than by sending one to an African embassy. Basically, what is more to be desired is the appointment of

This proposal needs a dev. big business & is a New + Prevalent misconception OK

Negroes to the Foreign Service, and their routine assignment and progression through the ranks.

6. Real advantages would accrue to the country from frequent appointment of competent Negroes to high level administrative posts. Negroes can be valuable assets in the representation of the United States abroad, but not if they are used primarily in non-white capitals.

C. Education

Pre-eminently the most compelling unfinished business is school integration. Here federal orders have been laid down and issues joined. Respect for law and federal authority requires a prompt resolution.

Six years after the Supreme Court's historic decision there are less than 800 Negro children in classes with whites in the states of the old Confederacy, outside of west Texas. There has been no desegregation at all in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, and in Louisiana the enrollment of four Negroes has been greeted with hysterical and virtually insurrectionary resistance. The Supreme Court declared a Constitutional right: yet throughout most of the South the entire burden of exercising that right has fallen on Negroes, while the public treasuries of Southern states are put at the service of denying it. The basic problem is two-fold: to re-establish a climate of respect for law; and to move quickly beyond the pitiful beginnings and steadily toward an end to segregated public education.

OK

See report of Ne counsel to Ne. civil rights advisory co. Also

On the other hand, there is wisdom in counting one's blessings. After numerous law suits and painful self-struggle, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia ~~have~~ claim to have set their course toward compliance with the law. This may be and is grudging and minimal acquiescence; but the crisis is past and these three states ~~can be expected to continue~~ have, at least, demonstrated their capacity for orderly adjustment. In whatever states or localities there is now or emerges in the future ~~this~~ a willingness to acknowledge constitutional rights, there is an immense opportunity for the President and his administration to ~~offer quiet, sympathetic urging and~~ insist upon and persuade

school officials and parents to work ~~persuasion~~ in behalf of whole-hearted acceptance of the principle of integration.

The President should always be mindful of the probability that firm statements by him in advance of an initial desegregation might prevent or lessen such convulsions as those of Little Rock or New Orleans. His staff adviser could be of invaluable help in anticipating occasions when disorder threatens and Presidential influence would be useful.

The administration should also be aware that an advance in civil rights in any area tends to assist the cause of school integration. Every move which demonstrates determination to establish the principle of equality in other areas increases the feeling of inevitability of compliance with the Supreme Court's school order. Every move in recognition of Negro competence enhances in Southern eyes the acceptability of Negro children as schoolmates. While government cannot address itself directly to the erasure of the racial prejudice which ~~that~~ exists in the hearts and minds of people, it can by its own example ~~do much to help the people outgrow it.~~ and efforts, create the proper framework for elimination of racial discrimination. The ~~and prejudice~~ resulting respect for the law of the land will inevitably do the most effective job of helping us to ~~g~~ grow beyond our prejudices

(turn to page 21)

OK

Fundamentally, school integration ought not be thought of as a question of civil rights. ~~We need to look at it in a different framework and, indeed, to subsume the racial question under other concerns.~~ The nation needs better schools with higher standards, that will give every American child a training corresponding to the challenge of our times. ~~This is a matter of vital national interest. This is the problem which the country must face, and in doing so think of the impediment of segregated schools.~~ If the country has an interest that every one of its youth be educated to the limits of his potential, segregated schools are an indulgence which cannot be afforded, on grounds of educational practice, social values, or economy.

OK?

Consequently, there is an opportunity and, we think, an obligation for the U. S. Office of Education to provide information and counsel to school administrators and teachers engaged in the desegregation process. Federal courts also, charged with approving or rejecting desegregation plans, need sources of professional advice. There ought to be analyses, widely disseminated, of the plans adopted in various places, and their success; factual studies of the academic effects of integration; and professional discussion of the technical problems of school administrations during the integration process. ~~Although Congress has been asked, and has declined, to legislate a program of technical aid, it is difficult to see wherein~~ A publications program as suggested above would ~~be~~ in many respects, be ~~greatly different from~~ similar to the fact-finding and advisory services already performed by the Office; in particular, there would seem to be ample authorization for it in the Cooperative Research in Education Act, 20 U.S.C. 331,332.

Some danger here

OK

PAGINATION INCORRECT

7. We urge upon the President that he

--publicly affirm his full support of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and his intention to employ his executive powers as needed to assure orderly compliance with it;

--publicly affirm his administration's belief that segregation is an intolerable hindrance to the national goal of higher educational standards;

--direct the Attorney-General to look closely into the authorizations he has for initiating or intervening in school desegregation cases. The United States has a sovereign interest that there be obedience to its laws. Informed legal opinion suggests that there are valid precedents* for the United States, without asserting any pecuniary or statutory interest, either to initiate action or intervene in private actions in order to take care that its laws are observed; and that the government may also intervene in school desegregation cases under 5 U.S.C.A. sec. 316, which authorizes the Attorney-General to send any officer of his Department to "attend to the interests of the United States in any suit pending" in any court, federal or state.

--direct the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to assemble and disseminate, for the use of educators and the instruction of the public, educational facts related to the integration process.

Educational discrimination against Negroes is cumulative, and this affects with particular hardship the ability of Negroes to earn a living. The federal government has grant-in-aid programs for vocational (including agricultural) education, training in distributive occupations, and vocational rehabilitation; these are administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The question of federal support for unequal and segregated education is raised by these programs in a form different than with regard to financial aid under P.L. 815 and P.L. 874 for

*see In re Debs (158 US 564); S.E.C.v.U.S. Realty Improvement Co. (310 US434).

federally affected schools, where the government is, in a sense, assuming the burdens of a tax-apyer. The vocational programs must satisfy federal criteria in order to be aided, and are subject to federal regulation. The Department could appropriately require, as it does with the rehabilitation program, that benefits be without racial favoritism, and where clases are a part of the program that they be non-segregated in order to qualify for federal aid.

There is a special question involved in on-base and off-base schooling for children of military personnel. All on-base schools are now officially integrated, even though operated by state and local school authorities; the elementary school at Fort Benning (Ga.), for example, has been integrated for more than six years. A number of on-base schools are, however, all white because there are no Negro children in residence. Usually reliable sources have reported that "gentlemen's agreements" exist in some localities whereby Negro personnel are transferred or housed off-base when their children reach school age; there also are instances of the deeding or leasing of land for school sites to local school boards. The federal government cannot be a party to evasion of its laws or to ~~evasion of the Constitution~~ discrimination based upon race. Where off-base schools instruct none, or almost none, but children of military personnel the government has a special interest in seeing that they are non-segregated. In Pulaski County (Ark.), this interest was conscientiously served, even to the point of a Defense Department plan to condemn the school property and annex it to the base. The approach taken by the government in Pulaski County, and the

arrangement finally worked out, set a pattern which the government can follow in other similar situations.

8. The vast federal outlays for public school education need to be administered with scrupulous regard for the basic federal policy against discrimination. At the present time, the two areas of vocational training and schooling for children of military personnel merit special attention to insure racial equality and fair-dealing.

The executive department administers large grants to schools of higher education for research. In addition, sizeable grants and loans for general support and capital development are made. Where the funds are given or loaned to any institution applies, and is eligible under the statute, it is doubtful, on Constitutional principle, that the executive department should, in the absence of legislation, make the award conditional upon a policy of non-discrimination. But where, as with the huge sums distributed for research, the government has all discretion, and grants the money only to schools which it prefers, we think there is no question but that it is incongruous to favor any institution which denies admission to Negro students.

by all means, this should come out. what about declared Public policy of non discrim and non-discrim clauses in all govt K's.

can be argument

9. An announcement ought to be made that, at a date certain, no research funds will be granted by the federal government to any institution of higher learning, public or private, which refuses admission to anyone because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

D. Security of Person and Property

Discussions of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment often give little attention to the word "protection." There are good historical grounds for believing that this was a key concept in the thinking of the framers of the Amendment, and

that their intent was to provide federal protection to individual Negroes of the South against inimical acts, official or officially tolerated.* Broadened to include all persons, this is still a high ideal.

Law enforcement questions are of two general types. First, there are the traditional questions of unjust police, court, or mob treatment of individual Negroes charged with crime. Instances are, happily, declining. To cope with those which still occur, we know of no remedy available to the executive department other than strict enforcement of, with all their shortcomings, secs. 241 and 242, 18 U.S.C. - the last remnants of the Civil Rights

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*"First, despite differences of opinion concerning the scope of congressional power..., a majority of the members of the Thirty-ninth, Forty-second, and Forty-third Congresses...believed that the equal protection clause did more than condemn official or state action. They believed that it vested Congress at the very least with a primary power to set aside unequal state laws and a secondary power to afford protection to all persons in their enjoyment of constitutional rights when the states failed in their primary responsibility to do so either by neglecting to enact laws or by refusal or impotence to enforce them...

"Second, a majority...regarded Congress as the primary organ for the implementation... This does not mean that the Radical Republicans intended to preclude judicial action...; they did not. ...

"A third principle that emerges from these debates is that the equal protection clause means absolute or perfect equality before the law and condemns every discrimination perpetrated by unequal laws, partial or maladministration of existing laws by courts or executives, or discriminations by quasi-public businesses or agencies possessing a peculiar status or privilege under the law, such as inns, public conveyances, or the like. With respect to whether the equal protection clause of its own force condemned antimiscegenation laws and segregation laws and customs, the evidence is inconclusive." R. J. Harris, The Quest for Equality. Louisiana State University Press, 1960. pp. 53-56.

Acts passed in the 1860's and 70's for the protection of persons, and especially Negroes, against deprivation of civil rights.

Security of person and property have their severest present threat in the second problem area, which has to do with the violence, reprisals, and intimidations surrounding school desegregation and sit-in controversies, and Negro voting. There have been bombings and threats of bombings, riots, organized harassment, and threats to personal safety. Accompanying all, there has been for five or more years encouragement of resistance to federal authority, delivered by high officials, the Citizens Councils, and their allies.

The number of Southerners who will resort to violence is small, but their mark is heavy on the region and the nation. When a school in the South is bombed the whole free world suffers. Congress has legislated, by Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1960, to put federal resources into the endeavor to prevent or punish bombings. The enforcement difficulties are obviously great, and appear so even to an outside agency. Nevertheless, the Department of Justice, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has a larger range within which to act for the suppression of violence.

There is value also in linking the Department closely with the states in a concerted effort. The Attorney-General might appropriately convene a conference of the attorneys-general of the Southern states for the planning of mutual programs; one desirable result of the conference might be the establishment of

OK

Negroes, who heretofore have been excluded from employment in FBI, should be added in depth to FBI. Stay out

States should be urged to add Negroes to Highway Patrol and their Bureaus of Investigation

regular liaison between the enforcement agents of the federal and state governments.

Underlying all policies and practices must be an awareness that the Negro Southerners' campaign for equality is a revolutionary movement. It must be, and can be, contained in non-violence. To this end, a staff advisor to the President, in close touch with events and working closely with the Civil Rights Division, would be invaluable in coordination of federal action to preserve the public peace.

The suggestion has been made that the United States could intervene in, or even initiate, school desegregation cases on the principle of the old Debs case (158 U.S.564). That case sustained an injunction issued by a federal court, without specific reference to any statute, against acts held to constitute a threat to the general welfare. Whether or not Debs affords a basis for federal intervention generally, the government might carefully consider, even to the point of taking a test case, the use of it as a precedent for the particular problem of threatened or actual violence. The signs of the times are not so difficult to read that an alert government could not anticipate the likelihood of disorder in a school desegregation controversy and be armed in advance to forestall it.

Similarly, sit-ins can, and have, led to serious breakdowns in local and state law enforcement machinery and needless rupture of ~~in~~ the public peace. The Department of Justice should observe local situations with the utmost vigilance for evidence of unlawful arrest, violations of Title II of the Civil Rights Act of

1960, and deprivations of First Amendment liberties.

10. While the present turmoil continues, the Department of Justice has an obligation to enforce vigilantly the existing statutes and precedents which protect personal security, and to discharge fully the federal government's duty to preserve the public peace; in particular, every available means should be used to assure orderly school desegregation and the right of peaceable assembly and protest.

E. Voting

Twice in three years, Congress has legislated to protect voting rights. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 have to date been the basis of six suits* brought by the Department of Justice, one of which has been carried to the Supreme Court, and disposed of there. Acting under sec. 303 of the Act of 1960, the Department has also required from 17 counties** the production of voting records.

We think much more could be done. Since the Acts of 1957 and 1960 do not permit broad, sweeping attacks on discrimination, suits are confined to local situations. There must be, therefore, numerous investigations and, where justified, prosecutions.

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*Against Terrell County (Ga.), Macon County (Ala.), Bienville and Washington Parishes (La.), and Fayette and Haywood Counties (Tenn.). The Fayette County suit was first settled by agreement out of court; the action has been resumed as a conspiracy charge against certain private persons.

**Wilcox, Montgomery, and Sumter (Ala.); Union (Fla.); Webster, Early, Fayette, and Gwinnett (Ga.); East Carroll, Ouachita, and East Feliciana (La.); McCormick, Clarendon, and Hampton (S.C.); Bolivar, LeFlore, and Forrest (Miss.).

In another respect, however, it is to be hoped that the new Attorney-General will continue a policy of his predecessor. The suits brought under sec. 131 against private persons and institutions in Fayette and Haywood Counties (Tenn.) show a sophisticated awareness, and a zeal for the actualization of rights, which are commendable.

The Acts of 1957 and 1960 can be enforced no more vigorously than the staffing of the Department's Civil Rights Division permits. In addition to giving immediate attention to the strengthening of this Division, the Attorney-General should look closely into the working relations between it and the U. S. District Attorneys, to the end that there be the fullest cooperation between them and the Division.

When all this has been said, there is much to add on another side. The fact is that throughout large areas of the South, registration and voting are as free as elsewhere in the country. In general, discrimination is today found mainly in the rural sections of the old Black Belt, and not everywhere there. This does not mean that the problem is not serious. It does mean that it is less a regional problem, and more one local to a particular cultural area within the region. The nation ought not to be misled by loud talk; we believe we speak with knowledge of the South when we say that ~~there is~~ majority agreement that everyone should have free access to the ballot. There will consequently be minimal popular opposition to federal actions in this field.

Can't see the need for this ¶. It will surely be quoted out of context to our disadvantage - It should also be remembered ~~that~~ we have yet to find out the true attitudes of most Southerners when faced with the prospect of having to face up to & do business with an effective and decisive Negro electorate

In regard to voting, as with schools, there are values other than civil rights at stake. Our democratic faith requires that there be full and responsible exercise of the franchise. Our record is not good. In the South, about 25% of Negroes of voting age are all that are registered; but only some 60% of whites of voting age are, and though the discrepancy is great the white standard itself is low. The Bureau of the Census has estimated that 107 million Americans are of voting age; yet only about 68 million, or less than 65%, voted in the Presidential election of 1960, and this was a record turn-out. The government might well undertake a national campaign to educate people in their voting rights and to encourage them to vote. If this were done with vigor and sustained attention, a side result would almost certainly be an upsurge in Negro registration in the South, as well as a clear revelation of those areas where the cause of non-voting by Negroes is intimidation, either private or official. There are counties of the South where Negroes will not seek to register and vote unless assured in advance and unmistakably that their temerity will go unpunished. There are, and probably not only in the South, many people--white and Negro--who need education in their voting rights and responsibilities. To help them would seem as much the proper role of the federal government as is the offering of instruction about jobs, baby care, crop management, and a thousand other matters dealt with in government publications. A registration drive, spurred by the prestige of the President

and sustained by his subordinates, would have civic worth, especially if coupled with the printing of leaflets, disseminated through local Post Offices, on the qualifications and procedures for voting in every state.

11. The Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice should be staffed with an adequate number of attorneys of first quality, and the Division's working relationships with the U. S. District Attorneys should be so defined as to permit widespread enforcement of the voting provisions of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960.

12. A national registration drive, under the personal sponsorship of the President, should be launched, and supported by publications describing registration and voting qualifications and procedures in each state.

F. Armed Services

Since the issuance in 1948 of Executive Order 8891, segregation in the armed services has been virtually eradicated. This has been an advance in civil rights comparable in importance to the outlawing of the white primary and public school segregation, and has been carried through to a satisfactory conclusion by the same force which originated it; i.e. Presidential authority.

The President can in the same way end discrimination in the National Guard, and the logic for doing so is compelling. The Guard is a part of the United States Army, and organization and regulation of its units are required to be "the same as those prescribed by the Army" (70A. Stat. 598, 32 U.S.C. sec. 104b, 1956). The state units are financed almost entirely by federal funds. Service in the Guard is a statutory substitute for service in the Army under the Selective Service Act. The President prescribes the

regulations of the Guard, violations of which automatically forfeit federal support (32 U.S.C.A. sec. 108, sec. 110).

National Guard units in the South are all-white. Thus, an important part of the Army is still segregated. Negro Southerners are denied an option which white Southerners have -- to enlist in the Guard rather than be drafted. And, as the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has said, "In times of racial tension, if the Guard should be called out, it would be reassuring to Negro citizens to observe that members of their own race were on duty. Thereby would be implanted the justified conviction that the sole duty of the Guard is to uphold the law."

The President is authorized to make a number of appointments of cadets and midshipmen to the service academies. As most appointments are in the keeping of Congressmen, and it is a matter of common knowledge that at least a third of the members of Congress, representing areas of high Negro population, do not appoint Negroes, the President can justifiably give special attention, in his own selection, to the merits of Negro candidates. According to the latest reports, there are seven Negroes enrolled at Annapolis, eight at West Point, and three at the Air Force Academy.

The President is directed by law to establish and maintain ROTC units, and may likewise terminate them. There would seem to be no legitimate grounds for operating an ROTC at universities, public or private, which refuse admission on racial grounds.

13. <u>The National Guard in Southern states is the remnant of segregation in the armed services;</u>

segregation in Southern colleges and universities, and the mode of selection of academy cadets and midshipmen, restrict the opportunities for Negroes to become military officers. All of these situations are within the power of the President to remedy or ameliorate.

G. Health, Recreation

The federal government administers many and large health programs, involving hospital operation and medical research. It provides grants-in-aid to the states for mental health programs, maternal and child health service, aid to crippled children and the blind, and control of tuberculosis, cancer, heart disease, and venereal disease; and for hospital construction under the Hill-Burton Act. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Veterans Administration are the responsible agencies.

It may seem disproportionate to link recreation and health in the same discussion, except that the uses of leisure time becomes an increasingly urgent concern, with genuine effects on the well-being of the nation. The federal government provides some of the most valuable recreational opportunities people have, through the national parks, national forests, federal reservoir areas, and federal beach erosion projects. These are administered by the Department of the Interior, the Department of Agriculture, and the Army Corps of Engineers.

Most of the health and recreational activities are covered by seemingly adequate regulations against racial discrimination. This is not true of the grant-in-aid programs, and especially

not of the huge Hill-Burton hospital construction program which, by statutory authorization, approves separate-but-equal facilities; the statute was enacted in 1946. The federal beach erosion projects carry no specific prohibitions on discrimination but, in a most interesting proceeding, the Department of Justice has brought suit against officials of Biloxi (Miss.) on grounds that discrimination is contrary to the legal requirement of "public use."

14. Health and recreational programs, both of which bring the government into close personal touch with people, need to be constantly audited for discriminatory effects. Continued observance of "separate, but equal" clause in the Hill-Burton Act is constitutionally dubious, and should be authoritatively examined.

H. Transportation

Through federal court action, heartening reforms have occurred since 1941 in interstate and intra-state travel. More recently, the independent regulatory agencies have added their force to the removal of discrimination affecting the dignity and convenience of Negro passengers; the Federal Aviation Agency has refused financial aid for construction of airports which will practice segregation. The chief remaining hardship is the conditions of bus, train, and air line terminals, their waiting rooms, eating arrangements, and rest rooms. A problem so near solution is ripe for a decisive push. The President could communicate this opinion to the Inter-state Commerce Commission and the Civil Aeronautics Board and the Federal Aviation Agency; and could instruct the Attorney-General to

follow through on the conference held by the Department of Justice in 1956 with U. S. Attorneys in the Southern states to consider action against discrimination by common carriers.

15. Interstate travel is a field in which a final federal effort could decisively end segregation. The clearly established unconstitutionality of segregation in common carriers operated intrastate invites serious study by the Department of Justice of means to require observance of the constitutional principle.

I. Contractor Employment

In the absence of Congressional enactment of a fair employment law, the grounds for execttive imposition of an anti-discrimination clause in government contracts is the buyer's normal privilege to choose his suppliers.

There are two fields -- contractor employment and federal housing policy -- where the executive department faces issues of unusual magnitude and difficulty. One aspect of the dilemma--for it is such--is that employment and housing are of basic impertance, not only to Negro welfare but to American success in living up to principle; their effects ramify into every other problem of civil rights. Consequently, no fields are deserving of more imaginative, more constant attention. Another aspect, however, is that the task of opening up employment and housing consists of hard, practical difficulties so great as to make innocuous any governmental action that is not thorough and undertaken with firm resolve. A third aspect is that the stakes are so large, and the effects of decisive governmental action would be so directly felt by the people, that strong

policies would almost certainly produce sharp political and popular controversies.

The Government Contract Committee and its predecessor seem to have accomplished little to arrest discrimination in employment. The Committee has devoted a good deal of its effort to education, and has processed complaints. Some educational activity is perhaps desirable, but the government needs to remember that performance and example are its best educational means.

President Truman's Committee on Government Contract Compliance made certain recommendations prior to leaving office. These included disqualification from future contracting of suppliers whose employment practices are found discriminatory; termination of contracts upon finding of discrimination; the use of a liquidated damages clause in contracts; and provisions for injunctive relief and arbitration. These are drastic remedies. Some of them, at least, could be used without further legislation, but reliance on any or all of them would require a considerable enlargement of staff and would probably result in litigations both numerous and vexing.

I wonder if this not provide an excuse for my reluctance on the part of the Nat'l Adm. Section.

Yet the present posture of the government is intolerable. Every government contract and many sub-contracts contain an anti-discrimination clause, the text of which is posted in suppliers' shops and offices. The clause is, in effect, an oath. It has become another of the non-enforced declarations of principle and policy. We think there is real danger to public morals in this practice. The people need to know that the government takes its words seriously. For the government

to lay down laws and orders which it does not intend, or is not prepared, to enforce is a practice which encourages social and individual indifference.

In the absence of a fair employment act, the executive department might well give serious exploration to means other than sanctions for preventing discrimination. The approach described in the next paragraph is not intended as a blueprint or even a recommendation of a specific plan. Rather it is a suggestion intended to invite the government's consideration toward policies ~~administratively simpler than~~ equally effective as sanctions, and ~~yet~~ equally productive of results.

Should we rule out sanctions? What can be simpler than merely "setting" on an appropriation or allocation until the "applicant or recipient gets its nose clean"?

First, if there is to be any effective action the executive department must commit itself to definite and firm policies.

Go on to page 41

Secondly, the executive department, in consideration of practical difficulties, might adopt as its first goal the ability to report to the people that all of the large contractors of the government practice fair employment. Thirdly, the method of attaining this goal could be certification by the race relations office (or the Government Contract Committee, if it is continued) that the bidder or proposed contractor is presently operating, in all of its plants and offices, without discrimination. Such certification could be made a prerequisite to the award of any contract above a specified sum (perhaps $1,000,000) or of any contract which would increase the total active orders of a company and its subsidiaries, beyond that amount. (For lesser contracts the non-discrimination clause could still be inserted, and procedures made available for receiving and processing complaints.) Enforcement would not require litigation, and would be administratively far simpler than either sole reliance on the processing of individual complaints, or the proposed use of sanctions.

good

The Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of Employment Security maintain copious data on the nation's work force, and can with minimum difficulty prepare and publish current information on the number of Negroes in various categories of the working force. These data could be taken into account in determining upon certification. The test would be the record of actual employment, including enrollment in the company's in-service training program, if it has one. The large contractors of the government would, in effect, be required to do more than pledge non-discrimination; they would be required to recruit Negroes throughout their operations.

good

This would be an undeniably arbitrary requirement. Its premise, however, would be clear cut; viz. that as a condition for doing business with the government above a certain amount, the company will cooperate with the government by a positive program of developing Negro talent and skills. It would be asked to assume partnership with the government in achieving a national goal.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

As was stressed before, the above suggestion is not tendered as a finished proposal, but as a basis for study within the administration along the lines of non-punitive but nevertheless effective action. Another device worth evaluation is the use of an award, such as the war-time Navy "E", given to contractors whose employment practices meet governmental approval; the symbol could be displayed by the company in its advertising and elsewhere, as an indication that it is cooperating with the government in developing and utilizing our manpower resources.

Whatever methods are used, there would seem to be no reason why they should not apply both to contractors and to companies licensed to use government-held patents.

16. There needs to be more effective enforcement of the bar against discriminatory employment by government contractors. Large contractors can be appropriately charged with a special responsibility for positive recruitment of Negroes; a possible means of requiring this would be prior certification as a condition for award of contract.

Good! and - Aren't there sanctions?

Where the federal government's scope of action is narrow, it can still deny its services to others who discriminate. The Bureau of Apprenticeship could, upon advice from the race relations office, withdraw from participation in any apprenticeship program whether under state or private auspices, which does not admit all applicants on an equal footing, and could withhold registration from apprentices in such programs. Similarly, the U. S. Employment Service could make refusal to process racially restricted job orders a condition for federal approval of a state program and financial assistance.

17. Federal cooperation with discrimination should be ended at once in the apprenticeship and employment services.

J. Housing

Rapid population growth, plus a steady population shift to the cities, plus an advancing standard of living have combined to keep high the demand for new housing. The movement of middle and upper income families out of the central cities and into suburban neighborhoods, together with the emphasis of the past several decades on home building in subdivisions, have accentuated the degree of racial segregation in

American cities; this is especially pronounced in the South, where residential segregation was formerly less customary than in other regions.

The role of the federal government in relation to the spread of housing segregation has been succinctly described by the Commission on Race and Housing:

> The policies and actions of government agencies and public officials must be counted among the principal influences sustaining racial segregation in housing...
>
> The Federal government, through its mortgage credit aids, public housing, and slum clearance programs, has come to exercise a large measure of control over housing. Both directly and indirectly, the Federal housing programs have strongly influenced the racial patterns of residence, mainly in the direction of increasing racial segregation. During the first dozen years of its existence, the Federal Housing Administration operated explicitly on the real estate doctrine that mingling of racial groups in residence areas was socially undesirable and a threat to the financial stability of neighborhoods. Its appraisal manuals stressed the importance of protecting neighborhoods against invasion by "incompatible racial and social groups." For "surest protection"against such an eventuality, FHA recommended blanketing all land in the vicinity of a mortgage-insured housing development with race-restrictive covenants, particularly in undeveloped or partly developed areas. It is a fair judgment that FHA's influence contributed largely to the spread of race-restrictive covenants (subsequently declared unenforceable by the Supreme Court) and hence to the exclusion of minority groups from wide areas.
>
> ...The agency now officially encourages open occupancy in housing developments, but it does not attempt to control the discriminatory practices of private builders or lenders.
>
> The public housing program has always insisted, and in the main successfully, on minority groups' receiving an equitable share of publicly subsidized dwellings. With respect to the racial pattern, Federal policy has been to leave the decision for open or segregated occupancy to local housing authorities. The latter, in all sections of the country, elected initially for segregation, with one or two notable exceptions. In the South, compulsory segregation remains, but in the North and West, many local authorities have shifted to policies of open occupancy, some by their own decision, others under court order.... Notwithstanding open-occupancy policies, however, the recent trend has been running strongly toward concentration of minority groups in public housing. Among the major factors contributing to this trend are the frequent location of projects in areas mainly occupied by minorities, the wider opportunities of whites than of nonwhites to obtain housing in the private market, and statutory preference in tenant selection to families, largely minority, displaced by slum clearance operations. ...the conclusion seems justified that public housing has served, on the whole, to sustain and probably intensify racial segregation.
>
> Beginning during World War II, the Federal government has become increasingly sensitive to the housing disadvantage and needs of the minority groups. It has moved to assist these groups to obtain housing but has tried to do so without interfering with the segregation practices of the private housing industry .... Special credit assistance has been provided through the Federal National

Mortgage Association and the Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program.... A high proportion of all postwar new dwellings built for minority use has been financed by mortgages purchased by the FNMA, that is, by government credit. These new houses have been built, with few exceptions, in segregated projects. The special assistance measures, like public housing, have been both a source of housing and a force for segregation.

Indirectly, Federal policies have stimulated segregation in two important ways. The changes in the housing industry which have so largely increased the power of private builders to determine community patterns, as described above, have been made possible by the Federal mortgage insurance systems....

The other indirect Federal support of segregation has been the moral sanction given to the racial discrimination practices of private business.... Government, as an expression of the public will, is one of the sources of moral as well as legal authority. If the government sees nothing wrong in racial discrimination, how can private persons be censured for practicing it? ... In the housing field, the Federal government, in recent years, has withdrawn from any explicit endorsement of housing segregation. Federal agencies, however, aside from verbal pronouncements for equality, continue to tolerate the discriminatory practices of those who distribute Federal benefits.

Present housing trends are injurious not only to the dwellers in the vast city areas which it becomes increasingly accurate to call ghettoes. The harm is felt in at least two other ways as well. Too many middle class white families are separated from normal contacts with persons of other races and economic station. Municipal government and the cultural life of the cities are being weakened by shrinkage of revenue base and population imbalance.

A problem so largely the result of federal programs is a direct and pressing federal responsibility. It should be dealt with not specifically as a Negro, or a race relations, question, but as a task of helping disadvantaged citizens to become productive members of society and of restoring or guarding the health of our cities.

The question for the federal government to face is that of how it will direct the tremendous influence which it has through its huge involvement in the housing market. Will it use this influence, as it has in the past and as it still largely does, to strengthen and spread housing segregation?

The Supreme Court in Brown v. Topeka took judicial note of the sociological and psychological handicaps of segregation. We believe the President could well do likewise in an Executive Order which stated that the national housing policy is to encourage integration. This would be the strongest possible directive to the several

housing agencies to examine meticulously the laws which they administer for opportunities to reverse present trends.

FHA policy now, as expressed through its regulations and practices, is to insure no mortgages on property whose deeds contain restrictive covenants; to rent or sell re-possessed housing on a non-segregated basis; to encourage "open occupancy" through private conferences with builders and others; and to refuse its services to any builder or developer found in violation of a state anti-discrimination law. The last could be an effective measure, except that it applies only to individuals or firms formally held against in a state proceeding--and this is extremely rare--, and it applies only in states with anti-discrimination laws and not in the others where the majority of the nation's Negroes live.

Similar orders have been issued applicable to land purchasers under urban renewal programs, and to builders under Veteran Administration benefits. The ~~latter~~ VA has also strict regulations against restrictive covenants. Apparently no attention is given to questions of discrimination by the Army in selling or leasing utilities to housing developments in the vicinity of bases; nor by the Federal Highway Administration in the purchase of land necessitating relocation of families. The policies of FHA and FNMA are sufficiently indicated by the above quotation from the Commission on Race and Housing.

The administration of the housing and urban renewal laws is intricate and the mass of detail involved in framing and enforcing regulations affecting thousands of purchasers, builders, lending institutions, and municipal governments almost overwhelms the attempt to suggest realistic and effective methods of curbing racial inequities and segregation. The Commission on Race and Housing has made possible a better public understanding of the difficulties and the opportunities by its series of studies, and we commend them to the administration. In particular, we call attention to the Commission's Report (titled Where Shall We Live?) and the policy recommendations contained therein. From here on, can't we be content to quote from the ~~[illegible]~~ Com. 45 - insure re[illegible] lations, particularly as to an Executive order creating a Co[illegible]ssion & withholding of insurance & assistance of all funds where open occupancy is not guaranteed etc. There was considerable

discussion in the Com[illegible] some meetings on what this would do to the program in the South. — I think that our position should at least be as strong as what I already know Bob Weaver's to be on this point — among other things, we must command his respect for the depth of our vision

Certain general ideas have emerged from the literature on housing problems which we believe deserve sympathetic study by the administration. These are:

a) The practice of "scattering" projects. Especially with reference to public housing, this means the construction of several small projects rather than one large one, and their location in bi-racial or all-white neighborhoods, rather than in Negro or transition sections.

b) The policy of "benign quotas." We have anxious reservations about quotas in either public or private housing, from the standpoint of both good race relations and democratic values. Men live, nevertheless, in the real, and not the ideal, world. It is a fact that open occupancy frequently means, or comes to mean, Negro occupancy, and the project is an addition to segregated housing. To date, a system of "benign quotas" is virtually the only realistic suggestion made by responsible sources for combatting this condition. The housing agencies might well initiate discussions with developers, representatives of Negro organizations, and intergroup relations specialists for a thorough airing of the problem and of means for solving it.

In my opinion — too much detail and too much resignation to the concept of what the "South will not stand for."

c) The employment of Negroes on the staff of housing agencies. This, of course, is already being done, but to only a limited extent. It is not particularly important whether whites or Negroes occupy the positions of race relations advisers (if those positions are continued). What is important is that Negroes are taken on the regular staffs, and this would be especially desirable in the South. In this occupational field there is no scarcity of experienced Negro specialists, men trained in Urban League work or in Negro real estate or lending circles. To use them in the government would be to tap their insights, to leaven the thinking and attitudes of their colleagues, and to improve public confidence in the agencies.

d) A systematic analysis of the housing laws to determine what inducements are available to encourage real open occupancy housing. Here as elsewhere, preferments are better than sanctions. There undoubtedly are ways by which, for example, FHA and FNMA can give priorities to developers (including 221 developers) whose management will accord with the government's aim of integration.

e) Principal attention to the large builder. In view of the numerous home owners availing themselves of FHA or FNMA benefits, the job of enforcing a clause against discrimination in re-sale would be staggering. On the other hand, FHA could, with comparative ease, come to workable and sound agreements regarding open occupancy with large sub-dividers or apartment sponsors, prior to commitment.

Of all actions the executive department can take, the simplest administratively is the realization of open occupancy in public housing projects. This would be unquestionably desirable. Yet there is a danger in moving sternly in low-income housing, unless policies of equivalent sternness are applied across the board. There is no advantage to anyone in furthering the already existent suspicion, that integration is for the poor folks.

?

In 1954 and 1955, there was little realization throughout the country of the intensity of feeling in the South, and the degree to which the South would resist Court orders in the school cases. Neither the country nor its government was prepared for what followed. The President when developing policy has an obligation far greater than that of the courts when declaring rights to be prepared to react to the consequences. A strict non-discriminatory order for FHA (including 221) ~~and PHA~~ housing, with obvious intent to enforce, will in all likelihood lead to a diminution of starts in the South, at least for a time, and could hamper or halt urban renewal. This would not be a completely unfortunate happening for it would at least slow the present trend toward firmer segregated patterns. Nevertheless, the basic interest of the country is to have a well housed people. Another almost certain consequence in the South would be ingenious methods of evasion. Another possible consequence which cannot be discounted is violence. Violence usually disappears where there is a firm show of authority

Do you really think so?

Do we need to say it?

There have been many calls in recent years for the President to exert "moral leadership." This implies that the President should make clear where he stands, what he believes, and how he believes that America must act to be true to itself. We think such leadership to be an indispensable part of a firm housing policy, every bit as essential as the definition of such a policy itself. We would go further and suggest that here is an occasion for a sustained exercise of Presidential leadership through persuasion, carried on publicly or privately as seems best, both by the President and his subordinates.

The appointment of advisory committees is sometimes a substitute for acceptance of responsibility, but can also be a means for grounding new policies on strong, authoritative support. This would seem to be an occasion for utilizing a committee, composed of well-known figures representing the public and financial, building, and real estate circles; Negroes from these categories would, of course, be included. The function of the committee would be to review periodically the success of the housing programs in ameliorating the residential conditions of the disadvantaged

minority of our citizens, and to report their findings to the President.

Finally, it should go without saying that the housing agencies should be headed by persons who believe in the value of integrated neighborhoods.

When all this is said, there remains the probable fact that the federal executive alone cannot reach some of the questions of land, appraisal, taxation, city and regional planning, credit, and others basic to the urban problems of the country. It would be unfortunate if executive actions or statements were to create a different impression.

18. A declaration by the President that federal housing programs will be guided by a belief in the values of integration would be the soundest basis for an Executive Order prohibiting discrimination. Because the federal government has been a principal architect of housing segregation, there is special reason for it continuously to evaluate its success in reversing the process. Adverse reactions, especially in the South, are to be expected to firm policies; Presidential leadership can be decisive in allaying and overcoming them.

III. CONCLUSION

This paper has sought to indicate and analyze actions which the executive department can take to secure civil rights and to help in the full realization of the nation's human resources. Five premises have run through our discussion. We would like to state them again, in conclusion.

Civil rights and liberties are the dignities of free men and the essential condition of a free country. In working for their enlargement, the government and we as a people do that which is closest to the core of our national purpose.

We have disadvantaged people in this country. Both fair dealing and national self-interest dictate that they be helped to become useful, and that their potential for talent be put at society's service.

National unity is a primary political value, and the views of the South should be part of the national consensus. There are, however, vast and largely untapped reservoirs of popular agreement and support in the South for national leadership that would ease from the South an ancient and uncomfortable burden.

The Presidency is the center of American energy. What the President says and does will mark the direction and the speed with which the country moves to perfect its racial relations.

Racial relations is our oldest domestic trouble. It has the claim of age and priority for thorough, decisive action now.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

TO: LWD

This is an effective and useful paper. On p. 6, # 2, I would suggest more amplification of suggestion of conferences and consultations. This is mentioned but not sufficiently (I think) emphasized or urged.

The reference to the Debs case, p. 18, is not too clear to me. Should this be urged as a possible precedent in New Orleans now ??

PR

LWD

COMMENTS, BY J. M. DABBS, UPON POLLITT'S "THE PRESIDENT'S POWERS IN AREAS OF RACE RELATIONS: AN EXPLORATION"

1. I have not been concerned to make close textual criticisms; these can wait for a final paper. My chief suggestion is that the material might be presented in a different order, and with certain additional interpretative comments.

2. I have therefore listed below the several areas of race relations and the President's powers therein in what I think is the proper order of priority. However, I would not defend too strongly the order I have chosen.

3. My comments are intended to justify this order of priority by indicating the relative need for executive action, and the relative support or opposition that may be expected to such action, in each area.

4. Since the purpose of this paper is to encourage a greater use of executive power in the general area of race relations, it seems that the kind of opinions I have offered below--if not these opinions--may be an appropriate part of the paper.

5. The order and the comments follow:

1. Military Service
The President has great power here, easily exercised, because he is commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and the area is national self-defense.

2. Education
This takes high priority because the fight is joined here, and the voice of the courts is increasingly clear here.

3. Voting
This right is basic to all others. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 place the Congress, however weakly, on the side of all who would exercise the right, and the battle is also pretty clearly joined.

4. Federal Employment
This area, the economic, may equal in importance the political. Strong action of the executive is proper here both because Congress has spoken clearly in civil service acts, and because the undemocratic handling of its own business is clearly a scandal in a democratic government.

5. Other Federal Employment Programs
I put this next as being in the economic field but less extensive and direct in its action than # 4 and more direct than # 6. Here, generally, the nation is spending money to improve the economic condition of certain handicapped classes of its citizens; it simply cannot justify discriminating among them because of race.

6. Federal Contract Employment

I am not sure what priority to give this. As perhaps the largest segment of government business, it outranks #4 and # 5. However, executive action in this field could rest upon more solid grounds than it does; it rests, as I understand it, only upon executive orders, unsupported by action of Congress, though made, I believe, in the spirit of the Constitution. In addition, the transaction involved is not, as in #5 above, a fairly direct grant-in-aid to certain groups, but a market transfer of money for goods, the goods supposedly of the same value as the money, regardless of how they were produced. Personally, I favor the insertion and implementation of anti-discrimination clauses in government contracts, but the defense of this position is not impregnable.

7,8. Health, Transport

I cannot arrange these in order of priority. I have put health after employment because the latter is everybody's daily business, the former some people's occasional business. But normal sympathy for people in poor health opens the way for the easy acceptance of executive action. As for transportation, the resentment against segregation here, and the series of court actions outlawing segregation here, make executive action relatively easy.

9. Recreation

This comes far down the list because I was brought up to think work was more important than leisure. However, this area becomes increasingly important with the growth of leisure time.

10. Housing

I should not quarrel if this were put immediately after # 6. However, I have put it here because there is still considerable uncertainty as to what the law is in this area.

****

In regard to the seveeal questions raised in the letter accompanying the study, I have no opinion about # 1 . In regard to # 2, I think that capable Negroes should be appointed to high positions: the Negro in America needs it, the nation needs it in its international relations, and the white South needs to learn it--and it can learn it just as well this year as next. As to # 3, in the first place we should be honest and report what happens; in the second place, we should always point also to the positive gains; in the third place, we should continually keep before the world the federal aspect of our government, and also the fact that the old cry of states rights, however loudly shouted, is rather a memory than a living reality.

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PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Public school desegregation is the biggest, most delicate, most complex, most dangerous and, in many respects the most urgent problem in the civil rights field.

Apart from the moral question and considerations of foreign policy, this problem in its present phase has grave constitutional implications. The failure of many communities to make any move toward compliance with a Supreme Court decision delivered over five years ago and the posture of defiance on the part of the established authorities in some states pose a certain threat to the supremacy of the national government within the territory of the United States.

I recommend no new form of compulsion in school desegregation except in the enforcement of federal court decrees in specific cases. Implementation of the Supreme Court's ruling should continue to be left to federal courts and to the loyalty and good faith of school boards and communities. The continued demonstration of the costliness and futility of defending segregation in federal courts, the example of desegregating districts and a progressive improvement in political attitudes and in the emotional climate in the South can lead to voluntary acceptance of Negro applicants for enrollment in integrated schools on an increasing scale and at a pace within a reasonable interpretation of "deliberate speed."

It is primarily in the urgent need for improvement of political attitudes and of the emotional climate that the challenge of school desegregation confronts the national Administration. This itself poses a monumental task, and one which will require the utmost in tact, finesse, sympathetic understanding and statesmanship.

Gradual adjustment community by community has been retarded or prevented, not only by the difficulties inherent in a great social change, but by central state authorities and state legislation. Without hindrance from these quarters, even with a neutral attitude on the part of state governments and leaders, it is not unreasonable to conclude that great progress in school desegregation would already have been made.

Earlier the attitude of the state administration and the state legislature in each of the eleven former Confederate states was one of hostility and obstruction. Significant progress has been made in this regard. Monolithic statewide resistance is no longer offered in Texas, North Carolina, Arkansas, Tennessee, Virginia or Florida. Some public schools have been integrated and a slowly increasing number of Negro

pupils are being enrolled in formerly white schools in those states. The spirit of defiance has not disappeared from the state administration of Arkansas, and it could return to that of Florida with the inauguration of Governor-elect Briant. But in Texas, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia the principle of acceptance of the Supreme Court ruling may be said to have become more or less established.

In Virginia, Tennessee and North Carolina the number of Negro pupils in integrated schools increased this year over last by 140,97 and 85 per cent respectively. Although the figures are still tiny in proportion to total school enrollment, it is to be noted that the increase in the number of Negro pupils "in integrated situations" was greater this year than in any other since 1954, and that, excepting the disorders in New Orleans, the adjustments took place this year for the first time in an atmosphere of complete tranquility. In these six states desegregation may be expected to continue in an orderly manner. The pace should be accelerated, but at least the direction here is toward compliance.

A much more formidable problem exists in the still totally recalcitrant states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi -- and in Louisiana, where 4 Negro children have been admitted to a formerly white school, but where a state of turmoil still exists and state authorities are aggressively hostile.

In formulating a program, it should be noted in the beginning that advancement of the cause of civil rights in any other area tends to advance the cause in this one. Every move which demonstrates the determination of the national Administration to establish the principle of equality among American citizens and uphold constitutional rights in other areas increases the feeling of inevitability of compliance with Supreme Court rulings in the matter of school desegregation. Every move in recognition of the Negro advance and of Negro competence, every improvement in the popular image of the Negro, enhances the acceptability of Negro children as schoolmates of white children in the eyes of many Southerners.

I will not attempt to deal with action which should be taken to combat other forms of race discrimination here beyond noting that, in my opinion, while the school problem must be approached with infinite delicacy and considerable patience, in some other areas, such as those of federally connected employment and voting rights, the Administration can move with sternness and dispatch.

Approaching the public school desegregation problem itself, expression by the President of positive support of the Supreme Court decision and evidence of his sincere desire to see early compliance with it would have a very helpful effect. Public statements by the President in this vein would strengthen the

morale and raise the prestige of moderate elements in the South; among the defiant they would hasten the conclusion that ultimate compliance is inevitable. Private expression of the President's desire to end defiance of the court's ruling could also go far toward removing political obstacles to adjustment.

I do not recommend "a ringing expression of national indignation" or desk-pounding. Spectacular and insolent challenges of federal authority such as occurred in the Little Rock and New Orleans crises must elicit stern Presidential reaction, but earlier manifestations of firmness might have avoided these convulsions in the first place.

The President should find frequent occasions to refer to the very real difficulty of effecting public school desegregation in some sections, to express his sympathy with men of good will who are grappling with the problem and his praise for those communities which have desegregated their schools in an orderly manner. At the same time he should use every appropriate opportunity to voice his firm determination to uphold the authority of the Supreme Court and the Constitution of the United States.

Significant developments in school desegregation should be the subjects of formal or informal comment by the President in press conferences or otherwise. Examples might be given of incidents in recent years which might have called for Presidential comment, as for instance the recent gesture of the Galax High School students.

I am confident also that much could be accomplished by the President, the Vice-President and others in the Administration by personal persuasion in private conference with those Southern politicians who are delaying and obstructing compliance and contributing to popular hostility and hysteria over the issue in their states. This approach should be made in a friendly and tactful spirit and with minimum objectives with respect to these individuals. A sympathetic appreciation of political exigencies may preclude asking one of these to advocate school desegregation. But it may well be appropriate to request one to moderate his attitude or to "lay off" the issue and leave the matter to the courts.

For reasons related to individual attitudes I would not suggest calling a formal conference of Southern governors at this stage. The approach could more gracefully be made when some individual Southern governor seeks an audience with the President for any purpose or when he confers with the President on informal occasions.

Unpublicized conferences with high level business executives, either resident in the South or controlling Southern industries, could have farreaching effects. A conference of leading Southern editors to be addressed by the President might also be helpful.

A better understanding and better cooperation might be fostered over a long period by a minor official, with the status of an emmissary of the President, visiting governors, editors and other leaders in the South. But the individual charged with this work must be himself a Southerner and a man of exceptionally ingratiating personality, discretion and tact, with a sympathetic understanding of the political and other difficulties confronting Southern leaders.

An assistant secretary of state might appropriately visit Southern governors and point out to them the damaging effects of race discrimination and segregation upon our world position. The assistant secretary need not argue the question of the Supreme Court decision or other points in controversy, but should stress merely the desire the Administration has to remove this grave handicap to American leadership of the Free World. The person chosen for this mission should be a career officer without political background.

No doubt should be allowed to exist in any quarter of the Administration's support of the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings, its determination to see them complied with and its desire to aid in the process of adjustment. This attitude should be reflected in the activities of every department or agency of the government insofar as they relate to this issue.

The Office of Education should set up a special school desegregation section, which should aid, inform and council Southern school administrations in this difficult and complex task. An official handbook on school desegregation should be compiled and issued, using Phi Delta Kappa's "Action Patterns in School Desegregation" as a model.

Whether or not as a member of the White House staff, I think the Administration should have an adviser on public school desegregation. He should be on call when needed by the President and should be available for consultation by other officials. He should also be prepared to give written information and advice when required.

The public school desegregation problem has become a major science and the subject of a vast and growing literature, which includes both information and misinformation. It is impossible for anyone to inform himself accurately and familiarize himself with personal attitudes of individual Southern leaders, with conditions in the various sections of the South, with the pertinent federal court decisions, with desegregation techniques in practice and with all the other facets of the problem without making this his fulltime vocation.

A consultant with this knowledge will be useful, if not indispensable, on many occasions. He could be helpful, and a

safeguard against embarrassment, at the President's side in conversations with segregationist Southern leaders. There might be no need for him to take part in the conversation; on the other hand there might be questions for him to answer or there might be errors which he would feel impelled to correct.

The President would need no help in dealing with criticism of the Supreme Court decision itself or with the state rights argument. But Southern leaders seek to prove by wide variety of other arguments that school desegregation is undesirable or impossible. I attach for illustration a list of statements frequently made by Southern segregationists with which an expert could deal promptly and cogently, but on which a statesman burdened with many other responsibilities might not have sufficient ready information.

Apart from the dialectic phase, such an expert would be valuable as a participant in intra-Administration conferences and as a consultant generally in the formulation of policy in this field.

READY ANSWERS REQUIRED FOR SUCH STATEMENTS OF SEGREGATIONISTS

AS THE FOLLOWING:

1) The Negro is by nature inferior -- a lower order of creation.

2) The Negro is immoral, backward, diseased, vicious, incompetent and incapable of keeping pace with whites.

3) The crime and disease rates among Negroes are much higher than among whites.

4) Integration of the Washington, D.C. schools has been a failure.

5) Public school integration is driving thousands of white people out of Washington.

6) The Supreme Court ordered sweeping overnight integration of public schools.

7) The Negroes don't want integration.

8) "A little integration" will lead to Negroes flooding white schools.

9) The NAACP is infiltrated by Communists and "fellow-travelers."

10) Public school integration would result in widespread miscegenation.

11) The generally lower scholastic level of Negro children makes integration impracticable.

12) The integration of Negroes would lower the level of education for white children.

13) Integration inevitably leads to violence and disorder.

Order No. E-15787

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Adopted by the Civil Aeronautics Board
at its office in Washington, D. C.,
on the 16th day of September, 1960

In the matter of the complaint of H. J. PALMER, et al. vs. EASTERN AIR LINES, INC., et al.	Docket 11142

OPINION AND ORDER DISMISSING THE COMPLAINT

BY THE BOARD:

This proceeding is before the Board on motion of H. J. Palmer, John Lee Tilley, S. S. Seay, Sr., and Ralph D. Abernathy to review the decision of the Director, Bureau of Enforcement, not to institute an enforcement proceeding with respect to their filed complaint. Named as respondents in the complaint are Eastern Air Lines, Inc.; Delta Air Lines, Inc.; the City of Montgomery, Alabama; Board of Commissioners of the City of Montgomery, Alabama; Earl D. James, L. B. Sullivan, and Frank W. Park, as members of the Board of Commissioners; and J. Josh Couch, as Director of the Municipal Airport of Montgomery. Delta and Eastern and the municipal parties have filed answers to the motion.

The complaint alleges that the City of Montgomery owns and operates the municipal airport of Dannelly Field which serves Eastern and Delta, and that pursuant to municipal ordinances complainant Tilley was denied

service on February 25, 1959, at a restaurant located in the airport terminal building solely because of his race or color. The complaint further alleges that at the Montgomery municipal airport respondents are enforcing and pursuing a policy and practice of denying to complainants and other Negroes access to and use of waiting room facilities, and that they are also denied the use and enjoyment of certain water fountain facilities, and pursuant to ordinance, the use of certain toilet facilities, solely because of their race or color. The complaint requests that the Board enter an order and decree declaring that the ordinances are unconstitutional or in deprivation of rights, privileges, and immunities guaranteed by the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, and that the above practices are in violation of the Act. The complaint also requests that the Board enter an order and decree enjoining respondents from making any distinction on account of race or color in extending the right and privilege of the use and enjoyment of the above-mentioned facilities.

Delta and Eastern filed separate answers to the complaint, and the non-carrier respondents filed a joint answer. The answers deny that the Board has jurisdiction over the subject matter of the complaint. The carriers also allege that they lease certain space at Dannelly Field under lease agreements which give them no right to operate public restaurants, waiting rooms, water fountain, or toilet facilities and they do not operate any thereof at Dannelly Field. The answer of the non-carrier respondents further denies that the Board has jurisdiction over them.

On May 24, 1960, the Director, Bureau of Enforcement, advised complainants by letter that it was the opinion of the Bureau that Section 404(a)[1] of the Act does not require Delta or Eastern to provide terminal facilities and consequently they have no legal obligation or duty under Section 404(b)[2] to render such facilities or the use thereof free from acts or omissions by third parties which may be considered as unjustly discriminatory, unreasonably prejudicial, or to the disadvantage of complainants. Accordingly, the complaint was dismissed as to the carriers. The letter also advised that the non-carrier respondents are not subject to the Board's jurisdiction and consequently dismissed the complaint as to them also.

We have considered the motion to review the Director's decision and the contentions of the parties and conclude that the complaint should be dismissed.

1/ Section 404(a) provides: "It shall be the duty of every air carrier to provide and furnish interstate and overseas air transportation, as authorized by its certificate, upon reasonable request therefor and to provide reasonable through service in such air transportation in connection with other air carriers; to provide safe and adequate service, equipment, and facilities in connection with such transportation; to establish, observe, and enforce just and reasonable individual and joint rates, fares, and charges, and just and reasonable classifications, rules, regulations, and practices relating to such air transportation; and, in case of such joint rates, fares, and charges, to establish just, reasonable, and equitable divisions thereof as between air carriers participating therein which shall not unduly prefer or prejudice any of such participating air carriers."

2/ Section 404(b) reads: "No air carrier or foreign air carrier shall make, give, or cause any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage to any particular person, port, locality, or description of traffic in air transportation in any respect whatsoever or subject any particular person, port, locality, or description of traffic in air transportation to any unjust discrimination or any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage in any respect whatsoever."

The thrust of the complainants' argument is not that Delta and Eastern are actually practicing discrimination, but that the municipal parties are doing so through the manner in which they operate the airport. While the carriers are charged in the complaint with legal responsibility for the practices, that would seem true only if the carriers are under a duty to provide their own terminal facilities so that the municipal parties may be said to be their agent. If there is no such duty, then the Board would have jurisdiction only if the airport operators as such fell within its jurisdiction. We seriously doubt either that a duty exists on the part of the carriers to provide terminal facilities in a city such as Montgomery or that we have jurisdiction over airport operators as such.[3/]

In any event, we do not reach these questions but rather dismiss on grounds of discretion. Obviously, what is here involved is an attempt to have this Board strike down a city ordinance and eliminate segregation practices through an order either compelling the carriers to provide their own facilities if they cannot persuade the city to act differently, or in effect enjoining the municipality. Neither course of action impresses us as practical. The short of the matter is that there is a much more direct,

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3/ In clear contrast to the Interstate Commerce Act (49 U.S.C.A. §1 (3)(2)), the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 does not include the words "terminals and terminal facilities of every kind" within the Board's powers of regulation. The omission of such words strongly indicates that the Congress did not intend that the Board should have jurisdiction over airports and the facilities thereof. In City of Dallas v. Civil Aeronautics Board, 221 F. 2d. 501, 503, n. 3(C.A.D.C. 1954), cert. den. 348 U.S. 914, the United States Court of Appeals said in dicta: "Clearly, Congress did not intend for carriers to provide their own safe and adequate airports" under Section 404(a). The Board has previously stated that there is considerable question as to whether it has jurisdiction over airport operators. Various Air Carriers and Foreign Air Carriers Serving Miami, Florida, Order E-9911, January 12, 1956.

and apparently more efficacious, remedy through resort to judicial action.[4/] Under these circumstances, and in the exercise of our discretion under the Act,[5/] we are of the opinion that the complaint does not state facts which warrant an investigation or action by the Board.

ACCORDINGLY IT IS ORDERED: That the complaint in Docket 11142 be and it is hereby dismissed.

Gillilland, Chairman, Gurney, Vice Chairman, Boyd and Bragdon, Members of the Board, concurred in the above opinion and order. Minetti, Member, did not take part in the decision.

/s/ Robert C. Lester

Robert C. Lester
Secretary

(SEAL)

4/ See Nash v. Air Terminal Services, Inc., 85 F. Supp. 545 (E.D. Va. 1949); Fitzgerald v. Pan American World Airways, 229 F. 2d. 499 (C.A. 2d. 1956); Northeast Airlines, Inc., v. Weiss, 113 So. 2d. 884 (Fla. 1959), cert. den. 116 So. 2d. 772 (Fla. 1959); Henry v. Greenville Airport Comm., C. A. 4, April 20, 1960 (28 U.S.L. Week 3125, May 10, 1960).

5/ Section 1002(a) provides in part: "Any person may file with the Administrator or the Board, as to matters within their respective jurisdictions, a complaint in writing with respect to anything done or omitted to be done by any person in contravention of any provisions of this Act, or of any requirement established pursuant thereto. If the person complained against shall not satisfy the complaint and there shall appear to be any reasonable ground for investigating the complaint, it shall be the duty of the Administrator or the Board to investigate the matters complained of. Whenever the Administrator or the Board is of the opinion that any complaint does not state facts which warrant an investigation or action, such complaint may be dismissed without hearing."

from Urban League

WE PROPOSE: That there be direct intervention by the new President, endowing the President's Committee on Government-Employment Policy with White House authority for a forceful, if need be, coercive program, to establish and oversee execution of a non-discrimination job policy in every department, agency, commission and bureau. (p. 7)

WE PROPOSE: That exceptions to the "rule of three" be outlawed; and that either a "rule of one" be instituted or precaution taken to insure the Negro federal worker of just treatment. (p. 8)

WE PROPOSE: That some dispassionate arm of government do the investigating; that if the burden of proof is to be on the complainant, he be permitted to review the file compiled by the accused agency; that findings of fact be made at the site where the grievance occurred and be based on briefs filed by the accused agency, the complainant, and an independent investigator. (p. 8)

WE PROPOSE: That it [Committee on Government Contracts] be abolished in favor of an organization reporting directly to the President and able and willing to bring direct pressure on offending contractors. (p. 10)

WE PROPOSE: That steps be taken to doubly insure that when firms working on government contracts say they have given up discriminatory practices that the practices "stay" given up. The Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems in Chicago looked recently into 23 "closed" complaints and found that 13 of the 23 companies had placed discriminatory mob orders after they had satisfied the Contracts Committee that such practices had been abandoned. (p. 10)

WE PROPOSE: That the Urban Renewal Administration conduct a "crash" program to encourage "open" moderately-priced housing; and that clearance and redevelopment projects not be permitted in seriously house-short communities except concurrently with creation of "open land" projects. (p. 14)

projects not be permitted in seriously house-whort communities except concurrently with creation of "open land" projects. (p. 14)

WE PROPOSE: That the Housing and Home Finance Agency encourage neighborhood upgrading and conservation projects, by offering inducements to home owners and home buyers in neighborhoods threatened by shifts toward segregation.

WE PROPOSE: That to-be-displaced families be surveyed as to their needs and their preferences; that centralized, community-wide relocation service be established; that concrete programs be set in motion to provide needed housing - in advance of, or simultaneously with, the upheaval. (p. 15)

WE PROPOSE: That the federal government require that policy-making boards of local housing agencies include representation from the total community, and be required to consult during planning stages with delegates of the residents who are to be displaced. (p. 16)

WE PROPOSE: That "demonstration projects" be encouraged and fostered such as to: 1) Report and exchange information on efficient creation of low and middle income rental housing, 2) Assess, in terms of statutory compliance, the effects resettlement has on racial living patterns and 3) Demonstrate what can be done in the way of integrated housing in given cities, using community-wide approaches. (p.16)

WE PROPOSE: That such categories as "employed" and "employable" be eliminated or greatly liberalized in the federal grants-in-aid programs to the states. (18)

WE PROPOSE: That HEW take the lead in convincing states if possible, forcing states if necessary, to face up to the obvious needs of these "stateless" people. (p.20)

WE PROPOSE: That federal legislation be enacted which would provide grants to state welfare departments, to accredited colleges and public and voluntary agencies to be used for individual scholarships and for expanding and improving training resources for child welfare work. (p. 21)

WE PROPOSE: That this be done through an Occupational Information program designed by the U. S. Office of Education for use in all schools, with definite recognition of the specific job problems of Negroes and other minority groups. Such a program should be accompanied by detailed supplementary instructions for vocational ~~guidance counselors~~ guidance counselors and teachers with guidance responsibilities; and through special courses introduced into the program of the Counseling and Guidance Training Institutes established under the National Defense Education Act. (p. 23)

WE PROPOSE: That the Labor Department's Bureau of Apprenticeship not only could focus attention onthese problems, but also develop channels through which qualified students would pass directly from school training to apprenticeship. (p/24)

1. Apart from any specific questions, should the leadership of the government--including the executive branch--be aimed at (a) the removal of inequities wherever they exist in public facilities; or (b) such removal plus the eradication of discrimination throughout our society, on the assumption that racial relations is one of the fundamental problems of our polity? If (b) would this seem to imply, among other things, "crash" programs to elevate the level of Negro skills?

2. To whatever extent government has an "educational" function, can that be accomplished by large-scale programs of public information; in the nature of things, does the government "educate" by performance and example, and by that only?

3. During the recent campaign, responsible persons urged the candidates to pledge that, if elected, they would not patronize segregated establishments or worship in segregated churches. Should the urging be repeated?

4. What realistic possibilities are open to the President to lead the South by persuasion? Do high level political conferences--publicized or unpublicized--have usefulness? What of high level conferences or consultations with civic leaders of the South, especially business leaders? What value might there be in an active, sustained program of lower level consultation (using agencies such as CCR, Dept. of Labor, Dept. of HEW, HHFA) ?

5. If a President should be neutral as between the parties in a labor dispute, does it follow that he should be neutral as between the parties in a sit-in (or similar) dispute where there is no issue of legal discrimination?

6. Given present circumstances, does there need to be a race relations adviser on White House staff, and if so would the effectiveness of the CCR be reduced (or stunted) or enhanced ?

7. Should the development and dissemination of authoritative information and analysis of civil rights and race relations questions be a function of government, or primarily one for private agencies ?

8. Could the CCR be transformed into an active agent of the administration? Could it become the administration's "policy planning staff," performing this role for the Dept. of Justice as well as the administration generally? Would such a role for CCR be desirable? Would there be legal bars to it ?

9. President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights recommended that the Bureau of the Budget "review the execution of all government programs, and the expenditure of all government funds, for compliance with the policy of nondiscrimination." Comment ?

10. In view of the numerous federal agencies which in the course of their duties are confronted by questions of race relations

should it be established procedure that when they are so confronted they must seek advice at some administrative quarter in the interest of uniform federal policy? What should that "quarter" be?

11. Section 104a (3) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 directs the CCR to "appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution." Is this not sufficient authority and should it not be used, to maintain a continuing study and reporting of federal practices in every agency? Section 104b empowers the President to ask the CCR for "interim reports": could not through this power the President make the CCR his watchdog over federal agencies ?

12. Should reporting procedures of federal agencies be so organized as to provide a continuing record of their racial relations practices ?

13. What premises ought to be followed in appointments? Should it be "best man regardless of race"? Or does the government have an obligation at the present time to assume a considerable part of the task of quick advancement of Negroes, and should a deliberate effort be made to project Negroes into our national public life? (This question has relevance both to high level appointments and to such others as those of military academy cadets.)

14. What about Negroes as foreign representatives? Especially in non-white countries ?

15. A thesis: The USIA and others in official roles who depict abroad American racial problems should do so with candor, realism, and an explicit awareness of American involvement in a world-wide revolutionary movement; the appropriate desks in the USIA should be entrusted to persons capable of doing this; and the present policy of almost exclusively "accentuating the positive" is fruitless.

16. Re the problem of staffing for the Committee on Governmental Employment Policy, would the best solution be to return the function to the Civil Service Commission, with a strict executive order to enforce ?

17. In view of the repeated refusal by Congress to pass an FEP act, are there any reservations about the President going via the back door as far as he can by regulating governmental contractors? Somewhat similar questions of political principle are raised by the suggestion that (a) the U. S. intervene in school desegregation cases--page 51; (b) research funds be withheld from colleges and universities which discriminate--page 52-53; (c) educational funds be withheld at all levels of schools which discriminate--page 53.

18. Assuming that the Contract Committee has not been highly effective, is this an example of a function which has either to be done with Strafford-like "thoroughness," or had better be left undone ?

19. Economic facts in mind, would not one of the most meaningful of all actions which the administration might take be the full opening up of the apprenticeship program?

20. By the same rationale--that the President should refuse to buy from contractors who discriminate--, should he not refuse to buy products made by labor in segregated or racially closed unions?

21. Is it wise to curtail or abolish programs which are per se desirable in an effort to coerce states, localities, or institutions to end segregation: e.g. ROTC (page 7); mental health, maternal and child health, crippled children, aid to blind, and disease control programs (page 32) ?

22. Should it be specifically recommended that the Secretary of HEW ask the Attorney General for an opinion on the constitutionality of the separate-but-equal clause in the Hill-Burton Act?

23. Considering the progress made and the present situation, is the transportation question so bad as to require the sanctions described by Pollitt on pages 36-37 ?

24. The Supreme Court in Brown v. Topeka (and in many other cases) took judicial note of the sociological and psychological handicaps of segregation. Why should not the President do the same in an Executive Order stating U. S. housing policy as positively encouraging integration? This conclusion would be a larger one than that derived by the Court;

but the President is political officer. It would be the basis of the strongest possible directive to the housing agencies.

25. The President when devising policy has an obligation far greater than that of the courts when declaring rights to be prepared to react to the consequences. If a strict non-discriminatory policy in FHA (including 221) and PHA housing is laid down, an almost certain consequence will be a diminution of starts in the South, at least for a time. On the assumption that this fact should not deter, does it not suggest the occasion for a massive exercise of Presidential leadership through persuasion to ameliorate the outcome? If so, by what means?

26. Pollitt suggests (page 46) FHA "priority" for projects in mixed neighborhoods. Along the same line, would it not be good policy to explore to the fullest the effectiveness of all "carrots" in the repertoire of FHA, PHA, FNMA, URA, VA before laying on with "sticks" to achieve non-discriminatory, nonsegregated housing?

THE PRESIDENT'S POWERS IN AREAS OF RACE RELATIONS:

AN EXPLORATION

Submitted to the Southern Regional Council as a resource project by Daniel H. Pollitt, associate professor of law, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

The Federal Government has an important role in the struggle for a more democratic America. It is the country's largest employer. It is the country's largest consumer. It is the country's largest purchaser. More importantly, the Federal Government, and its Chief Executive, the President, can provide leadership, precept and example.

"When Andrew Jackson was President Nullification reared its head. Old Hickory was quick to react. He told a South Carolina Congressman 'You may tell the Nullificationists for me that if they spill a drop of blood, I will hang the first one I can get my hands on to the first tree I can find.' Senator Hayne from South Carolina expressed some doubt that Jackson would go that far. 'I tell you, Hayne,' the congressman replied, 'when Jackson talks about hanging you can look out for rope.'" /33

President Theodore Roosevelt entertained Booker T. Washington in the White House during a racial crisis in Atlanta. Governor Hodges of North Carolina showed President Toure of Guinea warm and generous personal hospitality during a recent tour. Both are examples of executive action, personal in nature, which had profound effect.

"No president has a right to be above a national moral battle. His personal prestige and weight must be thrown into the scale. Lesser men take heart from his example. Courage travel by osmosis." /34

Perhaps "you can't legislate morality." Perhaps prejudice can't be eliminated from the hearts of man by signing a new document. But actions can be legislated, and behavioral patterns influence thought. This has been demonstrated time and again. In the Spring of 1960 it was almost universally assumed that the white Southerner would never break bread with a Negro at the food counters of the dime stores.[35] Yet integrated food service is now a fact which passes without comment in many Southern communities. It was a widely accepted doctrine that the Southern white youth would desert the Army rather than accept orders from a Negro non-commissioned-officer. The fact is that morale in integrated units is equal if not superior to morale in all-white units; and Southern youths who have served in integrated military units cannot appreciate the intensity with which their elders join the White Citizens Councils and other segregationist organizations.[36] No one would have imagined Mississippi voting funds to finance the erection of a thoroughly integrated Veterans Administration Hospital, but this is what happened when the VA threatened to build in Memphis, Tennessee.[37] Dr. Harold I. Lief, associate professor of psychiatry at Tulane University and a serious student of racial prejudice, reports that one of the most striking psychological facts demonstrated by school desegregation is that changes in behavior are in many places preceding changes in attitude. "This is the exact opposite of the old idea that one must change attitudes--perhaps through education --before one can hope to change behavior patterns, and it explains the many attitude changes to be found among teachers, school administrators, and parents who have accepted desegregation against their will only to become advocates of it in the process."[38]

The Judicial branch of the Federal Government has altered behavioral patterns with monumental decisions in areas of education, transportation, recreation, the franchise, etc. The Legislative branch of the Federal Government has contributed to the onward march of civil rights with two important pieces of legislation in an eight year period. The discussion which follows pertains to the Executive Branch of the Government--what it has done,[39] what remains to be done, and the techniques by which progress can be assured.

1. The Military Services

The American Negro dates his military service from colonial times and has been represented in each of our Nation's conflicts. The Negro particularly served well and in large numbers during the Civil War. Several Negroes rose to command rank, and one, Col. William N. Reed of the First North Carolina Regiment, was killed while leading his regiment in a gallant charge at the battle of Olustee, Florida.[40]

Following the civil war, Congress authorized four all-Negro units, staffed almost entirely by white officers. Segregation, thus established, continued until the end of World War II. During much of that conflict the Negro was allowed to serve only in the steward's branch of the Navy, and as truckdrivers or heavy manual laborers in the Army. The wartime experience for them was tragic. In October 1943, many Negro members of a Sea-Bee battalion were dishonorably discharged, mainly because they had protested against discrimination. In Camp Rousseau, California, in 1945, 1,000 Negro seamen went on a hunger strike in demonstration against Jim Crow practices and lack of promotion. In Guam, Christmas Day 1944, Negro

sailors were attacked by white marines.[41] Negroes assigned to combat did very well. More than 100 Distinguished Flying Crosses were recommended for Negro pilots during World War II. Officers and enlisted men in the all-Negro 369th and the 270th Infantry Regiments received numerous decorations and citations.[42] In the Winter of 1945, some 2,500 Negro soldiers from the supply services had answered a call for volunteers for front-line duty. These Negro volunteers were formed into platoons and assigned to white companies. The combat performance of these platoons effectively established the feasibility of integration at this level without difficulty. Three out of four white soldiers who served in this campaign said their attitude toward Negroes had changed after serving beside them in combat.[43]

Wy then, was the Negro serviceman so often segregated to a "service" or "manual" position? The answwr given in 1941 by a War Department spokesman to a group of Negro newspaper representatives is that "The Army...cannot be made the means of engendering conflict among the mass of the people because of a stand with respect to Negroes which is not compatible with the position attained by the Negro in civilian life...The Army is not a sociological laboratory."[44] Fortunately, President Harry S. Truman was not one to believe that integration in the military services is a process which must be carried out gradually over a long period of time.

A. Integration of the Armed Forces

In 1948 Executive Order 8891 declared it to be "the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin." "This policy," the President

directed, "shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale."[45] By the same order, the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services (headed by Georgia born Judge Charles E. Fahy) was created. This committee recommended the elimination of segregated units and of a quota system in all branches of the armed services. After a survey in 1950, "The thing that most impressed the Committee about the Navy's experience was that in the relatively short space of five years the Navy had moved from a policy of complete exclusion of Negroes from general service to a policy of complete integration in general service...The Navy had found that Negro and white sailors would work together, eat at the same messes and sleep in the same quarters without trouble."[46] The Army expedited integration with an order that Negro soldiers with critical specialties be transferred to white units requiring such specialties.[47]

Civil rights organizations continue to receive complaints that military authorities of lesser rank frequently frustrate the policies set by their superiors[48] but the order of the day is that Negroes and whites in the Armed Forces eat, sleep, play, work, fight and die together without regard to race.

B. The Military Academies and ROTC Units

Contrary to earlier predictions, removal of racial quotas and other restrictions has not resulted in any imbalance of ratios of Negro-white enlisted personnel in the Services. In 1954 the percentage of Negroes in the enlisted ranks of the Army was 13.7%; in the Navy 3.6%, and in the Marine Corps 6.5%. Among Army re-enlistment data for 1954 it is found that the re-enlistment rate for eligible regular army Negro personnel is almost identical with that for all

personnel in this category.[49] The Negro officer, however, is not found in such large proportion.

In 1954, approximately 3% of the Army Officers were Negroes, and there were only a few individual Negroes (0.1% of the total officer force) serving in a commissioned capacity in the Navy and Marine Corps.[50] As the Fahy Committee points out, the two principal sources of naval officers are the Naval Academy and the Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps at 55 colleges and universities.[51] Unless Negroes are appointed to the Naval Academy, and the NROTC, the paucity of Naval officers will continue. Currently, there are seven Negroes enrolled in the Naval Academy. Similarly, there are only eight Negro cadets at West Point, and only three Negroes enrolled at the Air Force Academy.[52] The disproportionate few Negroes at the service academies may be caused by the small number of qualified Negro applicants. It may also, however, be due to the fact that the greater majority of midshipmen and cadets are nominated by Senators and members of the House of Representatives. As there are no Negro Senators and only three or four Negro Congressmen, most of the Congressional nominations (other than those made on the basis of open competitive examination) go to whites. The President, however, has the power to make a limited number of appointments, 89, for example, to West Point.[53] He can use this appointive power to ensure that qualified Negroes gain admission to the Military Academies.

Many Army officers come from the university ROTC programs. But there are at least three states, possibly more, where the Negro is barred by race from attending the state university and consequently from the potential of ROTC training. The President is directed by law to establish and maintain ROTC units, and may likewise

disestablish such units.[54] He can, if he will, inform the universities and colleges where ROTC units exist and which refuse to admit Negro students, that the ROTC unit will be disestablished unless the discriminatory admission policies are abolished.

C. The National Guard

The National Guard is part of the United States Army.[55] The composition of its units are required by law to be "the same as those prescribed by the Army."[56] The state units of the National Guard are financed almost in whole by the federal government,[57] and service in the National Guard is a statutory substitute for service under the Universal Selective Service Act in the regular Army.[58] The youth who enlists in the National Guard is released from a tour of extended active duty in exchange for 48 evening drill periods a year and two weeks of summer training throughout the period of his military obligation.[59] The opportunity, however, is not available to the Southern Negro, as the Southern National Guard units are "lily white". This deprives the Negro of opportunities available to the white; and, as pointed out by the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, "In times of racial tension, if the guard should be called out, it would be reassuring to Negro citizens to observe that members of their own race were on duty. Thereby would be implanted the justified conviction that the sole mission of the guard is to uphold the law."[60]

The President can change this situation at will. He designates the units of the National Guard;[61] and he prescribes the regulations and issues the orders necessary to organize, discipline, and govern the National Guard.[62] Violation of a Presidential regulation results automatically in a forfeiture of federal benefits.[63] This does not leave the state helpless to protect itself from internal disorder,

because, in addition to its National Guard, a state has Congressional authority to create and establish a "defense force" to be used within the state boundaries as the Governor considers necessary. This "defense force" may not be called into the armed forces; but a member of such a "defense force" is not exempt from service in the armed force, nor is he entitled to pay, allowances, and the like from funds of the United States.[64]

In short, a state can maintain a lily-white "defense force" at its own expense for operations within the state; but it cannot, if the President so wills, maintain a segregated National Guard unit as an integral part of the United States Army, paid for and supervised by the Federal Government.

D. Facilities on Government-owned Shore Stations and Military Posts.

The Secretary of the Navy, on August 20, 1953, directed the complete elimination of all barriers to the free use of previously segregated facilities on Government-owned Shore Stations of the Navy.[65] Similar regulations were issued by the Army and Air Force. The Commissaries, Post Exchanges, restaurants, swimming-pools, tennis courts, golf courses, and the like are now completely integrated. When there is a dance at the officers' club, Negro officers dance with their wives on the same dance floor with the white officers and their wives. What happens? Nothing. James McBride Dabbs, South Carolina planter, explains it this way: "We mingle with Negroes at games on government reservations because enforcement there is taken out of our hands; we are on federal property, we have no responsibility. Take Shaw Air Force Base, near Sumter, South Carolina, where at integrated athletic contests white citizens' council leaders may be seen sitting by Negroes and chatting with

them...A part of the South's present excitement over maintaining segregation is due to the fact that it senses how little it really cares, and is trying to whip up enthusiasm for an attitude no longer. deeply believed in." /66

In 1954 the Secretary of Defense directed " that the operation of all school facilities located on military installations shall be conducted without segregation on the basis of race or color." /67 This preceded the Supreme Court school-desegregation decision by four months. What was the result? Here is what Ms. Hazel Scudder, a native of Arkansas and superintendent of three grade schools on the post at Fort Benning, near Columbus, Georgia: "We lost three teachers. One objected to the new program, another felt her father would disapprove, and a third reported that her husband objected. We have seventy-two teachers, three fourths of them from the South. Some of those from the Deep South have changed their attitudes tremendously. Several have said that they like being here where this bridge has already been crossed. As for the children, there have been no problems at all. The parents have accepted it without question." /68

E. Off-Base Recreational Facilities

For the Negro serviceman stationed in the South, the short bus trip from base to town is a trip to a different world. In Europe, in Asia, in the North, he goes on leave with his white companions. In the South, he bids them farewell at the bus terminal, and looks for the places of public accommodation marked "colored." An official document of the Defense Department comments that "It is paradoxical that the Negro citizen in uniform has frequently been made to feel more at home overseas than in his home town." /69

Leaves, furloughs, passes, "liberty" are for the purpose of rejuvenating the spirit. Forcing a Negro soldier to forego either his pass or spend his off-time in a segregated atmosphere is obviously detrimental to his health and morale. The way to alleviate this situation is shown by the actions of the commander of the air base outside Grand Fords, North Dakota. Receiving complaints that some of the town's restaurants had refused to serve Negro airmen, the commander met with the local chamber of commerce and made clear that all airmen are entitled to equal treatment, that places discriminating against any would be declared "off limits." Chamber members carried his words back to the community and complaints of discrimination stopped.[70]

A commanding officers' authority to safeguard the "health and welfare" of his men has been held to justify putting a used car lot "off limits" to all military personnel after a lieutenant had complained of being defrauded.[71] The President, as Commander-In-Chief is thus clearly within his Constitutional obligation should he decide to put all places of public accommodation which refuse to serve Negro servicemen "off limits" to all servicemen.

FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

The success of integration in the Armed Forces--where men work, fight, and play together in crowded quarters and often under disagreeable conditions--would lead one to expect even greater and more successful integration in the Federal Civil Service; that Negroes, widely excluded from skilled, clerical and supervisory jobs in private business and industry, would be found in large numbers in the federal government. The facts are otherwise.

An official bulletin of the Defense Department discusses the Negro civilian employee in these terms: "the utilization of the individual Negro employee at his maximum potential often appears as a distant objective....measured against the Negro in military uniform, much remains to be done to accomplish full equity....The situation is not resolved by pointing out that conditions are not measurably better elsewhere."[72]

A listing of recent "breakthroughs" in federal employment serves only to highlight the federal discriminatory employment practices:[73]

Pine Bluff, Arkansas: Two Negro guards are employed by the Federal government at the Pine Bluff Arsenal.

Wilmington, Delaware: The first Negro is employed at the Delaware District office of the Internal Revenue Service.

New Orleans, Louisiana: A Negro is promoted to the job of general foreman in the office of the superintendent of the Postal Transportation Service.

St. Louis, Missouri: The Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis begins hiring Negroes for clerical as well as service jobs.

Oklahoma City, Okla.: Veteran's Hospital employs Negro Medical Technician and promotes him to highest technician grade.

Charleston, West Va.: The Social Security office hires two Negroes--a woman clerk, and a man as a claims investigator.

A recent study of the Negro employment in Federal agencies located in Atlanta, Georgia[74] shows that only 226 of the 2,369 Negro employees (less than 10%) were employed in "white collar" jobs. Only twelve of the twenty-seven agencies with "white collar" positions hired Negroes; and 194 of the 226 Negro "white collar" federal employees (over 80%) were in the bottom 4 of the 15 grades of job classification. (At Grade 5 the jobs begin to involve responsibilities of a technical, professional, or administrative nature.)[75] The "white collar" positions held by Negroes are described as Nursing Assistant, Soil Conservationist, Mail and File Clerk, Tabulating Machine Operator, Laboratory Animal Caretaker, Biological Aid, Messenger, Biologist, and Clerk-Typist; this in a community with six Negro colleges which in 1958 alone handed out 573 graduate and undergraduate degrees. The most recent report of the President's Committee on Government Employment concludes "That there is discrimination in Federal employment is unquestionably true."[76]

Discrimination in federal employment exists despite statutes and Executive Orders to the contrary.

In principle at least, equal opportunity for federal employment has existed since the Civil Service Act of 1883, which provided for open competitive examinations, with vacancies to be filled from the three highest scorers, "with sole reference to merit and fitness."[77]

In 1940, Congress amended the Civil Service Act to expressly prohibit discrimination on the basis of "race."[78]

In 1941, President Roosevelt established a Committee on Fair Employment Practices, which processed a total of 1,871 complaints during the war years, and found discrimination in 58 of them.[79]

After the war, Negroes in Federal jobs again found themselves in a precarious position, especially as the non-discriminating temporary war-time agencies and the FEPC were discontinued. In 1948, President Truman issued Executive Order 9980 ordering each department to consider only "merit and fitness" in appointing and promoting personnel. He further established a Fair Employment Board within the Civil Service Commission to police his regulations and report to him whenever a recommendation concerning employment practices was not "promptly and fully carried out."[80] The effect of this policy was that by 1952, one third of the Federal agencies had, for the first time in their history, hired Negroes as supervisors over integrated work groups, or as executives or in professional capacities.[81]

In 1955 President Eisenhower abolished President Truman's Fair Employment Board of the Civil Service Commission and created in its place the President's Committee on Governmental Employment Policy. In his order creating this Committee, President

Eisenhower stated that it "is the policy of the United States Government that equal opportunity be afforded all qualified persons, consistent with law, for employment in the Federal Government." He added that "this policy necessarily excludes and prohibits discrimination against any employee or applicant for employment in the Federal Government because of race, color, religion, or national origin."

Why, despite this long and unbroken policy against racial discrimination in federal employment, does such discrimination exist? Several lessons from the past are pertinent.

First, the Committee, Board or agency charged with the task of ending discriminatory employment practices never has been assigned sufficient manpower. With government employment in excess of two million, President Eisenhower's Committee was composed of part-time men[83] with a full-time staff of exactly three persons, one of them a stenographer.[84] A President bent on ending discrimination in federal employment must create a task-force commensurate with the job to be done.

Second, the entire system of ending discrimination depended on action initiated by the rejected employee. The procedure began with a complaint, and the complaint was normally filed with the agency against whom it was levelled. Moreover, the burden of proving that the rejection was based on race rather than on some other factor was laid on the complainant, who had no facts and no way of getting them.[85] A President bent on ending discrimination could himself initiate action. For example, he could keep track of the percentage of qualified Negro applicants referred to a given agency by the Civil Service

Commission, the percentage of qualified Negro applicants hired by the agency, and then put the burden of explanation upon the agency if and when the two percentages became disproportionate.

Third, those charged with enforcement of the Government's non-discriminatory policy did not believe it immediately possible of attainment. President Eisenhower's Committee asserted that its "most important responsibility" was "to conduct a long-range program of education and persuasion" with the purpose of eliminating, not discriminatory employment practices, but "those fears and prejudices that give rise to acts of discrimination."[86] Contrast with this "federal employment" "long-range" educational program to allay fears the Military crash program to eliminate segregation. The Army made no bones about its objective, and expedited its program by assigning qualified Negro soldiers to billets in white units even when equally qualified white soldiers were available.[87]

Finally, there have never been any sanctions for violation of the Government's policy. President Eisenhower's Committee has found individual and identifiable acts of employment discrimination, but if any one was discharged, or even reprimanded, it remains a secret. Contrast the statement of the top official of the Bureau of Internal Revenue when there were charges that revenue officials discriminated against taxpayers favoring integration: "...we don't allow personal feeling to enter into our work. Anyone found doing this kind of thing would be summarily dismissed. They all know that."[88]

In sum, a President can eliminate discrimination in federal employment, just as discrimination was ended in the military services, by appointing a Committee, adequately staffed, with

authority to initiate action designed to seek out and punish those who violate government policy from the inside.

FEDERAL CONTRACT EMPLOYMENT

Not only does the Federal Government discriminate against Negroes in its own employment policies, but it permits private firms holding federal government contracts to follow suit. This is most unfortunate, as goods and services furnished pursuant to federal government contracts constitute a major part of our economy.[89] The end of discrimination in these private firms doing business with the government would have a decisive impact on the employment picture of the United States as a whole. In hundreds of cities the federal contractor is the major employer, and his hiring policies set the pattern for an entire area. As in direct federal employment, discrimination by employers holding government contracts is contrary to our national policy.

In 1941 President Roosevelt established a Fair Employment Practice Committee and called for "full participation in the national defense program by all citizens regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin." Federal agencies were instructed to include in their contracts a provision requiring the contractor not to discriminate.[90] Since 1943 all government contracts have contained a "non-discrimination" clause.

During the Korean crisis, President Truman attempted to revitalize the non-discrimination provision by establishing a Committee on Government Contract Compliance, with instructions to study the problem and to recommend to agency heads measures to eliminate discrimination. The Committee reported that the non-discrimination clause was "dead and buried under thousands

of words of standard legal and technical language," that workers were unaware of its existence, and that government contracting agencies lacked machinery to receive and investigate complaints or to enforce compliance.[91]

In 1953 President Eisenhower established the Government Contract Committee (popularly known as the Nixon Committee) with the Vice-President as its Chairman, the Secretary of Labor as its Vice Chairman, and with prominent industrial, labor, and civic leaders among its membership. President Eisenhower's Executive Order[92] contains the following statements:

> "...it is in the interest of the Nation's economy and security to promote the fullest utilization of all available manpower...."
>
> "It is the policy of the United States Government to promote equal employment opportunity for all qualified persons...because such persons are entitled to fair and equitable treatment in all aspects of employment on work paid for from public funds...."
>
> "...it is the obligation of the contracting agencies of the United States Government and Government contractors to insure compliance with, and sucessful execution of, the equal employment opportunity program of the United States Government...."

The private firm or corporation now doing business with the government agrees by contract to the following:

> "...not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, religion, color,

or national origin. The aforesaid provision shall include, but not be limited to, the following: employment, upgrading, demotion, or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post hereafter in conspicious places, available for employees and applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of the nondiscrimination clause.

"The contractor further agrees to insert the foregoing provision in all subcontracts hereunder, except subcontracts for standard commercial supplies or raw materials."[93]

The contractual provision is definitive and exhaustive--initial employment, upgrading, transfer, lay-off, training--every aspect of the employment relationship is covered. Yet discrimination against Negroes continues almost unabated. It is no secret that General Motors, one of the country's largest holders of government contracts, pursues such a policy in the South, for in 1957 the manager of its Atlanta assembly plant was quoted in the Wall Street Journal as saying, "When we moved into the South, we agreed to abide by local custom and not hire Negroes for production work. This is no time for social reforming in that area, and we're not about to try it."[94]

The extent of discrimination by government contractors is best illustrated by the Nixon Committee's "Examples of Progress" taken verbatim from its most recent report:

Kaiser Aluminum Company--Baton Rouge, La.--As a result of a complaint filed by an individual, there was a

general review of the company's employment policies by the cognizant contracting agency. The company hired 4 Negroes as supervisors and increased the number of Negroes in semi-skilled jobs from 5 to 26.

Bethlehem Steel Corporation--Sparrows Point, Md.--The plant employed more than 700 women employees in plant and white-collar positions. A complaint alleged that no Negro women were employed in the plant since World War II.

As a result of consultations with ranking officials of the Department of the Navy, two Negro women were hired as clerical employees.

General Dynamics Corporation (Convair Division)--Ft. Worth, Tex.--This company employs between 25,000 - 30,000 employees, including 200-300 Negroes in unskilled and semi-skilled positions. There were no Negroes in any white-collar positions. After Committee negotiations in September 1959, two Negro women were hired for clerical positions --one in the industrial relations department and the other in the accounting department.[95]

Racial discrimination in government contract employment exists today, not for lack of policy or lack of orders--both are well defined and clear cut. Discrimination exists because no one has taken action. The Nixon Committee lays heavy stress on education: making movies, sponsoring conferences and "equal opportunity" days, producing spot announcements, car cards, brochures, and newsletters.[96]

The President can end government contract employment discrimination by taking action along any or several of the lines

suggested by President Truman's Committee as it left office:[97]

1. Disqualification from future contracting. The old committee recommended that each agency establish administrative disqualifying procedures directed against irresponsible bidders whose past performance had been detrimental to the Government's interest. In practice, this sanction has never been used.

2. Termination of Contract. Each contract contains a standard provision that the government may terminate the whole contract or any part thereof if the contractor fails to perform under any provision and does not rectify the failure within a specified period of time. The committee called this the most potent sanction. No contract has ever been terminated for failure to comply with the anti-discrimination clause.

3. Liquidated damages. The committee suggested that liquidated damage provisions might be inserted in contract agreements, and that the violating contractor be required to pay a lump sum penalty for his violation. Liquidation damage provisions have been upheld by the courts many times where injury or the extent thereof is difficult to assess.

4. Injunctive relief. The government might sue for specific performance of the non-discrimination clause. The courts will grant equitable injunctive relief when the damage is not measurable in monetary damages.

5. Certificate of compliance. The contractor could be required to file a certificate of compliance to obtain payment. Execution of a false certificate is a crime punishable by a fine up to $10,000, or imprisonment up to five years, or both.

It is not believed that the Government need resort to criminal sanctions to achieve its stated policy. The termination

of a contract or the establishment of a "black-list" should do the job; and would be far more educational than all the movies, spot announcements, and car cards presently produced by the Nixon Committee.

IV.

OTHER FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS AND POLICIES

In addition to direct employment into the Federal civil service and to employment by private industry doing business under contract with the government, the United States of America has at least four other programs which influence employment patterns: vocational rehabilitation, apprenticeship programs, the job referrals by United States Employment Service, and the certification of labor unions as exclusive bargaining agents for all employees within the appropriate bargaining unit. As these programs are conducted with federal funds and under federal supervision, they fall within the command of the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution prohibiting discrimination on racial grounds.[98] As the President of the United States takes an oath of office to support the Constitution, he is honor bound to stamp out federally financed and controlled discrimination where it exists.[99]

A. Vocational Rehabilitation.

The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare finances and over-sees an extensive program to restore handicapped persons to useful activity. In 1959 the total of Federal grants in this public rehabilitation program was $55,928,771[100] and the number of

persons benefited was 80,739.[101] There is no problem of racial discrimination in this program because in May of 1958 the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation issued an order that no state shall be eligible to participate unless its vocational rehabilitation program "will be applied without regard to sex, race, creed, color, or national origin of the individual."[102]

B. Apprenticeship Programs.

The Office of Education, also within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, finances and administers a vocational education program, at a cost, in 1959, of $40,888,412.[103] Entrance into these apprenticeship programs is essential if one is to lift himself out of the unskilled labor category. As of today, most of these apprenticeship programs exclude Negroes--the United States Office of Education has not yet seen fit to follow the lead of the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation in affording funds only to those programs which operate without regard to race.[104]

C. The United States Employment Service. (USES).

The states conduct employment reference service financed by the federal government and operated under the general supervision of the Secretary of Labor.[105] The USES "places" employees, offers employment counseling, provides special services to veterans, youth, handicapped; gives occupational testing; and provides technical materials concerning personnel management.[106]

The USES refuses to process discriminatory job orders by the federal government agencies, it refuses the "Caucasian-only" type of job orders in those states where local law forbids job discrimination; but elsewhere and otherwise it fosters and aids

the discriminatory employment policies of private employees, even those under government contract.[107]

The Secretary of Labor, on his own initiative, has refused the services of the USES to farmers seeking temporary seasonal help unless the farmer maintains minimum standards of employment practices.[108] In like fashion, he could refuse to process all discriminatory job orders: the "white only" variety. He would have no option in this matter should the President so direct.

D. Labor Union Certification.

The National Mediation Board in the transportation industries, and the National Labor Relations Board in all other industry, "certifies" labor unions (usually following a victorious election in the appropriate bargaining unit) as the "exclusive" bargaining agent for each and every employee in the unit. Federal certification carries with it the responsibility of representing the interest of each employee "fairly and impartially."[109] A decreasing number of labor unions limit membership to "white men" or to "white born";[110] and an additional number of unions relegate their Negro members to "Jim Crow" units represented at the bargaining table and in the grievance proceedings by officials of the "white" unit.[111] Negroes represented by these unions obviously do not get the equal representation that is their statutory right. A leading union attorney has put it this way:

> "No collective bargaining agent can possibly accord equal treatment to non-members in the day-to-day activities of the union. Non-members cannot attend meetings or participate in the decisional processes of the union; they cannot vote for those who will represent

them. The elected official of a union--and, like any other politicians, they are officials periodically up for re-election--can hardly be expected to devote themselves as wholeheartedly to the interests of those who cannot vote as they do to the interests of those who can."[112]

One would not expect federal agencies, charged with the task of ensuring equal representation in economic affairs, to subject Negro citizens to representation by white citizens under a system of racial paternalism. Such, however, is the situation.

The National Mediation Board actually mediated and countersigned the agreement by which the railroads and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen excluded Negro firemen from many jobs which they then held.[113] The National Labor Relations Board has consistently maintained that "Neither exclusion from membership nor segregated membership per se represents evasion on the part of a labor organization of its statutory duty to afford "equal representation."[114] The General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board has the obligation to prosecute labor unions for "unfair labor practices." He has taken a consistent position that it is not "unfair" for a labor union to obtain the dismissal of a Negro from his job on racial grounds,[115] or to bargain discriminatorily and unfairly against excluded minorities,[116] as by assigning Negro employees into "non-promotable" jobs.[117]

Would it be worth the while to reverse these policies? Should the Labor Board refuse to certify a winner because of its racial policies, the result might well be no union representation at all, and experience does not suggest that an employer without a union

could be more impartial than one with a union contract. Nevertheless, a biased union might change its policies if it knew that notwithstanding electoral victory it could not become certified until it stopped discriminating. In some situations, where a discriminating and a nondiscriminating union are in competition and employees opposed to discrimination constitute a balance of power, fear of losing the election might stimulate changes in the attitude of the anti-Negro organization. This has been the effect in a few reported situations.[118]

The President has less power in this than in the other areas discussed. The National Labor Relations Board is an independent agency, and its members, once appointed and confirmed, are free from direct Presidential control. Nevertheless, the President can direct attorneys from the Department of Justice to intervene in Labor Board cases where this issue is involved; or to initiate an "rule making procedure" wherein the Labor Board is requested to refuse certification to labor unions which discriminate against those whom it has a statutory duty to represent. If these efforts fail, it would then be time to consider legislative proposals.

V. RECREATION

State-owned facilities are forbidden to discriminate by the Fourteenth Amendment and this includes parks, golf-courses, swimming-pools, tennis courts, and other recreational facilities.[119] Court decisions since 1955 have opened some park and recreation areas to Negroes, and stimulated voluntary action in other states and communities. Kentucky and Maryland ordered state parks and recreation sites desegregated.[120] Miami Beach opened its two golf courses to Negroes in 1955; as did a number of North Caroline cities. In Houston, Dallas, and Fort Worth, Texas, the golf courses were opened to Negroes; and in San Antonio and Corpus Christi, the swimming pools were made available to Negroes. In Austin, all public facilities were desegregated.[121] Generally, how ever, the Negro in the South is still denied access to public recreational areas; and a court order forbidding discrimination is apt to result in closing the facility. Montgomery, Alabama closed its parks;[122] Jacksonville, Florida sold its golf course;[123] Greensboro, N. C. sold its swimming pool;[124] and the legislatures in Arkansas and Florida recently authorized the closing or sale of all public recreational areas.[125] Danville, Virginia even closed its library.[126]

The President has no direct concern with "local" recreation facilities; but he does have a concern with the recreational areas financed and/or operated by the National Park Service, The National Forest Service, and the Army Corps of Engineers. These federal areas of recreation take on additional importance with the closing of "local" facilities and the new leisure accompanying increased industrialization and automation in the South.

A. The National Parks

More than 58 million people visited one or more of the 181 park

areas owned by the United States.[127] These include National Parks (Yellowstone, Hot Springs, Shenandoah, Mammoth Cave, etc.); National Parkways (Natchez Trace, Blue Ridge, etc.); Monuments and Historical Sites (Abraham Lincoln Birthplace, Fort McHenry, Appomattox Court House, etc.); and Recreational Areas (Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Bull Shoals Reservoir, etc.). Management and control of the National Park Service is lodged in the Secretary of Interior[128] with authority to make rules and regulations for their proper use and management.[129]

The Secretary of Interior has made rules and regulations prohibiting segregation. All "concessioners" are required to agree not to discriminate because of race, religion, color, or national origin" in both (1) employment, and (2) service.[130] Violation of these regulations subjects the offender to a fine of not more than $500 or imprisonment for not exceeding six months, or both fine and imprisonment.[131] The non-discrimination provisions are enforced by the Park Rangers, who have authority to arrest for violation of the Secretary of Interior's rules and regulations.[132] There have been no reports of overt segregation or discrimination on the National Parks.

The Bureau of Land Management (in the Department of Interior) is authorized to sell, grant or lease public lands for recreation and public purposes. All sales, grants and leases contain a clause that any act of discrimination against a person in the use of the land or its facilities because of the person's "race, creed, color, or national origin" shall automatically result in reverting the title of the land to the United States[133] Nothing could be more automatic, swift, or certain.

B. The National Forests.

There are more than 151 national forests located in 40 of the

United States. In total, they aggregate approximately a third of the total land area of the United States.[134] Some of the better known National Forests are Sequoia, the Olympic, the Ozark, the Ocala, the Black Hills, and Bull Run.

The National Forests have parkways and trailways; hotels, motels, camp-sites, and even summer homes. The national forests contain a wide variety of recreational resources--Camp grounds, picnic sites, thousands of miles of fishing streams and most of the nation's big game. They are visited annually by millions of Americans.[135]

The National Forests are under the supervision and control of the National Forest Service, a division of the Department of Agriculture. In 1958, after correspondence with the Urban League and the NAACP, the Secretary of Agriculture adopted regulations modeled after those of the National Park Service.[136]

C. Federal Reservoir Areas

The United States, through the erection of multi-purpose dams, has created many reservoir areas. Some of these are: the Bull Shoals and Table Rock areas in Arkansas; the Allatoona, Buford and Clark Hill areas in Georgia; the Arkabutla, Enid, Grenada, and Sardis areas in Mississippi; the John H. Kerr area in North Carolina; and the Clark Hill Reservoir area in South Carolina.[137] These areas are widely used for swimming, boating, fishing, hunting, camping and picnicking; with attendant boat houses, restaurants, lodging, and the like. These reservoir areas are under the control and management of the Department of the Army Chief of Engineers. On January 27, 1958, he issued instructions that all licenses granted for concessions shall include the following non-discrimination condition: "That the licensee shall not discriminate against any

person or persons because of race, religion, color, or national origin in the conduct of its operations."[138] An immediate result of this was the statement by Georgia's Governor Griffin that if the Engineers insist on this point it means the end of any further development by the state of recreational areas around Federal multi-purpose dams. "We want the improvements," Griffin said, "and no one objects to Negroes paddling on the rivers--or governors either--but we're not going to have any integrated parks."[139] The state of Georgia had acquired areas in the federal area for recreational development.

D. Federal Beach Erosion Projects

The Chief of Engineers of the United States Army is authorized and directed by Congress to investigate and study effective means of preventing the erosion of the shores of coastal and lake waters.[140] The Chief of Engineers is authorized to enter into contracts with states and their subdivisions for the construction of works necessary for protection against erosion. One purpose of these projects is to prevent damage to the shores of the United States; the other purpose is to promote and encourage "the healthful recreation of the people." With approval of Congress, the Chief of Engineers can pay up to one-third of the cost. The projects approved by Congress generally contain a provision that the beach, when reconstructed and "nourished," will be utilized for "public use."[141]

Many beaches along the coasts and lakes have been repaired under this program. There are 26 such projects underway or just completed[142] Some of these projects are those at Rheoboth Beach, Delaware; Harrison County, Mississippi; and Waikiki Beach, Hawaii. Despite the federal support, the beaches in the South are generally off-limits to Negroes. In protest, Negro organizations planned a

"wade-in" movement for the summer of 1960, a project which failed to materialize. One reason, perhaps, is that when a group of Negroes went to the beach at Biloxi, Mississippi, they were attacked by a white mob with the encouragement of local law enforcement officials.[143]

The Department of Justice promptly filed suit in the United States District Court against the Sheriff, the Mayor of Biloxi, the Chief of Police, and others. Allegations were made that Biloxi had contracted to accept federal funds for a beach erosion project containing a "public use" proviso; and that the defendants "enforced and are enforcing a policy, practice, custom and usage of preventing and interfering with the free use of the Harrison County Beach by a certain part of the public, namely, persons of the Negro race." The relief requested was that the public officials in Biloxi be ordered to comply with the "public use" provision, i.e. ordered to refrain from preventing use of the Beach by Negroes.[144] If this suit is successful, the President can direct the Department of Justice to bring similar suits against all the governmental units which bar Negroes from their federally financed public beaches.

VI. HEALTH AND HOSPITALIZATION

The Federal Government is in the business of providing health care and hospitalization, and the business is extensive in terms of both program content and expenditures. The federal government provides these services directly, and indirectly through a system of state grants-in-aid.

Directly, the federal government provides hospitalization and health care for Veterans. In addition, the United States maintained

in 1959 over 16 hospitals, 26 outpatient clinics, and 99 outpatient offices for American seamen, civil service employees injured in performing their work, and retired members of the Uniformed Services and their dependents. /145 The United States maintains the National Institutes of Health in Bathesda, Maryland which both conducts and supports medical research and has a 516 bed research hospital. /146 The United States maintains the only hospital in the country devoted exclusively to the treatment and rehabilitation of patients with leprosy. /147 It maintains two hospitals for the treatment of narcotic addicts. /148 It maintains Freedmen's Hospital in Washington, D.C. which serves as the clinical teaching resource for medical students at Howard University. /149 The United States doctors in 1959 examined over two and a half million aliens prior to and upon arrival in the United States. /150 The United States provides health services for Indians, and four major hospital modernization projects were authorized in 1959 alone. /151 These are some of the major direct federal government health programs. The indirect health and hospital programs--through grants-in-aid--to the states--are just as varied and even more extensive.

Under the Hill-Burton Act /152 the Department of Health, Education and Welfare grants funds to the states for the construction of hospitals. Since this program began in 1948, over 4,625 projects have been approved for Federal assistance, with the average annual cost amounting to $104 million. /153

The United States makes grants to the states for mental health programs; /154 for maternal and child health services; /155 to provide services for crippled children; /156 for aid to the blind; /157 and for programs designed to control tuberculosis, cancer, heart disease, water polution and venereal disease. /158

The general outline of these programs is that the appropriate state agency files a request for federal funds and attaches thereto a comprehensive plan of operations. The Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare examines the state plan, and if he finds it adequate, makes the appropriations. With this degree of federal control and responsibility, it is surprising to find that most of the federally financed and approved health and hospitalization programs in the South are operated on a segregated basis. The Southern Negro is denied hospitalization and health services, or provided with these services on a segregated basis.

Most Southern states have provided by law that at least certain public hospitals (usually institutions for mental illness and, less often, tuberculosis) shall be solely either for Negroes or for whites or segregated. /159 Beyond this, segregation is a matter of custom. The extent of the segregation (and denial of services) is illustrated by the progress made in recent years: /160

Miami, Florida: Jackson Memorial Hospital (Dade County hospital) adds Negro doctors and staff members to treat Negro patients.

Volusia County, Florida: Negro doctors permitted to treat their patients in County Hospital for first time.

Kentucky: The United Mine Workers of America complete seven hospitals in Kentucky (as well as one in Virginia and two in West Virginia) to be operated on an integrated basis.

Louisville, Ky.: Marine Hospital admits Negro patients.

Mississippi: Negro doctors join the staff of a Mississippi hospital to treat Negro patients. Another hospital begins treating Negro children.

St. Louis, Missouri: St. Louis institutes a system in which emergency cases are treated at the nearest city hospital without regard to race.

Charlotte, North Carolina: Mercy Hospital, Catholic, begins admitting Negro patients following the request of Bishop Vincent Waters to superintendents of Catholic hospitals to open their facilities to Catholic Negroes. (Bishop

Waters' request also went, apparently unheaded, to St. Joseph's, Asheville; St. Luke's, New Bern; St. Joseph of the Pines, Southern Pines.)

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare need not approve grants to states whose plans authorize or countenance segregation or denial of service on the basis of race. Indeed, in at least one instance, the Secretary denied funds to Arizona because its plan of operations concerning aid to permanently and totally disabled persons discriminated against Indians living on Indian Reservations. /161 The Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Act contains a racial equity formula which approves separate-but-equal facilities. /162 The statute, however, was enacted prior to and overruled by the Supreme Court's construction of the equal protection clause in the school-board decision of 1954. /163 Mr. Chief Justice Marshall pointed out over 150 years ago that "a law repugnant to the constitution is void; and that courts, as well as other departments, are bound by that instrument." /164

VII. TRANSPORTATION

The yearlong Montgomery bus boycott /165 illustrates that Jim Crow travel is "resented more bitterly than most other forms of segregation." /166

The Supreme Court had tried to end this discrimination. In 1941 the Court held that railroad passengers may not be denied pullman service even though it would be financially ruinous for the railroads to carry separate Negro Pullman. /167 In 1944 the Court held that state law could not require a bus company to force an interstate Negro passenger to move to the rear and give up his seat to a white passenger. /168 In 1950 the Court held that Negro passengers

might not be excluded from a railroad dining car.[169] In 1957 the Court held that state-imposed segregation in inter-city bus travel is unconstitutional[170] and in 1958 it made a similar ruling.[171]

The lower federal courts have issued similar rulings in suits brought to end desegregation in air transport.[172] and in air terminal restaurants.[173] The federal agencies have cooperated. In 1955 the Interstate Commerce Commission ordered the end of Jim Crow rail transportation, and ordered railroad terminals to take down WHITE and COLORED signs in the waiting rooms.[174] The Civil Aeronautics Administrator in 1956 ordered that no "Federal aid Airport Program funds will be made available for the development of separate facilities."[175]

Despite these Court orders and agency regulations, the Negro in many areas of the South[176] is assigned to segregated coaches, told to sit in the rear of buses, assigned to "Colored" or "Colored Intrastate bus and rail terminal waiting rooms, rest rooms and restaurants[177] and told to drink "Colored" water from segregated fountains. The reason: outright defiance of the federal law.

Following the Interstate Commerce Commission order requiring the end of discrimination in waiting rooms (which followed by 11 years the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation of interstate bus travel) the Southeastern Greyhound Lines company sent out a series of instructions to all personnel which reads in part as follows:

> "2. Intrastate passengers may be courteously requested to comply with the law of that particular state, but if passenger refuses to comply, then no further action should be taken.
>
> "3. Existing signs and separation of waiting rooms and restaurants will be maintained as at present, but station personnel must not take any steps to enforce segregation in the use of these facilities.

"I know you can be depended upon to handle this delicate situation with tact and understanding..." /178

Others were not so tactful. Governor Kennon of Louisiana announced his intention to enforce segregation on carriers. The Mississippi Public Service Commission announced a similar intention and when carriers took down the segregation signs in Jackson, the city put up fresh ones. In one Mississippi city the police arrested Negroes who entered the "White" station waiting room, kept them in jail overnight, and released them next day if they pleaded not guilty. /179 Just recently, in the summer of 1960, a federal court decided a case involving the arrest of Negroes for refusing to move to the rear of a Birmingham, Alabama city bus. /180

The law is clear, the violation is plain, what can the President do about it? There are several obvious remedies.

First. The Interstate Commerce Act makes violation of Interstate Commerce Commission orders illegal, punishable by a fine of $5,000 for each day of violation. /181

Second. The Civil Rights Act of 1960 /182 makes it a crime punishable by a fine of not more than $1,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year, or both, for anyone to "prevent, obstruct, impede, or interfere with, the due exercise of rights or the performance of duties under any order, judgment or decree of a court of the United States."

Third. Relegating Negroes to a segregated area is a denial of their civil rights /183 and when done under color of state law, is a federal offense punishable by a fine of $1,000 or a year in jail. /184

In 1956 the Department of Justice called a conference of United States Attorneys in the Southern states to consider what measures would be appropriate for the department to take in secur-

ing observance of the United States Constitution and laws, by common carriers of passengers.[185] It appears that no departmental action ensued. A new President could well call another such conference with an eye toward his Constitutional obligation to "take care that the Laws be faithfully executed."

VIII.

HOUSING

"It would be an affront to human dignity for any one group of Americans to be restricted to wearing only hand-me-down clothing or to eating the leftovers of others' food. Like food and clothing, housing is an essential of life, yet many non-white families have no choice but secondhand homes." So speaks the United States Commission on Civil Rights.[187] Jackie Robinson adds that "For many, charity begins at home. So do hate, hostility, and delinquency, especially when the home environment is a slum, lacking adequate space, lacking facilities, but not lacking for high rentals."[188]

The problem of housing grows acute, as Americans steadily leave the farm for the town; especially the housing of minority groups as the whites flee to the suburbs and more and more Negroes move into the already crowded "Black Belts" of the old city. "This leads to the most tragic part of the vicious circle. The effect of slums, discrimination and inequalities is more slums, discrimination, and inequalities. Prejudice feeds on the conditions caused by prejudice. Restricted slum living produces demoralized human beings--and their demoralization then becomes a reason for 'keeping them in their place.'"[189]

The official United States policy is "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family."[190] To achieve this goal, Congress enacted long ago that Negroes shall enjoy "the same right in every State and Territory, as is enjoyed

by white citizens thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property."[191] The Supreme Court has sought to achieve this goal by striking down racial zoning ordinances,[192] by prohibiting judicial enforcement of racially restrictive covenants, i.e., agreements not to sell to Negroes,[193] and by holding damage suits for breach of the restrictive covenant agreements impermissible as indirect methods of enforcement.[194] The role of the Administrative branch of the Federal Government is equally important, as the programs described below make possible much of the building programs in the United States.

A. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA).

The FHA is the oldest of the federal housing agencies. It was created in 1934[195] to relieve lending institutions of the risk involved in private home mortgages. If the borrower defaults, the FHA makes good the loss. Since its creation, the FHA has insured more than 33 billion dollars worth of mortgages involving millions of homes. Fortune magazine has said that "Government guarantee of mortgages, which has cost the taxpayer nothing so far, has done more than anything else to make possible a million or more new houses a year."[196] But unlike Congress and the Supreme Court in the actions noted above, the FHA has done little to end segregated housing.

For the first 16 years of its life, FHA actually encouraged the use of racially restrictive covenants. Its official Underwriting Manual warned field agents against insuring mortgages on property that would be used by "inharmonious racial groups,"

and the Manual contained a model restrictive covenant which FHA strongly recommended for inclusion in all sales contracts.[197]

Since the 1948 Supreme Court restrictive covenant decision,[198] however, the FHA has done an about face. In 1948 the FHA eliminated the model restrictive covenant from its literature.[199] In 1950 it announced publicly that it would no longer insure mortgages on property whose deeds contained restrictive covenants.[200] In 1951 FHA announced that all repossessed FHA insured housing would be rented and sold on a non-segregated basis.[201] In 1952, FHA attempted to encourage the building of "minority housing" and local insuring officers were given annual goals in order to spur them to encourage private loans to minority groups. This program was abandoned shortly after it began.[202] In 1954, FHA officials began to encourage "open occupancy" projects through private conferences. By 1957 there were 41 such projects with FHA insured mortgages totaling $53 million.[203] Finally, in 1957, the FHA entered into agreements with states that have enacted anti-discrimination housing laws whereby the FHA refuses to do business with any home builder or developer who has been found to have violated the States anti-discrimination housing law.[204] Elsewhere, however, the FHA continues to finance the "private" developers who, such as Mr. Levitt of the various Levittowns, advertise that none of their homes will be sold to Negroes.[205]

B. <u>The Public Housing Administration (PHA).</u>

The PHA administers the low-rent public housing program authorized by Congress since 1934.[206] By 1958 more than 2 million people lived in more than 2,000 low-rent housing projects

in 44 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.[207]

Public housing usually is owned by local housing authorities. The role of the Federal government is to lend the local authority the money to get the project underway, and to guarantee payment on private loans made to the local authorities. The bonds and notes issued to private lending agencies are tax exempt, and Federal control of these local housing projects is thorough and significant. The PHA will not issue a loan until it reviews and approves various aspects of the proposed project such as site, rentals, size and cost of construction contracts and budgets.[208] A default in any of the approved conditions of the loan gives the PHA option to repossess the property.[209]

The PHA takes no stand on integration, insisting only that Negroes be given "separate but equal" treatment on the basis of number and need.[210] The result is that in 1958 approximately 35% of the local projects (including those in Washington, D. C., Baltimore, Wilmington, and St. Louis) had an "open occupancy" policy; the others were segregated.[211] The comments of some of the State Advisory Committees to the Civil Rights Commission are interesting:[212]

> Wilmington, Delaware: The housing projects are integrated and there have been few if any serious racial incidents.
>
> Chicago, Illinois: Public housing programs have tended to become segregated as a result of the site selection process. No public housing project has been built in a white or racially mixed area since 1954.

Lexington, Kentucky: There are currently 1,200 apartments in the public housing projects. These 1,200 apartments are allocated evenly between the races, i.e., 600 apartments for colored and 600 apartments for whites. There is complete segregation in the project.

Las Vagas, Nevada: The city of Las Vagas Housing Authority has maintained the policy of segregation in some of the authority's projects. This is done as they feel that integration of all their projects would be dangerous to the program as a whole.

C. Urban Renewal Administration (URA).

Tho Urban Renewal Administration was established in 1954 to help the cities eliminate slum and blighted areas. The essence of the scheme is that the Federal government pays two-thirds of the cost of acquiring slum areas, the existing buildings are then razed, and the property is sold to private developers for the erection of new neighborhoods. Before a city can take advantage of this program, it must submit a plan of operation, complete with details as to need, size, future land use, and care provided for existing occupants. As of June 1959, the URA had approved projects in 877 localities.[213]

The occupants of the first 347 areas approved for renewal aid were approximately 55% Negro and 45% white.[214] The slum areas were "integrated," especially in the South where Negro housing has traditionally been interspersed among white dwelling.[215] In the North, the occupants of the sites approved for "renewal projects" were largely Negro, and the "slum clearance" programs

as well. Almost a third of the Negroes displaced by renewal projects move into public housing (usually segregated), so one result of these two Federal programs (Urban Renewal and Public Housing) is to initiate or accentuate segregated neighborhood patterns.

The reports of the state advisory committees to the Civil Service Commission tell a graphic story:[216]

> Kansas: Urban Renewal will tend to create more pressures and problems for minority group members. A large percentage of the people to be relocated are in minority groups. When relocated they will more than likely be relocated in segregated areas, thus re-enforcing the segregation pattern and creating greater pressure in those areas to "break out."
>
> New York: The fact is that the Title 1 (Urban Renewal) program is geared to producing luxury or semi-luxury housing or non-housing reuse of the land, therefore, in effect, depriving the vast majority of the displacees from the benefits of this Federal government program. Although renewal programs are meant to clear slums, their net result has too often been the transfer of slums to adjoining areas.
>
> Philadelphia, Pa.: Mayor Richardson Dilworth has declared: "Urban renewal cannot and will not work within the framework of a racially restricted housing market.
>
> Pittsburgh, Pa.: A study of a mixed area already overburdened by a heavy Negro influx from a section undergoing redevelopment showed sharp increases in conversion

to smaller units accompanied by increases in overcrowding. Areas thus overcrowded soon deteriorate thus requiring additional redevelopment.

In January of 1960, the United States Housing Administrator notified purchasers of land in urban renewal programs that they will be denied the right of future participation in the event they violate local laws forbidding racial discrimination in housing.[217] There is no requirement that private contractors who acquire land (purchased and cleared at government expense) in states lacking anti-discrimination housing laws adopt a non-discriminatory policy of sale and rental.

D. The Veterans Administration.

The GI Bill of Rights[218] authorizes the Veterans Administration to make loans outright to veterans for the construction of homes, and to guarantee loans issued by private sources. The extent of this program is illustrated by the fact that in 1954 and 1955 nearly 30 per cent of all new urban dwelling units were built with the help of VA loan guarantees.[219]

The VA policy is to make its services and programs available to all qualified veterans without inquiry into the race, creed, or color of the applicant. Moreover, the VA deprives the private lender of his right to convey defaulted property to the VA if the property is encumbered by a "restrictive covenant."[220] The loss of this option has the effect of causing the lender not to make loans on racially restricted property. The VA reported to the Civil Rights Commission that "So far as we know, no loan has been guaranteed on a property covered by the proscribed restriction."[221] In addition, the VA regulations provide that

in the event racial restrictions are ever imposed upon the property, the private lender can declare the entire mortgage debt due and payable immediately, and failure to do so results in loss of VA supports.[222]

Under its regulations for direct loans, the VA will not deal with the purchaser of a house with a "restrictive covenant,"[223] and putting a restrictive covenant on the property after the initial loan is transacted results in a default of the mortgage obligation which requires the owner to either pay the whole sum immediately or turn the property over to the VA.[224]

The VA will suspend any builder from its program if the builder violates the anti-discrimination housing laws of New York, New Jersey, Washington and Oregon. Violation of these state laws is considered "an unfair or prejudicial marketing practice" under the terms of the GI Bill. The United States Civil Rights Commission comments that if such discrimination is covered by the federal law when it occurs in these four states, it is difficult to see why discrimination is not also an "unfair or prejudicial marketing practice" in the other states as well.[225]

E. Army Sale and Furnishing of Utilities.

The Secretary of the Army is authorized to sell or lease to private contractors within the immediate vicinity of Army posts "surplus utility services" such as water, sewage service, electricity, sanitary services, fuel, heat and the like.[226] These facilities are sold or leased to housing developments even

though the developers refuse to sell or lease the housing to Negroes stationed or employed at the nearby base.[227] "It is the Army's view generally that a product or service is being sold. The Army does not make it a policy to police the use."[228]

* * * * *

A California court recently enjoined an FHA guaranteed builder from refusing to sell to Negroes with these words: "When one dips one's hand into the Federal Treasury, a little democracy necessarily clings to whatever is withdrawn."[229] A President who shares this sentiment can direct the Housing Authorities to require all participants in their programs to agree to an "open occupancy" policy; and to enforce this policy with (1) a regulation baring all violators from future participation in federally financed housing operations, and (2) a provision in each contract giving the government the right to declare the entire mortgage debt due and payable upon breach of the agreement. A policy of "open occupancy" is meaningless if the housing development is located deep in either a "Negro" or "white" residential district where members of the other race doubt their welcome; The President could direct the Public Housing Authority and Federal Housing Authority, when asked to approve the "site" of a public housing project or of an FHA insured apartment development, to give priority to those located in "mixed" neighborhoods, or on the fringe areas of a racial neighborhood. The President could also direct the

Housing Authorities to give careful study to the experimental "scatteration" programs of local public Housing Authorities, i.e., a program wherein one or two large, institutional-type projects are shunned in favor of many small projects scattered throughout a metropolitan area. The President might also direct the attention of the Federal Housing authorities to the experimental programs in Sacramento, New Haven, and elsewhere wherein public housing was assigned on a "benign" quota basis; and to the public housing experiment in Pittsburgh wherein white applicants were solicited through advertisements directed at university students, faculty, foreign language and other white groups whose members may be eligible on the basis of income.[230]

Federal action or inaction alone is far from the sole cause of racial patterns in housing, and Presidential action alone cannot end them, although this contribution is not to be minimized. The lower level of Negro income and the scarcity of housing (both public and private) damp the effect of any legal rule designed to assure equal access to living accommodations; but the Presidential attitude and actions set a standard for the nation which over the long run probably will be effective.[231]

IX. VOTING

The studies of the Commission on Civil Rights reveal that "many Negro American citizens find it difficult, and often impossible to vote." "This is accomplished," states the report, "through the creation of legal impediments, administrative obstacles, and positive discouragement engendered by fears of economic reprisal and physical harm."[232] The details are spread on the pages of many publications.[233] Suffice it to repeat here the conclusion of the Commission on Civil Rights that there is a "moral gap" "between our principles and our everyday practices. It spills over into and vitiates other areas of our society. It runs counter to our traditional concepts of fair play. It is a partial repudiation of our faith in the democratic system. It undermines the moral suasion of our national stand in international affairs."[234]

The Civil Rights Act of 1957[235] authorized the Attorney General to institute civil suit in the federal court to prevent the denial of voting rights. The Civil Rights Act of 1960[236] provides that if in any such suit the court makes a finding that the denial of voting rights is "pursuant to a pattern or practice," the court may appoint "voting referees" to register qualified persons denied this right by local election officials. The denial of the right to vote to these persons so registered by the court appointed "voting referees" "constitutes contempt of court and is punishable accordingly.

The vigor with which the President directs that these Civil Rights Acts be applied will significantly affect the extent to which voting-denial practices will continue. In this connection it is well to note what has been in the past an important hurdle to implementation of the Civil Rights Acts.

General supervision of the Civil Rights Act and its implementation rests in the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Department of Justice organization, however, requires that such cases be processed through the office of the United States Attorney in the district where the prosecution is to be brought. It is to be remembered that the United States Attorney in a given district is a local lawyer appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate, for a term of four years. To him is entrusted the task of prosecuting Civil Rights litigation. This often places him in the unenviable position of having to take a public stand in court against the ingrained prejudices and mores of his own community. There have been outstanding examples of United States Attorneys, whatever their personal beliefs, courageously and vigorously assuming this position. There are others who have not done so. Witness the following examples given by President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights. /237

> "...in a case in which a local constable had brutally killed a Negro, the local United States Attorney was asked for his views, after an F.B.I. investigation had been made. He expressed grave doubts as to the advisability of proceeding under Section 52 (the Civil Rights Act). In the same letter, he expressed his personal belief that Section 52 was unconstitutional, quoting liberally from the arguments of the dissenting justices in the Screws case.
>
> "In another case involving the killing of a Negro by a deputy sheriff, the Civil Rights Section sought the advice of the United States Attorney on July 30, and referred him to the F.B.I. report of its investigation in the case. On September 13, the Section again asked for the advice of the United States Attorney. On October 10, it repeated its request for the third time. ...On October 17, he advised that he had received the report and he thought the matter should be closed. He gave no reason for his opinion. The Civil Rights Section closed the case, apparently because the Civil Rights Section attorney in charge reported that "X will not go on anything."

A President who wishes to push forward in the voting area must staff the Civil Rights Division with a sufficient number of able

and energetic and enthusiastic lawyers, and give it authority to bypass the office of the local United States Attorney whenever this is necessary to save the local repute of that office.

X. EDUCATIONAL

In 1954 the Supreme Court held in Brown v. Board of Education,[238] that "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" and that state compelled or permitted segregation deprives Negro students of the "equal protection" guaranteed them by the Fourteenth Amendment. In 1955, after hearing argument on effectuation of its decree, the Supreme Court remanded the Brown and companion cases to the trial courts where they had originated with instructions to require the appropriate school boards to admit the Negro children "to public schools on a racially nondiscriminatory basis with all deliberate speed."[239] In 1958, in the Little Rock case, the Supreme Court held that "chaos, bedlam and turmoil" in the school room did not justify the postponement of school integration.[240] Thus, the law is clear.

Six years after the Supreme Court decision holding segregated school illegal, the picture is somewhat as follows. All Negro children attend non-segregated schools as a matter of course in Wilmington, Delaware; Baltimore, Maryland; Washington, D.C.; Louisville, Kentucky; St. Louis, Missouri; and other areas in the "border states." A handful of Negro children attend non-segregated schools in the states of Texas, Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and most recently, Louisiana. No Negro children attend non-segregated public schools in South Carolina, [illegible]ia Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

The South has fought the Supreme Court decision with more than 200 legislative acts, ranging from "Interposition and Nullification" to resolutions calling for the impeachment of all Supreme Court justices. /241 The most effective Legislative resistance has been the so-called Pupil Assignment Plan. Under this scheme, each school board is required to assign each school pupil to a given school on the basis of designated criteria. Race is never a criterion, but the results of the assignments are, almost inevitably, that Negroes are assigned to Negro schools, and whites to white schools. The Negro child dissatisfied with his assignment is given the right to petition for re-assignment. If the petition is denied, he can request a formal hearing before the School Board. If the School Board rules against him, he can then go to court. In the courts, the School Boards assert all manner of procedural defenses to avoid decision on the merits. If the initial trial court rules for the pupil, the defendant school board almost always appeals. Many cases have dragged on so long that they become "moot" before final decision, i.e. the student graduates, or his parents succumb to economic pressure and withdraw the transfer application.

What can a President do to implement the 1954 Supreme Court decision? At least three types of actions have been suggested.

A. Intervention In Pending Court Cases.

A little used statute of the United States permits the Attorney General to send any officer of the Department of Justice to "attend to the interests of the United States in any suit pending in any" court, federal or state. /242 It has been suggested that the Attorney General is authorized by this section to direct the appearance of a United States attorney in any civil suit between private persons in which interest of the United States are involved, and

that he is authorized to determine what interests of the United States are actually involved.[243] The value of such intervention is illustrated by the many instances in which the Supreme Court has requested the Department of Justice to file "amicus" briefs in "racial" cases; and by the fact that the District Courts during the Little Rock and New Orleans crises requested the United States to intervene in the pending school-desegregation cases. School Board attorneys can ride high when their only opposition is underpaid Negro attorneys representing unpopular causes. The situation changes drastically when the United States of America enters the fray.

B. Withholding Of Financial Support

The federal government now finances in large part the segregated school system of the South. More than $2 billion a year of Federal funds go for educational purposes to the nation's colleges, universities, and other institutions of higher learning.[244] At the primary and high school level, the Federal government in 1959 paid approximately $150 million to local school districts under the program whereby the government supports "federal impact" areas, i.e. areas with large numbers of federal installations and federal employees. These school districts had an estimated total enrollment of 9.5 million children, or about one-fourth of the enrollment of all children attending public elementary and secondary schools.[245]

The Commission on Civil Rights investigated this problem and three of the six Commissioners recommended that at least in the area of higher education (where there are no reasons for "gradual elimination" of racial discrimination): "Federal agencies act in accordance with the fundamental constitutional principle of equal protection and equal treatment, and that these agencies be autho-

rized and directed to withhold funds in any form to institutions of higher learning, both publicly supported and privately supported, which refuse, on racial grounds, to admit students otherwise qualified for admission."[246] Commissioner George M. Johnson points out that "The achievement of equal justice under the law and equality of opportunity should not be left to the Federal judiciary." He therefore recommends the withholding of Federal educational funds to schools at all levels until there "be some indication of good faith compliance with the constitutional requarement of desegregation with all deliberate speed."[247]

C. The Exercise of Moral Leadership

It is well to re-examine the situation immediately following the Supreme Court decision of 1954. Harry Ashmore, then editor of the Arkansas Gazette, describes it as follows: "Most Southern newspaper, while deploring the decision as premature, counseled calm and indicated reluctant acceptance. A good many churchmen spoke out approvingly from their pulpits, and the organized denominations formally endorsed the decision as morally correct. While no one on the white side of the color bar regarded May 17, 1954, as the day of jubilee, and the leaders of both races recognized that monumental practical problems lay ahead, there was almost a feeling of relief. For better or worse, the other shoe had finally dropped.[248]

The day after the 1954 decision Governor Francis Cherry of Arkansas announced that "Arkansas will obey the law. It always has." In Florida, Senator Spessard Holland said: "No matter how much we don't like it, we must not have false ideas of the seriousness," while Representative Charles E. Bennett said, "I think the federal government should be required to take all necessary steps to make the states carry out the ruling." Governor Boggs of

Delaware told his state board of education that it would be the policy of the state "to work toward adjustment of the United States constitutional requirements," and Maryland's Governor McKeldin said his state "prides itself upon being a law-abiding state, and I am sure our citizens and our officials will accept readily the United States Supreme Court's interpretation of our fundamental law." Similar statements were heard from Kentucky, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and West Virginia.[249]

Where segregationist opposition was checked firmly, as in Baltimore, Washington, D.C., and Clinton, Tennessee, plans for desegregation moved forward. Where the first tentative steps of opposition to the Supreme Court went unchecked or even encouraged by high officials, the steps grew longer and bolder until a situation was created where members of school boards feared to end desegregation without benefit of protective federal court order. "When responsible men default, irresponsible men take power."[250]

A ringing expression of national indignation; the creation of a feeling of inevitability about compliance with Supreme Court orders, would mark the effective beginning of a new day in school desegregation. Only the President can sound the alarm and end the conflagration now raging.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Nation faces an acute problem of securing the full rights of citizenship to those Americans who are being denied vital recognition of human dignity and the equal protection of the laws because of their race.

The steps toward ending discrimination and desegregation need

not be taken at snail's pace. Experience in the integrated Armed Forces, in the integrated Veterans' Administration hospitals, teaches that "actions" can be legislated and that behavioral patterns influence thought.

The Executive branch of the federal government encourages Jim Crow in some areas, in other areas it encourages the end of Jim Crow, in all areas the President can move the country forward.

1. The Military Services

Integration is a fact, with nothing but favorable consequences, in the enlisted ranks of the Armed Forces. The number of Negro officers, however, remains disproportionately few. The President can remedy this situation by Presidential appointment of qualified Negroes to the service academies. The National Guard units in Southern states, component parts of the Armed Forces, limit their membership to whites. The President can end this discrimination by withholding federal financial support.

Recreational facilities on Navy shore stations and Army posts are integrated. "Private" places of public accommodation outside many Army bases are segregated. The President can terminate this discrimination against some American soldiers by putting "segregated facilities" "off-limits" to all American soldiers.

2. Federal Employment

The federal "policy" of employment is equality of opportunity without regard to race. The federal "practice" of employment is discrimination and segregation. The President can effectuate federal policy and terminate federal practice by summary dismissal charges against those practicing discrimination and by putting the burden of proof on those who visually discriminate against Negroes in employment and promotion.

3. Federal Contract Employment

Here again, Federal policy and federal practice are entirely dissimilar. Those who contract with the government agree not to discriminate in employment opportunities, and the contractual obligation is widely and openly violated. Practice can be made to conform to policy by the imposition of sanctions: disqualifying violators from future contracts; terminating the existing contracts of repeated violators; seeking injunctive relief, etc.

4. Other Federal Employment Programs

There is no segregation in the federally financed vocational rehabilitation programs, as the federal government requires the end of segregation as a condition of receiving federal support. There is segregation in the federally supported apprenticeship programs, because there is no similar requirement. The solution is obvious.

The National Mediation Board and the National Labor Relations Board continue to "certify" Jim Crow unions as the exclusive bargaining representatives for Negro employees. The President, through the Department of Justice, can request the federal agencies to put a stop to this practice.

5. Recreation

The federal government operates extensive recreational programs and facilities through the National Parks Service, the National Forest Service, and the Corps of Army Engineers: none are segregated. The National Parks Service, for example, requires all "concessioners" to agree not to discriminate in employment and service, and these agreements are enforced on the spot by the Park Rangers. Many "municipal" beaches, however, built with federal funds and under agreement that they will be maintained for "public use," are segregated. A current suit to enjoin interference with

the right of Negroes to the "public use" of the beach at Biloxi indicates the techniques available to the President to end segregation on government subsidized recreational areas.

6. Health and Hospitalization

The federal government makes grants-in-aid to the states for hospital construction, mental health programs, maternal and child health services, aid to the blind, and for programs designed to control tuberculosis, cancer, heart disease, etc. Some states deny these federally financed facilities and services to Negroes entirely, or offer them only on a segregated basis. A few years back the federal government denied further aid to Arizona under one of these programs, because Arizona discriminated against Indians living on Indian Reservations: a guide available to the President.

7. Transportation

Segregation in inter- and intra-state rail, air, and bus transport has now been held to violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, yet in some areas Negroes are relegated to segregated waiting rooms and told to ride in the rear. Enforcement of three federal criminal statutes, covering the varying conditions of discrimination, is a step available to a President desiring to effectuate the law of the land.

8. Housing

The federal government now finances, and sometimes initiates, segregated residential patterns. The government can terminate its financial support to the large contractors and developers (both public and private) who refuse to adopt an "open occupancy" policy; and the federal government can take affirmative action through a policy of control over "site" selection for the construction of public housing projects and large apartment developments.

9. Voting

Many qualified Negroes are presently denied the right to vote and thereby participate in our governmental affairs. A recently enacted statute, if given proper effectuation, might go a long way in ending this situation.

10. Education

Six years after the Supreme Court declared segregated public education unconstitutional, segregated public education exists openly, even proudly, on large scale. The President has at least three avenues open to effectuate the Supreme Court decision and thereby perform his sworn duty to "take care that the Laws be faithfully executed." 1) He can order the Department of Justice to intervene in all pending school integration court cases. 2) He can withhold federal funds from the schools of higher education (estimated expenditure--$2 billion a year in all) that refuse admission on basis of race to qualified Negro applicants, and he can withhold funds from the primary and high schools (approximately one-fourth of the school enrollment is in districts receiving federal support) which fail to indicate compliance with the constitutional requirement of desegregation with all deliberate speed. 3) He can provide moral leadership for those who would comply with the Constitution.

FOOTNOTES

33. Executive Action in the School Crisis, address by Marion A. Wright before Senator Kennedy's National Conference on Constitutional Rights at Park Sheraton Hotel, New York, New York, October 11, 1960.
34. Ibid.
35. See Pollitt, Dime Store Demonstrations, Vol. 1960 Duke Law Journal 315.
36. "Through integration, our mighty defense machinery, with all its potential for destruction, is sowing seeds of brotherly love and understanding among Americans. Some of the yield is already in.
"According to Maj. Gen. Harvey Fischer, a West Pointer and Korean veteran: 'Heart is heart, blood is blood, muscle is muscle-- what difference does color make'
"And according to Negro Navy Lt. (j.g.) L. E. Jenkins: 'After awhile you start thinking of whites as people.'" Morton Puner,"What the Armed Forces Taught Us About Integration," Coronet Magazine, June, 1960.
37. Harry Ashmore tells the story this way. "The issue was the proposed erection of an $11,000,000 Veterans Administration Hospital at Jackson, a facility that would accept white and Negro patients alike and house them together without distinction. 'Well, we've got the tiger by the tail,' Governor Coleman said. 'We either accept an integrated facility, or we deny our Mississippi white veterans medical services they need.' With only one dissenting voice the (State Sovereignty) Commission voted to donate state land for the hospital." An Epitaph for Dixie, pp. 131-3 (1958).
38. Quoted in Peters, The Southern Temper, p. 42, (1958).
39. There is some evidence that the Federal government actively and positively has aided and abetted the segregationist cause. The NAACP has filed with the White House affidavits accusing federal financing agencies in Mississippi of discriminatory practices in the denial of loans to Negro NAACP leaders in that state. Id. at p. 48. An informal survey of thirty-four white and Negro Southerners prominently identified as opposing segregation shows that 59% of them had their federal income tax returns audited within the past four years--a rate almost four and a half times the normal rate. The damning fact about this is that only one of the twenty individuals audited had an income which could be considered high enough to subject him to an automatic audit, while most had modest or even small incomes, from which little in the way of additional taxes could be expected, however ruthless the auditor's disallowances. Id. at p. 263. While it is possible that the audit of Dr. Martin Luther King's return may have been motivated by the fact that he had recently become an officer of a group involved in raising money, there is clearly no explanation for the methods used by the auditor. King was asked, "How much did you pay for your Cadillac?" and "Who air-conditioned your home?" -- insulting questions, considering that Dr. King owns no Cadillac and that the only air conditioning his home has ever had resulted from a bomb which exploded on his front porch. Id. at 264. The Internal Revenue top officials denied any harassment and one said, "If the charge is true, we certainly want to stop it....It's part of the tradition of the Service that we pay no attention to names, that we don't allow personal feelings to enter into our work. Anyone found doing this kind of thing would be summarily dismissed. They all know that." Id. at 265.

40. "The Negro Officer in the Armed Forces of the United States of America," Bulletin of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, July 4, 1960, p. 1.
41. Morton Puner, "What the Armed Forces Taught Us About Integration," Coronet Magazine, June, 1960.
42. "The Negro Officer in the Armed Forces," note 40, supra., p. 3.
43. "Freedom to Serve," Report of the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services (1950), p. 53.
44. William Peters, The Southern Temper, p. 142 (1958).
45. 13 Fed. Reg. 4313 (1948).
46. "Freedom to Serve,"Report of the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services (1950), pp. 23, 33.
47. Id. at p. 62.
48. Emerson and Haber, Political and Civil Rights in the United States, p. 1450 (2nd Ed., 1958).
49. "Integration in the Armed Services," Bulletin of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (1955), p. 4.
50. Ibid.
51. Note 46, supra, at p. 25.
52. "The Negro Officer in the Armed Forces of the United States of America," Bulletin of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (1960), p. 22.
53. 10 U. S. C. sec 4342.
54. 10 U. S. C. sec. 4382.
55. 10 U. S. C. sec. 261(a)(1), 70A Stat. 10 (1956).
56. 70A Stat. 598, 32 U. S. C. sec 104(b), (1956).
57. The Federal government pays 96.29% of the cost of maintaining the North Carolina National Guard. The National Conference and the Reports of the State Advisory Committees to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1959), p. 298.
58. 50 U. S. C. A. App. sec. 454(b).
59. Walter Millis,"Individual Freedom and the Common Defense," p. 22 (Bulletin published by the Fund for the Republic, 1957.)
60. Note 57, supra. at p. 299.
61. 32 U. S. C. A. sec. 104.
62. 32 U. S. C. A. sec. 110.
63. 32 U. S. C. A. sec. 108.
64. 32 U. S. C. A. sec. 109.
65. "Integration in the Armed Services," note 49, supra., p. 3.
66. The Southern Heritage, quoted in Peters, The Southern Temper, p. 143 (1958).
67. "Integration in the Armed Services, note 65, supra. p. 2.
68. Quoted in Peters, The Southern Temper, p. 144 (1958).
69. "Integration in the Armed Services," note 65, supra. p. 7.
70. Morton Puner, "What the Armed Forces Taught Us about Integration," Coronet Magazine, June, 1960.
71. Harper v.. Jones, 195 F.2d 705 (10th Cir. 1952); Note, 66 Harvard Law Review 350 (1952); 20 Fordham Law Review 321 (1951).
72. "Integration in the Armed Forces," note 69, supra. p. 7.
73. Loth and Fleming, "Integration North and South, A Progress Memorandum," pp. 72-77 (The Fund for the Republic, 1956).
74. "Characteristics of Negro Employment in Federal Agencies in Atlanta, Georgia," Press Release of the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy, October 24, 1960.

75. "Trends in the Employment of Negro-Americans in Upper-Level White-Collar Positions of the Federal Government," Press Release of the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy, September 28, 1960, p. 2.
76. Third Report of the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy (1959), p. 17.
77. 22 stat. 403, sec. 2.
78. 5 U. S. C. A. sec. 1074.
79. Emerson and Haber, Political and Civil Rights in the United States, p. 1447 (2d Ed. 1958).
80. 13 Fed. Reg. 4311 (1948).
81. Emerson and Haber, note 79, supra. p. 1448.
82. Executive Order 10590, 20 Fed. Reg. 409 (1955).
83. The Chairman, Archibald J. Carey, Jr., never left his law practice in Chicago. The Vice-Chairman, Branch Rickey, maintained his principal interest in the Pittsburg Pirates.
84. Peters, The Southern Temper, p. 253 (1958).
85. Regulations and Procedures of the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy, reprinted in 1 Race Rel. L. Rep. 786.
86. "The Policy of Non-Discrimination in Employment in the Federal Government," p. 1, undated pamphlet published by the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy.
87. "Freedom to Serve," note 46, supra., p. 62.
88. Peters, The Southern Temper, p. 265 (1958).
89. Nearly 3,000,000 persons are employed by private business under contract with one government agency-- the Department of Defense. The Federal Loyalty-Security Program, Report of the Special Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, p. 4, (1956).
90. Executive Order 8802, 6 Fed. Reg. 3109.
91. "Equal Economic Opportunity," Report of the President's Committee on Government Contract Compliance, p. 3 (1953).
92. Executive Order 10557, 19 Fed. Reg. 5655 (1954).
93. Ibid.
94. Quoted in Peters, The Southern Temper, p. 261 (1958).
95. Sixth Report to President Eisenhower from the Committee on Government Contracts, pp. 10-14 (1959).
96. Peters, The Southern Temper, p. 259 (1958).
97. The following discussion is based on Jack Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, pp. 189-190 (1959).
98. Bolling v. Sharpe, 347 U. S. 497 (1954).
99. A statute being unconstitutional, and, "having regard to his official oath, he rightly may refrain from effort to enforce it." Ex. Parte La Prade, 289 U. S. 444, 258 (1933). Compare Ex Parte Young, 209 U. S. 123, 159 (1908).
100. Annual Report of the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, P. 231 (1959).
101. Id. at p. 217.
102. 45 C. F. R. sec. 401.14(a)(2).
103. Annual Report, note 100 supra., p. 143.
104. A New York statute suggests (but does not require) that apprenticeship agreements contain a provision forbidding racial discrimination; and the Cleveland Board of Education has prohibited discrimination in apprenticeship programs operated in the city schools. See Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, p. 155 (1959).

105. 29 U. S. C. A. sections 49d., 49g.
106. 20 C. F. R. sec. 604.
107. Greenberg, note 104, supra., p. 165.
108. 41 Op. Atty. Gen., July 2, 1959, following 29 U. S. C. A. sec 49k.
109. Steele v. Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company, 323 U. S. 192 (1944); Wallace Corporation v. NLRB, 323 U. S. 248 (1944).
110. Joseph Rauh, Jr., Civil Rights and Liberties and Labor Unions, 8 Lab. L. J. 874, (1957).
111. Note, Railway Labor Act--Rights of Minority Groups to Membership in Labor Union Acting as Statutory Bargaining Agent, 37 N.C.L. Rev. 509 (1959).
112. Rauh, note 110, supra. at p. 875.
113. Id. at p. 877.
114. National Labor Relations Board Tenth Annual Report, p. 18 (1945).
115. Rauh, note 110, supra. at p. 877.
116. Ibid.
117. Greenberg, note 107, supra., 182.
118. Id. at p. 183.
119. The cases are collected and discussed in Emerson and Haber, Political and Civil Rights in the United States, pp. 1419 ff. (2d Ed. 1958); Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, p. 91 ff. (1959).
120. Loth and Fleming,"Integration North and South, A Progress Memorandum," p. 87 (The Fund for the Republic, 1956).
121. Id. at pp. 88-90.
122. Gilmore v. City of Montgomery, 176 F. Supp. 776 (M.D. Ala. 1959).
123. Hampton v. City of Jacksonville, 4 Race Rl L. Rev. 973 (Fourth Judicial Circuit, Duval County, 1959).
124. Tonkins v. City of Greensboro, 175 F. Supp. 476 (M.D., N.C., 1959).
125. 4 Race Rel. L. Rep. 772 (1959).
126. 5 Race Rel. L. Rev. 528 (1960).
127. 1959 Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, p. 329.
128. 16 U. S. C. A. sec. 2.
129. 16 U. S. C. A. sec. 3.
130. Section 21 of the "Standard Concession Contract"; 36 C.F.R. sec. 1.60.
131. 36 C.F.R. sec. 1.91.
132. 16 U. S. C. A. sec. 10.
133. 43 C. F. R. sec. 254.10.
134. United States Government Organization Manual 1960-61, p. 266.
135. In 1935 there were 58,000,000 visitors. 11 Encyclopedia Americana 481.
136. Copies of correspondence are on file at the University of North Carolina Law School Library.
137. 36 C.F.R. sec. 311.1.
138. Copies on file at the University of North Carolina Law School Library.
139. Washington Post, Feb. 8, 1958, p. C-12, col 1-2.
140. 33 U.S.C.A. sec. 426.
141. 33 U.S.C.A. sec. 426e.
142. Letter from office of Deputy Director of Real Estate of the Office of the Chief of Engineers on file at the University of North Carolina Law School Library.
143. Southern School News, September 1960, p. 14, col 3.
144. United States of America v. Harrison County, United States District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi, C.A. No. 2262.
145. Annual Report of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. 1959, p. 96.

146. Id. at p. 78.
147. Id. at p. 97.
148. Id. at p. 97.
149. Id. at p. 100.
150. Id. at p. 102.
151. Id. at p. 104.
152. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 291.
153. Annual Report, note 145, supra. at p. 109.
154. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 273.
155. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 701.
156. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 711.
157. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 1201.
158. Annual Report, note 145, supra. p. 140.
159. The statutes are collected in Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, p. 373 (1959).
160. Loth and Fleming, "Integration North and South, A Progress Memorandum," pp. 81-82 (1956).
161. State of Arizona v. Hobby, 221 F. 2d 498 (D.C. Cir. 1954).
162. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 291e.
163. "In the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs...are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment." Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483, 495 (1954).
164. Marbury v. Madison, 1 Cranch 137, 180 (1803).
165. Peters, The Southern Temper, pp. 178 ff. (1958).
166. Gunner Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p. 635 (1944).
167. Mitchell v. United States, 313 U.S. 80.
168. Morgan v. Virginia, 328 U.S. 373.
169. Henderson v. United States, 339 U.S. 816.
170. Browder v. Gayle, 352 U.S. 903.
171. Evers v. Dwyer, 358 U.S. 202.
172. Fitzgerald v. Pan Am. World Airlines, 229 F. 2d 499 (2d Cir. 1956). "Even to the orthodox there was doubtless something slightly incongruous about requiring a Jim Crow compartment on a Lockheed Constellation." C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, 103 (1957).
173. Nash v. Air Terminal Servs., 85 F. Supp. 545 (E.D. Va. 1949).
174. NAACP v. St. Louis-San Francisco Ry., 297 I.C.C. 335.
175. Airports Policy and Procedure Memorandum No 41, April 6, 1956. He also ordered the end of segregation and discrimination in the facilities at the airports in Washington, D.C. and in Anchorage and Fairbanks, Alaska. 14 C.F.R. (1952 ed.) sections 570. 126, 580.126.
176. There has been much progress. In Arkansas, all railroads complied with the ICC order and removed segregation signs. In Jacksonville, Florida, airport facilities were desegregated and taxicabs began transporting Negroes. In Durham and Greensboro, the city buses ended segregation, as was true in many Texas cities. Loth and Fleming, "Integration North and South, A Progress Memorandum," pp. 84 ff. (1956).
177. The Supreme Court now has before it a case involving the arrest of an interstate Negro bus passenger for refusing to leave the Richmond, Virginia bus-terminal restaurant for "White" passengers. Boynton v. Commonwealth of Virginia, No. 7, October Term, 1960.

178. Quoted in Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, p. 124 (1959).
179. Id. at p. 126.
180. Boman v. Birmingham Transit Company, 280 F. 2d 531 (5th Cir. 1960). See also, Henry v. Greenville Airport Commission, a case decided by the Federal Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit on April 20, 1960, enjoining a South Carolina municipal airport from assigning Negro passengers to the "waiting room for colored folks." 5 Race Rel. L. Rev. 453 (1960).
181. 49 U.S.C.A. sec. 16(8).
182. Public Law 86-449, 86th Cong 2d Sess., set forth in 5 Race Rel. L. Rep. 237 (1960).
183. Boman v. Birmingham Transit Company, 280 F. 2d 531, 533, fn. 1 (5th Cir. 1960).
184. 18 U.S.C.A. sec. 241.
185. N.Y. Times, Nov. 20, 1956, p. 1.
186. United States Constitution, Art. 11, Sec. 3.
187. Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights 1959, p. 534.
188. Id. at 386.
189. Testimony of New York Justice Polier before the Civil Rights Commission. Id. at 392.
190. Housing Act of 1959, Public Law 171, 81st Cong.
191. 14 Stat. 27 (1886), 42 U.S.C.A. 1982 (1958).
192. Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U.S. 60 (1917); Harmond v. Taylor, 273 U.S. 668 (1927); City of Richmond v. Deans, 281 U.S. 704 (1930).
193. Shelley v. Kraemer, 334 U.S. 1 (1948); Hurd v. Hodge, 334 U.S. 24 (1948).
194. Barrows v. Jackson, 346 U.S. 249 (1953).
195. 12 U.S.C.A. sections 1702 et seq.
196. "The Insatiable Market for Housing" Fortune magazine, February 1954.
197. Report, note 187 supra., p. 464.
198. See text at fn. 193, supra.
199. Report, note 197, supra. at 464.
200. Ibid.
201. However, it has no anti-discrimination clauses in its contracts with the brokers who act as its sale and rental agents. Id. at 469.
202. Id. at 469.
203. Ibid.
204. Id. at 465.
205. Id. at 465.
206. 12 U.S.C.A. sections 1702 et seq.
207. Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, 473 (1959).
208. Id. at 487.
209. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 501.
210. Report, note 187 supra., 475.
211. Id. at 476-7.
212. Id. at 477-80.
213. Id. at 481.
214. Id. at 484.
215. Loth and Fleming, "Integration North and South, a Progress Memorandum," p. 78.
216. Report, note 187 supra. 489-92.
217. 5 Race Rel. L. Rep. 562 (1960).
218. 38 U.S.C.A. sec. 694 et. seq.
219. Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1959, 497.

220. 38 C.F.R. sec. 36.4320(h)(5).
221. Report, note 219, supra. 497.
222. 38 C.F.R. sec. 36.4308(e).
223. 38 C.F.R. sec. 36.4515(e).
224. Report, note 219, supra. 498.
225. Id. at 499.
226. 10 U.S.C.A. Supp. 111, sec. 1269.
227. See Hackley v. Art Builders, 179 F. Supp. 851 (D. Md. 1960).
228. Letter from office of the Deputy Director of Real Estate, Office of the Chief of Engineers, on file at the University of North Carolina Law School library.
229. Ming v. Horgan, 3 Race Rel. L. Rep. 693 (Super. Ct., County of Sacramento, 1958).
230. Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, 291-2 (1959).
231. Id. at 311.
232. Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1959, 134.
233. The most recent and most complete account is that of the Commission on Civil Rights, Id. at pp. 55 ff. See also Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, pp. 133 ff; Emerson and Haber, Political and Civil Rights in the United States, pp. 142 ff.
234. Report, note 232, supra., p. 135.
235. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 1971(c).
236. Public Law 86-449, 86th Cong. Title VI, set forth in 5 Race Rel. L. Rep. 240 (1960).
237. "To Secure These Rights" The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, pp. 119-25 (1947).
238. 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
239. 349 U.S. 294 (1955).
240. Cooper v. Aaron, 358 U.S. 1 (1958).
241. Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 1959, 233 ff.
242. 5 U.S.C.A. sec. 316.
243. People ex rel. Woll v. Graber, 394 Ill. 362, 68 N.E. 2d 750 (1946).
244. Report, note 241, supra. 328.
245. Annual Report of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 1959, 178.
246. Report, note 241, supra. 329.
247. Id. at 556.
248. Ashmore, An Epitaph for Dixie, 26-7 (1958).
249. Peters, The Southern Temper, 60-61 (1959).
250. Ashmore, note 248 supra. 44.

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May 2, 1960

Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

In accord with our conversation at Frogmore and also in response to a call from Harry Jones, I am enclosing a manuscript relating to the legal aspects of the lunch counter movement which I have received from Professor Dan Pollitt of the University of North Carolina Law School.

This article, which is well written and which represents much research, grew out of a personal interest and from an expressed need on the part of a group of North Carolina attorneys whom we convened several weeks ago to discuss the movement. We encouraged him to prepare such an article, feeling that it would meet a significant need at this time, not only among attorneys but among other thought leaders.

The NORTH CAROLINA LAW REVIEW plans to use the article in its June issue, which hopefully, will be published by the end of that month. Reprints from the Review represent one way to get the material before a wider audience than a few law alumni of the University. However, I would hope that the article, in its present form, or in a modified form, might be printed in an attractive pamphlet for rather wide distribution.

After you read it, please give me your reactions. A couple of our staff have read it and recommend it generally. We do not have funds or facilities for printing the article at present but could possibly aid in these matters. In view of your resources, what do you suggest?

Any alterations in the article would need to be checked with Dr. Pollitt.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Bill

William Bagwell

WB:mh
Enc.

cc: Dan Pollitt

Zw O
return pl.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

May 12, 1960

William Bagwell
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, N. C.

Dear Bill:

The student editor of the North Carolina Law Review just informed me this afternoon that he had decided against running my "sit in" article. His reasons are honest and valid--the controversial nature of the subject plus the fact that the article with all its factual material is somewhat unorthodox.

The next question is what to do with the article. I think it is suitable for publication in pamphlet form, and if you have any ideas along this line, I would appreciate them. The other possability is sending it out to other law reviews for possible publication. The problem there is that the good journals are filled up in advance, the poor journals publish four times a year and hence there is a long time lag between acceptance and publication. Anyway, there is a snag and a problem and I thought it best to advise you of it.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel H. Pollitt

cc Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

P.S. The article has been somewhat revised since the original copy. Also has been put to use. My extra copy is now in the hands of the Durham negro lawyers who represent the kids in Durham, Greensboro, etc.

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H F ✓

this gets more & more complicated. my idea is to enter an advance order for reprints - perhaps 200. but would you glance at this - I'll chat with you later today

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THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

May 18, 1960

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I just finished talking to Bill Bagwell on the phone about reproducing my article on Dime Store Demonstrations. Rather then call you, I thought it best to write.

There is one recent development that will probably not make much difference. The Duke Law Journal yesterday agreed to publish the article in the issue which is now in galley proof and should come out in two or three weeks. Therefore, the permission of the faculty editor, Professor Melvin Shimm, has to be obtained before any thing is done. I think that is a matter of form, as he is very obliging, and desires wide circulation of the article.

I told Bill Bagwell that I had complete trust in the Southern Regional Council and would give it carte blanch to do anything it deems best. Specifically, I don't expect any remuneration; I don't at all object to editing and cutting; I don't object to anything the Southern Regional CKouncil wants to do.

I have one slight reservation about a 1 or 2 page summary or conclusion. As there is not one in the article now in the hands of Duke, I don't think there should be one in any reprints. ~~or in any article which~~ Howvever, I think a 1 or 2 page press release type of summary is a good idea, and I would try my hand at one if you so desire.

There is one other point. The copy you have is a first draft, and there have been several revisions. I could send you a corrected copy, or I could send you the page proof when I get it shortly from Duke. Frankly, I have no copies at all at this time, as I lent them to NAACP lawyers who need the information for trial purposes. I could get a copy, of course, but if there is no urgency, i.e., if a week or so makes no difference, I would just as soon send a copy of the page proof.

Again I would like to say that as I wrote the article because of my interest in the subject, I would appreciate anything the Council does to gain a wider audience.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel H. Pollitt

Daniel H. Pollitt

cc. Bill Bagwell

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

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W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

May 19, 1960

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

It was good to talk with you yesterday. I only regret that I could not be there to witness the historic march on the Georgia capitol, not by Sherman's legions but by thousands of Georgia's own young people.

I have talked briefly with Dan Pollitt regarding use of his atricle on the legal aspects of the lunch counter protest by the Southern Regional Council. He agrees generally to your conditions and is writing you to discuss the matter more fully. In the meantime, there has been another development in the situation. The Duke University LAW REVIEW editor has been so impressed with the article that he has decided to use it in place of another article in the June issue of the publication. This seems to raise two problems: first, since he is using the article in its entirety, would you still consider it worthwhile to use it as a special report of the SRC? Actually, even though reprints of the REVIEW article would be available for distribution, I would still like to see the article released as one of your special reports. Second, I am uncertain as to whether the LAW REVIEW would want its publication to preceed yours, or whether publication-wise, the articles might be considered as two separate articles because of revisions which you would make in your publication.

I would appreciate knowing as early as possible whether and how you plan to print the article so that I may either assist you in mailing copies of the special report, or I might obtain reprints from Duke to mail to a number of persons in North Carolina.

With kindest regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Bill

William Bagwell

WB:mh

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

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TELEPHONE 88 2-0109

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
Wilton E. Hartzler, *Executive Secretary*

May 26, 1960

Professor Melvin Shimm
Duke Law Journal
Duke University
Durham, N. C.

Dear Professor Shimm:

Dan Pollitt of Chapel Hill tells me that you plan to publish his article dealing with legal aspects of the lunch counter movement in the June issue of the Journal. I am pleased to learn of this because the earlier draft of the article, which I read, seemed particularly timely and valuable for its technical views as well as its general roundup of background information about the movement.

Please let me know whether reprints of the article will be available and how soon they could be obtained. I would be interested in obtaining at least 100 or 200 copies. Several other organizations such as the Southern Regional Council and the N.A.A.C.P. will probably be interested in obtaining reprints also.

I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

William Bagwell

WB:mh

bbc: Jean Fairfax
Thelma Babbitt
Wil Hartzler
Leslie Dunbar
Dan Pollitt

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

May 27, 1960

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 24. I agree that publishing of my article by the Duke Law Journal makes it unnecessary for publication by the Southern Regional Council. The main thing is to make sure that it gets circulated, and I agree that the reprints would do the job.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel H. Pollitt

Daniel H. Pollitt

May 24, 1960

Professor Daniel Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Professor Pollitt:

I would have answered your letter earlier, but I have been away from the city. We are pleased that you want us to reproduce and distribute your fine study, and we are also most pleased that the Duke review has wisely decided to run it in its next issue.

Frankly, it seems to us that this represents the best possible treatment and we are not clear as to what advantage there would be in an almost simultaneous release of it by us. We are interested in the study getting good, strategic circulation and to this end I would like to write to Duke with an advance order for two or three hundred reprints, which we would distribute to the press, or some of it, and to selected community leaders.

But is there some factor we are overlooking that leads you and Bagwell to believe a release by us would be especially useful? We share with you a real desire to get this out in the public domain and are prepared to do whatever is necessary to that end. It just seems to us that, in as much as Duke will bring this out in its next issue, nothing else is required (assuming, of course, reprints are available).

Please let me hear from you. With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Manuscript filed under "Set ins" lower drawer

June 2, 1960

Professor Melvin Shimm
Duke Law Journal
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Professor Shimm:

I understand that you will publish in the next issue of your Journal Daniel Pollitt's analysis of the legal questions growing out of the lunch counter movement. I have read a first draft of the article. Will you please advise us whether reprints will be available and, if so, at what price in quantities of 200, 300, and 400.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

blind cc: Dan Pollitt
Bill Bagwell: Bill, what distribution are you planning?

Pollitt

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
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REGIONAL OFFICE
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W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
Wilton E. Hartzler, *Executive Secretary*

June 17, 1960

file

COPY

Seeman Printery, Inc.
413 E. Chapel Hill Road
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Sirs:

At the suggestion of Professor Melvin Shimm I am writing to you regarding the matter of obtaining reprints of an article which appears in the current issue of the Duke University Law Journal. The article is by Daniel Pollitt and is quoted "Dime Store Demonstrations: Events and Legal Problems of First Sixty Days."

I would like to place an order for 500 reprints of the article, the reprints to be bound in covers of the same paper stock as is used for the article itself. The reprints should be billed to the American Friends Service Committee and the bill sent to my attention.

To save our office the problem of remailing some of the articles, I would like to request that you mail 100 copies to my office at the above address and the other 400 copies to Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research, Southern Regional Council, Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

It is possible that I may want to increase this order. If so, I will do so before June 25. However, if it is inconvenient for you to hold my order until that date, please go ahead and fill the present order and I will place an extra one if necessary.

Please let me know how long reprints of this article will be available at the prices already quoted.

I shall look forward to receiving the reprints at your early convenience.

Very truly yours,

Bill -

William Bagwell, Director
School Program

WB:mh

cc: Melvin Shimm
Leslie Dunbar
Wil Hartzler
Charles Davis

P.S.- We will send our copies to a N.C. list made up of lawyers connected with demonstration groups, chairmen of major committees, and to a list of lawyers across the state who are interested in racial problems - let me know if you do not receive your reprints soon

Pollitt: legal aspects
sit-ins

August 26, 1960

Mr. William Bagwell
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, N. C.

Dear Bill:

We received the four hundred reprints of Dan Pollitt's article and are cranking up to get them mailed off. You ought to be receiving the check very soon if you have not already got it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

1st Pete

400 - Pollitt

500 - Patrick

500+ - Westfeldt

- Bd - 80 ✓
- Lt groups - 10 ✓
- Mass media
- Friends - 200
- Lit-in - 100 ✓
- Interagency

Research - 150

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

Court jurisdiction

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

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Wilton E. Hartzler, *Executive Secretary*

August 23, 1960

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

By the time you receive this letter you should have received your order of 400 reprints of Dan Pollitt's Lunch Counter Demonstration article from the Duke Law Journal. I had hoped the reprints would be available earlier, but evidently the Journal was late in being printed.

The reprints cost us approximately $19.63 per hundred, including shipping charges. If you need an official bill, the enclosed statement should serve the purpose.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Bill

William Bagwell

WB:mh
Enc.

3 19.63
400
$78.52 00

June 7, 1960

Mr. William Bagwell
Southeastern Regional Office
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Bill:

Your letter of June 2 crossed with one of mine to Professor Shimm at Duke regarding reprints of the Pollitt article. Prices which he has quoted me are as follows:

200	$45.95
300	60.05
400	72.15

He made it clear that these were estimates, although probably within a few cents of the final prices. It is agreeable to us to pool our order with yours. You may therefore take this as your authority to order 400 copies for us. Please let me know how you wish to handle the payment. We would also like to know what distribution you are planning so that we will not duplicate. Our present intention is to send it to a list we have been compiling for sit-in materials and which includes municipal officials, members of bi-racial committees and such. This numbers a little over a hundred. Also to selected newspaper people; also to our board and affiliated state groups. Undoubtedly we shall find other worthy recipients when we get down to more concrete planning.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

CC: Daniel H. Pollitt
Melvin G. Shimm

Duke University
DURHAM
NORTH CAROLINA

SCHOOL OF LAW

6/4/60

Mr. Leslie H. Dunbar:
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
60 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of June 2. Although there is no secretarial assistance available today (Saturday), I hasten to reply, since publication of Mr. Pollitt's piece is imminent, & , as you may know, reprints are run off before the issue proper goes to press.

By my rough estimate, Mr. Pollitt's article will run 43 pages in length. The price schedule that the printer has supplied us goes up to only 40 pages, but by extrapolation, I should estimate with fair certainty (accurate to a few cents either way) that the cost of reprints in the amounts you mention would be:

200 reprints	--	$ 47.95
300 "	--	60.05
400 "	--	72.15

These, incidentally, are the printer's costs (& do not include the cost of shipment), & your dealings would be with him, although we should be happy to help in whatever way we can.

Thank you for your generous interest. If we can assist you further, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Sincerely yours,
Weland G. Simms

****

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 6/3/60

To: LWD

From: JC

Subject: POLLITT ARTICLE

SUGGEST WE SEND TO:

OUR SPECIAL SIT-IN LIST (NUMBERS ABOUT 100)
INTERAGENCY
STATE GROUPS

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

JC

WD -

I see no harm in pooling through Bagwell if it will lower the unit cost.

We could accompany the reprint with our "compliments" card.

I agree with proposed distribution.

Is somebody calling SCLC?

HCF

WESTERN - PERRY
PRINTING PROCESSES COMPANY
196 MARIETTA STREET, N.W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA JA 4-5616

I wrote 6/12

ONE COMPETENT SOURCE . . . . ALL GRAPHIC ARTS SERVICES

HF

JC

I ~~have~~ had already written, asking prices on quantities of 200, 300, 400. Perhaps JC should take over from here? Personally, I think the piece might go to (a) some few newspaper people (such as e.g., Popham, Kuettner, Hilton, Olanick) (b) the special "sit in" list which JC + BM have been putting together, (c) our Board + staff officers. Should the mailing be accompanied by some note from us? I'm not sure we should order through Bagwell if that would get us somehow in cooperative planning with CORE - that bunch makes me anxious.

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

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TELEPHONE 88 2-0109

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W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
Wilton E. Hartzler, *Executive Secretary*

June 2, 1960

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

With regard to Dan Pollitt's article on "Legal Aspects of the Lunch Counter Movement," you are probably wise to leave its publication to the Duke Law Review. However, if it had been possible, I would have liked to see it appear as one of your special reports.

I have written to Prof. Melvin G. Shimm, at Duke regarding reprints. They can be made available on request and cost is determined by quantity ordered, according to a letter just received from him. Estimated length of the article is about 30 pages in the Review. Reprints for this length article will be about $27.00 per 100 copies (unit price will decrease if more are ordered).

This brings up the question of how extensively they should be circulated. Frankly, I would like to see a copy in the hands of every attorney who has been involved in the movement, the adult advisors to every student group in the South, every agency concerned about this movement and selected community and southern leaders. We have such lists to cover most of North Carolina and part of South Carolina. Beyond that we would have to depend on your assistance or that of other agencies such as NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, CORE, state Human Relations Councils, etc. How extensive is your "leadership" list in connection with interest in this movement?

Probably the simplest way to handle the matter will be for us to pool an order for reprints with any agencies interested in the matter. In this way we can get the reprints for as low a unit price as possible. I will write to John Morsell of NAACP, Robinson of CORE, and Glenn Smiley of FOR. Would you contact Ella Baker of the Christian Leadership Conference and any of your state Council agencies? We will be glad to pool through our office any orders received by June 15. We plan to order 100 copies for our use in the two Carolinas.

I have set the June 15 deadline for orders because I will be leaving on June 15 for two months study at New York University's Human Relation Center and want to get the matter pretty well settled before leaving.

Cordially,

Bill

William Bagwell

WB:mh

June 2, 1960

Professor Melvin Shimm
Duke Law Journal
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Professor Shimm:

I understand that you will publish in the next issue of your Journal Daniel Pollitt's analysis of the legal questions growing out of the lunch counter movement. I have read a first draft of the article. Will you please advise us whether reprints will be available and, if so, at what price in quantities of 200, 300, and 400.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

blind cc: Dan Pollitt
Bill Bagwell: Bill, what distribution are you planning?

AF ✓
MA file

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

October 13, 1960

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

To confirm our telephone conversation of yesterday, I have reservations for Wednesday, October 19. I leave here on flight 359 at 10:45 am and arrive in Atlanta at 12:14. I depart from Atlanta on flight 518 at 605 and arrive here at 8:20. (this is more for my information than for yours.)

The project sounds very interesting. However, this morning I talked with Joseph Rauh in Washington about something else, and when I mentioned the project he said that this very problem had been discussed rather extensively at the Democratic sponsored meeting called or arranged by Harris Wofford, and that Marion Wright had sparkpluged the discussion. The issue I raise is this: is it not better to have Marion Wright, who is informed, do the job then to have me undertake it.

If I do not hear from you I will arrive in Atlanta as scheduled and find my way to your office.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel H. Pollitt

Daniel H. Pollitt

blue copy & list
in address file

October 20, 1960

Professor Daniel H. Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dan:

I hope you feel as good as we do after our meeting yesterday. As I said, if you have anything you want to talk about at any time, call me collect. Otherwise we sit back and wait for your draft.

You should have received your check by now for your airline ticket. Please keep track of your expenses, including any others involved in yesterday's trip.

Although it is the least important part of the undertaking, the one thing I can worry about now is the group of people whose reactions we'll invite to the draft. On the plan that you will have the rough draft completed in a month, I am afraid that we can't lose any time planning this part of the process. I think we agreed yesterday that the draft would be mailed to a score or more people and that some smaller number of these, perhaps ten, would be invited to a head-knocking session in the hope that a half dozen or so could come. I am sending you a copy of the list of names which we had before us yesterday (the asterisk means SRC board member). Why don't you indicate on it those you would like to comment on the draft, with some special notation for those whom you would like to bring together in a conference; add to it any other names in either category whom you would suggest and send it back to me.

Unless something could be worked out in Chapel Hill, I suppose Atlanta would be the most convenient place for the meeting, assuming that we could find accommodations out at Atlanta University. On the other hand, I think we might consider whether Washington would not be as good a place as any and might facilitate better attendance.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: expense blanks

December 5, 1960

Mr. Daniel H. Pollitt
School of Law
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dan:

Got your letter this morning. I get a weak inference, from one paragraph, that you feel some need to explain the limits of your paper. You could not possibly have done more and I frankly do not see how you did as detailed a job in the time you had. Exactly the most helpful thing you could have done is what you did: i. e., statutory research.

Sorry about the first few pages, which I shall bring with me to Washington. I left them off for two reasons:
1) because it was nip-and-tuck getting the job out, and
2) because I decided there was some advantage in engaging the readers' attention immediately with the question of executive responsibility.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

MF
SMV
DWF
MA-file

December 3, 1960

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I have read your letter of December 2 and the attached list of questions, and the meeting on December 8 promises to be very profitable. The questions you raise are very tought, and it will be interesting to hear the comments.

When I did my work, I deliberately decided to confine myself to a brief discription of the existing situation in the ten most important areas, and then outline what powers the President has at his disposal. I did not go into the policy problems of whether or not these powers should be exercised, nor did I go into the even more difficult problem of how these powers can be exercised effectively. My reasons are several: I felt that someone should do the drudgery of describing situations and powers; but more importantly, I felt that questions of policy were for wiser heads then mine. ~~Also~~ ~~all, who am I to suggest to~~ I did not feel that I had time to do an adequate job on both problems.

I hope to utilize the work I have done in some sort of publication, and in that connection I would appreciate the return of the introductory pages which were not used in the mimeographing. If they have been thrown away, it doesn't matter too much.

Incidentally, I would like to compliment the effeciency of your staff in getting the material out so quickly and so attractively.

Sincerely yours,

Dan

Daniel H. Pollitt

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

File

2

December 10, 1960

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I enclose the expense account for the meeting last Thursday. I left here Wednesday by car, and came back the same way on Friday. I paid for a few meals, but as I stayed with my sister, my principal expenses are the gas and oil (particularly the oil for my 1953 Ford).

You will recall that I was to get $250.00 for the first draft, and $40.00 per day while away from home.

I for one enjoyed the meeting very much and found it exceedingly helpful. I thought Col. Muse, John Wheeler, Prof. Harris, and all the rest had a lot of thoughtful comments to make, and I am pleased that I had the opportunity to participate in the discussion. I talked to John Silard Friday at lunch, and he too enjoyed the meeting very much and was very much educated by the whole thing.

Sincerely yours,

Don

Daniel H. Pollitt

January 12, 1961

Professor Daniel H. Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dan:

Here it is.

It was sent to Kennedy last night. Also a copy to Kenneth O'Donnell and six copies to Wofford. We are asking for an appointment, not too hopeful about getting it. There will be no public release until we get some kind of response. The thing is being sent out today to our Board members and state people and also to all of the people who commented on your paper, including the ones who came to Washsington. Harold is sending a covering letter to each of the consultants. They are all being asked to observe a "no publicity" rule until we make the release.

Incidentally, we decided we had to submit it to all our officers for review. This turned out not to be very painful. Mr. Wright wanted the two paragraphs that end up the foreword, and John Wheeler had a lot of things on his mind. This, I believe, turned out to be good, for it led to the toughening of the report in several places.

I am sending you only one copy now. We don't have an unlimited supply (we mimeographed 1,000) but are prepared to re-run. But I want you to feel free to request more copies and not to be bashful about doing so. In fact, if there are people whom you would like to receive it, we can mail them for you if you will send me names and addresses.

Whatever may be the fortunes of this vessel now hopefully launched, we have a very good feeling about the way it was done. There isn't much point in reciting thanks and compliments again, but we do feel them Harold asked me to join his thanks with mine, and the bundle of them is herewith delivered.

Let us hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

MA

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

March 11, 1961

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thanks very much for the press comments on the study. It is very gratifying.

I don't know whether or not I am on the regular mailing list, but I would sure like to be. Also, looking over the items on the Current Materials Available I spot "Action Patterns In School Desegregation: A Guidebook" by Herbert Wey and John Corey. I would appreciate a copy very much, as I have agreed to write a piece for the AAUP Journal on what I assume is this very subject.

3-16-61
mA

Sincerely yours,

Dan

Daniel H. Pollitt

P.S. If you are interested in the migrant worker situation, I testified Tuesday of this week on Public Law 78, the program whereby Mexican "braceros" are brought into this country; and the purport of my testimony was to disclose the real reasons for the alleged "shortage" of domestic migrants. You can get a copy from the National Consumers League, 1025 Vermont Ave. N.W., Wash. 5, D.C. which sponsored my testimony.

file

SCHOOL OF LAW

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

29 March 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, SW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thanks very much for your talk on Civil Disobedience. I have given a few talks on the same subject myself, and I appreciate seeing the hand of the expert. I think that we have to face up to the basic problems you set down, and you do it very well.

Sincerely yours,

Dan

Daniel H. Pollitt
Associate Professor
of Law

DHP:kb

Legal Aspects
Exec. Powers of President
Civil Rights

August 29, 1961

Mr. John H. Kerr, III
Business Manager
The North Carolina Law Review
University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Kerr:

Thank you for your letter of August 13; we are enclosing our check for $1.25 for one copy of Number 3, Volume 39 which contains the article by Dan Pollitt.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Enclosure: check
thermafax, letter Dan Pollitt

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

September, 1964

CQ CENSUS ANALYSIS: CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS
OF THE UNITED STATES

Population, education, income, employment, age, Negro population, foreign stock, farm data--by st state and district

Congressional Quarterly Service, 1735 K St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20006 $5.00

---

p5-6 U.S. Congressional Districts with Highest Negro populations; breakdown of white, non-white population by Congressional district & state

Negro population in cities: total, Negro, %

BREAKDOWN OF WHITE, NON-WHITE POPULATION (by state)
(by district also available)

	white	Negro	Other races	% Negro
Alabama	2,283,609	980,271	2,860	30.0
Alaska	174,546	6,771	44,850	3.0
Arizona	1,169,517	43,403	89,241	3.3
Arkansas	1,395,703	388,787	1,782	21.8
California	14,455,230	883,861	378,113	5.6
Colorado	1,700,700	39,992	13,255	2.3
Conn.	2,423,816	107,449	3,969	4.2
Delaware	384,327	60,688	1,277	13.6
Florida	4,063,881	880,186	7,493	17.8
Georgia	2,817,223	1,122,596	3,297	28.5
Hawaii	202,230	4,943	425,599	0.8
Idaho	657,383	1,502	8,306	0.2
Illinois	9,010,252	1,037,470	33,436	10.3
Indiana	4,388,554	269,275	4,669	5.8
Iowa	2,728,709	25,354	3,474	0.9
Kansas	2,078,666	91,445	8,500	4.2
(B) Kentucky	2,820,083	215,949	2,124	7.1
Louisiana	2,211,715	1,039,207	6,100	31.9
Maine	963,291	3,318	2,656	0.3
(B) Maryland	2,573,919	518,410	8,360	16.7
Massachusetts	5,023,144	111,842	13,592	2.2
Michigan	7,085,865	717,581	19,748	9.2
Minn.	3,371,603	22,263	19,998	0.7
Miss.	1,257,546	915,743	4,852	42.0
(B) Missouri	3,922,967	390,853	5,993	9.0
Montana	650,738	1,467	22,562	0.2
Nebraska	1,374,764	29,262	7,304	2.1
Nevada	263,443	12,484	8,351	4.7
New Hampshire	604,334	1,903	584	0.3

New Jersey	5,539,003	514,875	12,904	8.5
New Mexico	875,763	17,063	58,197	1.8
New York	15,287,071	1,417,511	77,722	8.4
— North Carolina	3,399,285	1,116.021	40,849	24.5
North Dakota	619,538	777	12,131	0.1
Ohio	8,909,698	786,097	10,602	8.1
(B) Oklahoma	2,107,900	153,084	67,300	6.6
Oregon	1,732,037	18,133	18,517	1.0
Pennsylvania	10,454,004	852,750	12,612	7.5
Rhode Island	838,712	18,332	2,444	2.1
— South Carolina	1,551,022	829,291	2,281	34.8
South Dakota	653,098	1,114	26,302	0.2
— Tennessee	2,977,753	586,876	2,460	16.5
— Texas	8,374,831	1,187,125	17,721	12.4
Utah	873,828	4,148	12,651	0.5
Vermont	389,092	519	270	0.1
— Virginia	3,142,443	816,258	8,248	20.6
Washington	2,751,675	48,738	52,801	1.7
(B) West Virginia	1,770,133	89,378	910	4.8
Wisconsin	3,858,903	74,546	18,328	1.9
Wyoming	322,922	2,183	4,961	0.7
Total U.S.	158,831,732	18,871,831	1,619,612	10.5

3-2-64

Eugene Patterson

Not a Hand-Out, But a Hand-Up

Alphabet agencies of the federal government have been bad jokes since the days of FDR. But they have been good news to hard-up Georgians who are conservative enough to want to stand on their own feet but need a little help to get in that position.

A couple of new ones were born under President Kennedy in 1962—ARA, which stood for Area Redevelopment Administration, and APW, for Accelerated Public Works projects. All those syllables have stood for little but accelerated public waste in the minds of most people who have not been affected by them.

And waste has indeed occurred. We wrote a piece in this space a while back questioning the value of financing new courthouses in adjoining counties with federal APW funds at a time when the state needs to consolidate, not perpetuate, some of the counties.

But on the other side of all this coin, some good has shown up.

* * *

In the last two and a half years, ARA and APW have injected $23 million into Georgia in federal loans and grants. These dollars, teamed with $18 million put up by local governments, private banks and private development groups, have put $41 million to work on 224 different projects in 70 of Georgia's counties.

Thirty-two projects under the ARA program are helping generate some 4,200 permanent new jobs, which is the purpose ARA seeks to serve in areas of high unemployment.

The 192 APW projects, designed to provide temporary employment on useful public works, are generating more than 25,000 man-months of on-site employment in Georgia, according to the U.S. Department of Commerce.

Main aim is to develop Georgia's natural resources. ARA is financing searches for new techniques in fields ranging from peach marketing to granite and mineral uses. APW projects are helping to expand recreation, wildlife and health facilities—in addition to building those questionable courthouses.

A large number of Georgia towns have managed to improve their water and sewer systems—and thus their industrial potential—with the help of these programs. (Sen. Richard B. Russell at one time criticized foot-dragging by ARA in Georgia; his hometown of Winder has now received an $800,000 public facility loan plus a $772,000 grant to improve water and sewer systems for industry.)

* * *

The help is being felt widely in Georgia. How does ARA team federal and local money? Take Manchester, Ga. A $225,000 ARA project has been approved there to put a company in the business of silk screen printing on textiles. ARA is loaning the company $146,250 for 20 years at 4 per cent. Two local banks are loaning the company $45,000 jointly; a local development group is investing $22,500, and the company will put in $11,250.

The funds will buy land, build plant, purchase machinery and put the company in business, creating 50 new jobs.

Nearly three-fourths of the $210 million that the ARA has invested in projects like this across America is repayable to the federal treasury, with interest.

It's a mighty good program for a state like Georgia, which needs help only to get on its feet.

$93 Million in Public Aid Is Reflecting Demand for More Educated Georgians

3-2-64

By BILL SHIPP
Constitution State News Editor

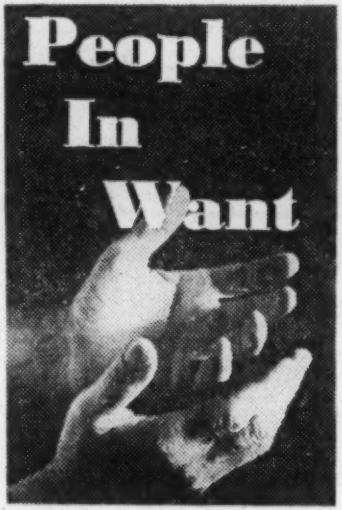
Georgia's "Public Assistance" payroll during the past fiscal year was a staggering $93,000,000.

Another $24,800,000 was paid out by the State Labor department in unemployment compensation last year.

Second in a series.

During the week of Feb. 10, 1964, there were 31,825 unemployed persons who filed claims for unemployment insurance.

Hundreds of others whose insurance was expired, or who were never covered, also are out of work.



Half the families in 84 of Georgia's 159 counties can expect to earn less than $3,000 this year.

Thirty-six Georgia counties are listed as areas of substantial unemployment with 21 of these classified as pockets of chronic joblessness.

Even the prospering metropolitan areas of Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, Macon and Savannah are classified by the U.S. Labor department as areas of "moderate unemployment" with between 3 and 5.9 per cent of the labor force unemployed.

Yet—

Employers offering good-paying jobs are literally combing Georgia for qualified workers.

The State Employment Service last week reported large numbers of job openings in skilled, technical and clerical fields.

Sunday's Atlanta Journal-Constitution carried more than 40 columns of "help wanted" ads.

"The problem is that the jobs don't fit the applicants and vice versa," says Howard Weeks of

Continued on Page 11, Column 1

People in Want

Public Assistance Hits $93 Million

Continued From Page 1

the Georgia Labor department.

Georgia has 27 area and two state vocational technical schools established for the sole purpose of making the applicants fit the job.

Georgia is among the top five states in the country in vocational-technical training.

But her schools, operated by the State Department of Education, never have been filled to capacity.

The Georgia Labor department is charged with the responsibility of recruiting students.

Labor Commissioner Ben T. Huiet and Weeks report, however, that students are hard to find.

Huiet said his department could do a better job of recruiting if it had more personnel.

(In many instances, the student may be paid a small weekly salary for attending one of the schools, under the provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act. The State Labor department advisory board also called on the General Assembly to provide legislation providing for the payment of unemployment compensation to unemployed students attending the schools.

(The bill died in a subcommittee after a dispute erupted between union and industry leaders about another provision of the proposed law.)

MANY UNTRAINABLE?

But the basic problem in retraining programs is that the impoverished many times lack even the ability to take vocational training.

Students are required to be literate enough to read simple instructions.

Often they cannot.

Wellborn Ellis, director of Fulton County's Department of Family and Children Services has found in the Atlanta area that many persons on the welfare roll are not only illiterate, but lack the knowledge to operate simple household gadgets such as "telephones, washing machines and vacuum cleaners."

PUSHED OFF FARMS

These often are the people who were pushed off farms by mechanization and have come to town to try to find a niche in an even more complex and industrialized environment.

Ellis' department in 1962 initiated a training program to help these "helpless" learn to carry out simple tasks and possibly qualify as employes in hotels, motels or restaurants.

The program has been so successful that five classes are in operation.

To encourage enrollment, Fulton County will pay a baby sitter while the parent is in class, furnish transportation for the student, purchase the needed

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WELFARE CASE

Idle Stove A Status Symbol

When Mrs. Aileen Farmer, the "welfare lady," came around for her regular visit, Mr. D. appeared, all smiles, at the door of his shack.

Somebody had persuaded Mr. D. to spend $35 of his welfare check to purchase a used electric range.

It obviously was his proudest possession. He showed the gleaming white range to Mrs. Farmer and a reporter.

Still smiling through the layers of dirt and grease that caked his face, he said.

"It don't work. I was scared it would blow up."

There wasn't much chance of the range blowing up. The power company had disconnected Mr. D's electricity long before he purchased the range.

USES WOOD STOVE

Mr. D. uses the range to show off. He cooks on a wood stove and lights his house with a kerosene lamp. And in warm weather or cold, he keeps the front door open.

Mr. D. lives in an incredibly tumbled-down house not too many minutes away from shimmering Lenox Square shopping center.

He pays $30 a month rent.

"You ought to see the one I

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Mr. D. lives in an incredibly tumbled-down house not too many minutes away from shimmering Lenox Square shopping center.

He pays $30 a month rent.

"You ought to see the one I used to live in. They made me pay $10 a month, and it wasn't worth half that," he said.

Mr. D. lives with his two sons. All three are feeble minded.

WIFE HEARS

Mr. D's wife, who also is feeble minded, moves away from the house as the mood strikes her. Mr. D. said he didn't know where his wife was when Mrs. Farmer came to the house.

Mr. D. and his two boys receive about $150 a month from the Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services.

"You could give this man a million dollars and he wouldn't be any better off," Mrs. Farmer, a senior social worker with the department said.

The case of smiling Mr. D. points up one of the most difficult phases of the war against poverty.

Fifteen per cent of the persons drawing welfare checks in Fulton County . . . are known to be mentally defective, welfare statistics reveal.

Yet, Fulton County — considered to have one of the most progressive welfare programs in the state—provides a total of $450 a month for psychiatric care among all of its more than 22,000 welfare recipients.

—BILL SHIPP.

PUSHED OFF FARMS

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Ellis' department in 1962 initiated a training program to help these "helpless" learn to carry out simple tasks and possibly qualify as employes in hotels, motels or restaurants.

The program has been so successful that five classes are in operation.

To encourage enrollment, Fulton County will pay a baby sitter while the parent is in class, furnish transportation for the student, purchase the needed materials for the course and even find a job for the students who complete the course.

TO TRAIN DROPOUTS

Fulton County also is aiming toward establishing a federal demonstration project to train 300 school dropouts now on the welfare rolls. About 25 per cent of these are mentally retarded.

No matter how well his vocational training program works, Ellis says the "public assistance" rolls will continue to grow.

In addition to persons who are unable to work, Ellis estimates that there is another 10 to 15 per cent of his welfare recipients "who will never realize that the government doesn't exist just to make them lazy."

To be continued Tuesday in The Atlanta Constitution.

State Misses Out on $5 Million Aid for Illiterates

3-4-64

By BILL SHIPP
Constitution State News Editor

The Georgia Department of Labor in January applied for a $5 million federal grant to train as many as 2,300 functional illiterates to read and write enough to learn a trade.

The multi-occupation, literacy

Fourth of A Series

training project was proposed too late.

Other states already had snapped up all funds now available for such classroom programs under the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act.

Additional funds may be forthcoming within the next few months.

If and when Georgia's program gets rolling, it will be a step in the right direction—but only a tiny step at best.

Georgia has more than 355,000 functional illiterates over 24 years old, according to census figures.

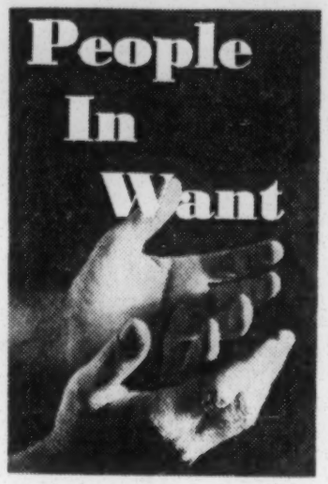
(A functional illiterate is defined by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare as one who never got past the fifth grade.)

Only three of Georgia's 159 counties can boast of an adult population with less than 10 per cent functional illiterates.

Cobb County has an 8.1 per cent functional illiteracy rate, DeKalb 5.9 per cent and rural Chattahoochee County (with a high concentration of military personnel) 5.2 per cent.

Seventeen per cent of the over-24 citizens of Fulton County were classified functional illiterates in the latest census survey.

More than 10 of every 100 white persons over 24 in Georgia were classified functional illiterates. More than 39 of every



100 over-24 Negroes are functionally illiterate.

No wonder the Georgia Department of Labor complains of difficulty in finding students for retraining courses.

"A person who can't read well enough to take instructions will have difficulty qualifying for these courses," says Howard Weeks of the Labor department.

Illiteracy, unemployment and poverty go hand in hand.

Georgia Counties listed by the U.S. Department of Labor as areas of persistent and chronic unemployment have a functional illiteracy rate of from 15 to more than 30 per cent.

Counties with the lowest median income have the highest illiteracy rate. By the same token, counties with low illiteracy rates have high median income. (DeKalb, Cobb and Chattahoochee rank among the top four in the state.)

However, low incomes and high illiteracy rates are not the only reasons Georgia has failed to move rapidly into the federally financed retraining programs.

Sam J. Steen, supervisor of the state Labor department's community improvement programs, said Georgia got in on the act slowly because it wanted to be sure that students being trained for a trade could be placed in jobs.

He said many other states had plunged into the program, trained employees for specified trades then could not place them in jobs.

As an example, he pointed out that no Manpower Development and Training projects had been established in the impoverished mountains of northeast Georgia.

The reason: No prospects for

Continued on Page 8, Column 2

People in Want

State Acts Too Late to Get $5 Million Aid for Illiterates

Continued From Page 1

work after the students complete the course.

A recent change in the act allows students to be shifted from one area to another to find work. But there are now no funds to carry out that provision.

In addition to the 2,700 multiple job, literacy-training program, Georgia has four other projects shelved because of a lack of federal funds.

Federal figures — which are disputed by the state Labor department — show that Georgia has indeed been slow to respond to the federal retraining program — which provides a subsistence allowance to trainees.

OTHER STATES

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare "Status of Manpower Development Training Projects" dated Jan. 31, 1964, shows:

Alabama had six projects approved during fiscal 1964 with 470 trainees.

Florida had 23 approved projects with 1,636 trainees.

South Carolina had 4 projects with 5,060 trainees.

Tennessee had 27 projects with 1,645 trainees.

North Carolina 28 projects with 819 trainees.

And Georgia had 13 approved projects in fiscal 1964 with 450 trainees.

Two other Georgia projects were postponed — one to train 20 service station attendants in Athens and another to train 20 stenographers in Savannah. No official reason for the postponements was given.

While Georgia's expanded multi-job, literacy training program was too late to receive funds, South Carolina began negotiating for such a project in 1963.

PUSHED BY RUSSELL

South Carolina Gov. Donald Russell personally pushed the drive, and the federal government pumped $5.6 million into South Carolina for the 18-month program which will train a minimum of 5,060 persons in trades as well as give them 12 weeks of basic reading, writing and arithmetic.

The program began last week.

Georgia's labor and educational officials have trained more than 1,000 students in the MDTD classroom course, and it also has an active on-the-job training program.

Tomorrow in The Constitution: Poverty's children.

The 'Other Georgians' Needing Help: Thorns among the Economic Roses

The director of Georgia's state income tax division said he was "astounded." His division had deposited more collections by the 15th of February than it had in the entire month of February, 1963.

By month's end, there was cause for amazement and pleasure all around. State revenues were up 15 per cent over the same month a year ago, and February, 1963, itself had set a record. In fact, Georgia's economy has been booming for 36 consecutive months:

Some of last month's collections may have been artificially and temporarily inflated, but such key indicators of prosperity as sales and personal income tax receipts showed healthy growth.

That part of Georgia's economic story is rosy. But it is not the whole story. More than a third of all Georgia families live on incomes of less than $3,000 a year. One in four farm families have less than $2,000. More than 167,000 citizens receive public welfare assistance. Some 32,000 able-bodied persons are receiving unemployment compensation.

Some of Georgia's poverty may be incurable. Some are barred from fruitful labor by age or disability. But thousands of others, with education and training, could be sharing in the general prosperity.

Something is amiss when there is poverty amidst plenty. Something can be done about it. It should be a matter of personal concern to more fortunate Georgians to help the less fortunate, through tax-supported government programs, through churches and through individual effort.

* * * * * *

Emp

4-4-64

Atlantans Open All-Out Push To Retrain Youths for Jobs

By BILL SHIPP
Constitution State News Editor

The Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc. announced Friday it is initiating a massive project to recruit unemployed Atlanta youths for training and "eventual jobs."

Thirteen registration centers will be established April 20-24 to survey Atlanta's unemployed youth.

The centers will be placed in the area of Atlanta that labor department figures show have the highest rate of unemployment in the city.

All youths who do not have fulltime jobs, are out of school and are 16 through 21 years old will be asked to come to the center and fill out brief questionnaires.

Mrs. Thomas H. Gibson, co-chairman of the council's youth training and employment committee, explained:

"We don't have jobs immediately available for those who register. But we expect to work with each individual in counseling and referrals in an attempt to find suitable training which will lead to job opportunities. We know there are job opportunities and there are not enough skilled people to fill them."

Six of the 13 centers will be established in predominately Negro neighborhoods. Seven will be in white neighborhoods.

If the registration project is successful, the council hopes to expand it to include other areas of Metropolitan Atlanta.

Staffs for the centers already has been chosen. They will receive a special one-day training course April 13.

The centers will be open from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. each day.

Volunteer staff members will assist, when necessary, unemployed persons in filling out the questionnaire.

The one-page question sheet contains such queries as:

"When did you last attend

Continued on Page 9, Column 1

City Opening Job Push for Idle Youths

Continued from Page 1

school? . . . Have you held a regular fulltime job since leaving school? . . . Have you been rejected for military service? . . . Are you looking for a job? . . . What kind of work would you like to do?"

The council also is planning an extensive follow-through program to aid those who register. Details of the follow-through have not been released.

The council campaign is part of a drive to stem the mounting tide of unemployment among youth.

Registration centers will be established at the following locations:

Bass Community Center, 326 Moreland Ave. NE; Butler Street YMCA, 22 Butler St. NE; Capitol Homes Community Center, 89 Memorial Drive SE; Carver Community Bethlehem Center, 140 Meldron Ave. SW; Central YMCA, 145 Luckie St. NW; Eastern Branch YMCA, 1765 Memorial Drive SE; The Family Center, Berne and Mercer streets SE; Grady Homes Girls' Club, 148 Bell St. SE.

Perry Homes YMCA Extension, 1041 Kerry Drive NW; Phyllis Wheatley Branch YWCA, 599 Tatnall St.; Summer Hill YMCA Extension, 630 Frasier St.; Techwood-Clark Howell Homes, 528 Lovejoy St. NW; West End Neighborhood Office, 725 Lawton St. SW.

Poverty War 'White Paper' Answers Magazine Charges

By VERA GLASER
North American Newspaper Alliance

WASHINGTON, May 14 — A white paper which answers a series of damaging charges made by a national magazine against the Area Redevelopment Administration is to be placed on the desk of every member of Congress, it was learned here exclusively.

ARA Chief William L. Batt Jr. whose agency faces a life-or-death fight on the floor of the House in coming weeks, ordered preparation of the 12-page document in an unusual countermove to an article in the current issue of the Reader's Digest by Charles Stevenson titled "Is This the Way to Fight the War against Poverty?"

Citing a series of ARA actions, the article charges that the agency "flouts the law under which it was created . . . is riddled with bungling, political pressures and untold finagling. Only a thorough congressional investigation can expose the full extent of it."

BATT'S white paper presents "facts" to answer 18 "allegations" published in the article which also accuses ARA of providing "brazenly inaccurate figures about the employment it generates" and asserts the agency has "dragooned a third of the nation's counties and 42 million of its citizens into accepting the label of poverty."

The Batt paper deals with the broad charges and discusses individual projects in Idaho, Texas, New York, Illinois, Indiana, Oklahoma, Kansas, Utah, Michigan and West Virginia.

Meanwhile, a bill to extend the life of ARA faces tough sledding in Congress. After an initial defeat in the House last year, a Senate-passed version was sent over, moving as far as the Rules Committee, where it has been pigeonholed for nine months.

FOLLOWING are excerpts from the white paper:

ARA, the article claims, rushed in to lend $345,000 for the Schweitzer Basin ski resort in Idaho, ruining the efforts of two local men about to open a ski run on nearby Baldy Mountain at Sandpoint.

ARA states that "the Schweitzer project had been under consideration by local community leaders long before the Baldy project," that the two local men had tried and failed to get community support.

Sandpoint leaders, according to ARA, "financed a professional survey which showed the Schweitzer Basin site superior to Baldy, then applied for an ARA loan. ARA loaned $320,000 on the $530,000 project. Some 700 Sandpoint residents bought stock in the venture."

AN EDITORIAL in the Sandpoint News-Bulletin described the magazine story as totally erroneous. We are ashamed that our trade could produce such bad practitioners in high places."

An ARA spokesman said, "the people out there think Schweitzer is the greatest thing since bottled beer."

The magazine cited a "stepped-up campaign to pull in even more territory for ARA" in an election year, pointing out that seven cities — Philadelphia, Cleveland, Toledo, Buffalo, Newark, Miami and Oakland — were made eligible for ARA assistance in "the first month President Johnson was in office."

"The move to qualify the seven cities," ARA replies, "was under way many months before President Johnson assumed office and was prompted primarily by interest which the cities themselves had expressed." ARA said they all suffered from high unemployment within the city limits.

"Allegation:" ARA "bludgeoned" votes by letting a "political friend" make a project announcement involving an $844,000 ARA loan to modernize an abandoned pulp and paper mill in the district of New York's Rep. Clarence E. Kilburn, the political friend being Kilburn's Democratic opponent.

"Fact:" The local mayor of Norfolk, N.Y., informed ARA that unless it gave its decision immediately, the project would fall. An approval wire went out to the president of the local development corporation. "No authorization was given for public release," claims ARA.

THE MAGAZINE alleges that ARA helped finance a 432-room luxury hotel in Detroit, although existing hotels suffered the lowest occupancy rates of any city in the United States.

ARA claims the proposal to build the $9.1 million Pontchartrain Hotel was developed by Detroit civic and business lead-

Close-Up

8-6-64

War on Poverty? No, War on Poor

Once upon a time, there were two farmers. Farmer Jones owned a wretched piece of land: rocky, arid, almost barren. With the few poor tools he owned, he tried year after year to raise enough food for himself and his family. Eventually, he just gave up, and depended on charity.

Farmer Smith, on the other hand, owned amazingly fertile land. He had good tools, but in truth he needed do little more than fling seeds into the air, and where they lighted, there would be luxuriant growth. He grew very prosperous.

The moral of this story? Why simply that Farmer Jones was lazy and deserving only of poverty, and Farmer Smith was a highly virtuous man.

No? Well, I don't think so either, but plenty of people assume such peculiar logic every day of their lives.

Most of America today is like Mr. Smith's fertile farmland. The American economic soil is rich, and the raising of a crop of cash is not so difficult a job.

In fact, I recently met a man worth at least seven figures who in effect admitted that he often invested huge sums of money without surveying the market too carefully. He just "assumed" that because this particular type of investment was successful elsewhere in the country, it would be here, too. It was.

Now I'm not questioning his virtues, which may be numerous. I'm merely suggesting that the making of money is not a particularly good measure of them.

Yet I have the feeling that a lot of men in their 20s, 30s and 40s today believe they are somehow wiser and more virtuous than their parents simply because they are making more money. They don't seem to weigh the fact that the economic soil of Depression America was similar to Farmer Jones'.

All this is perhaps harmless self-delusion —so long as it doesn't lead people to selfishness and political blindness. But I'm afraid it has, in many cases.

Poor people are poor, according to the smug, because they are shiftless. And furthermore, it is only "dole" or an "election-year gimmick" to propose a War on Poverty that would fertilize soil and improve tools in the remaining pockets of barren economic land. Poor folks are shiftless, and let's not give them a chance to prove otherwise.

Ah, to be virtuous and wise.

BRUCE GALPHIN.

Dr. Weltner to Head Minorities' Job Drive

8-10-64 C

Dr. Phillip Weltner has been named director of the Regional Economic Development and Business Service Center recently established at Atlanta University.

Dr. Weltner, former president of Oglethorpe University and chancellor of the University System of Georgia, in the past had served as executive director of the Atlanta Housing Authority, head of the Resettlement Administration in the Southeast and regional attorney for the Office of Price Administration.

Dr. Rufus Clement, Atlanta University president, said the center has as its major objective the creation of job opportunities for "the minority group urban and rural unemployed and underemployed workers in redevelopment areas in Georgia, Alabama, North and South Carolina and, to a lesser extent, Florida, Tennessee and Mississippi."

It will offer technical assistance, consultation services and technical training courses. The center will operate under a contract with the Area Redevelopment Administration with an initial grant of $80,000 from ARA and $10,000 contributed by Atlanta University.

RALPH 9-14-64

McGILL

We Are Not Done With Riots

A long, hot, turbulent, deeply disturbing summer is drawing to a close. There is heat left in it. But autumn and coolness is at hand. It was a summer of discontent and of slum riots in the East, and of vicious, senseless murder and violence in Southern areas with most of the emphasis on Mississippi.

The two forms of violence were related — yet different. They were tied with an all but invisible umbilical cord of history, with years of educational and citizenship deprivation, with lack of skills and opportunity. Both problems are serious challenges to this nation and its principles, its compassion and sense of justice and fair play.

But it is likely that the problem of our cities is the more serious and difficult of the two. Not many of us comprehend what has happened to us in the astonishing and dismaying growth of our population and its concentrations into vast urban areas. The cities are cores. About them are the suburbs — more populous than the cities.

In all cities are slums. The slums, too, have cores. They are the criminal, the delinquent, the psychologically disturbed, the hopeless, the utterly frustrated and valueless persons. There is something of everything in the core of the slums—vice, narcotics, gambling, thievery, communism, harsh nihilism, a sense of anarchy, hate.

Communism

Actually, the wonder is that we must turn to the FBI and to investigations to determine what and how much communism there is in the background of the more recent riots. It is there, but it is but one of the many deadening and dangerous factors that are in the dreadful core of the slums.

Unless something is done to cope with the worst of things in the city slums, there will be more, and worse, riots next summer. They easily could expand beyond the limits of the slum areas involved in the summer now nearing an end. The riots were not racial in the true sense of that word. They recall the riots of the French revolution as told by Dickens in "The Tale of Two Cities." They remind one, also, of Hogarth's sketches of London's degraded slums, her gin alleys, and her dehumanized peoples.

The slum riots had looting. Yet, on the heels of the slum lootings came hurricane Cleo. And, we read that looters showed up in Miami. We turn to history and we read that when Columbia, S.C. was burning in the wake of General Sherman's occupation the "lower classes," white and colored, looted. When General Robert E. Lee evacuated Richmond, looters filled her streets.

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Lawless Actions

There is an inexhaustible supply of similar illustrations of the fact that in every city there is an undetermined number of delinquent, criminal persons who respond to lawless actions or to the opportunities offered mobs by disasters such as earthquakes, hurricanes, or fires.

There is in every city of this country a growing number of such persons. Their ages are a shock. Some of the more callous and violently inclined are as young as 13 and 14 years of age. (In New York City, recently, riot-weary policemen were dismayed by the intensity of the thousands of 13 and 14-year-old girls who turned out to shriek at, and seek to get their hands on, the musical British Beatles.) A heavy majority of those who have been active in the big city slum riots have been teenagers. We are unaware of, and unwilling to accept, the facts of our tremendous population concentrations. We have more of everything — including the delinquent, criminal, retarded, bored and frustrated. They are white and Negro. The Negro is the worst off because his opportunity to escape from his environment is less.

These things we need to comprehend and to accept as a critical case study — requiring emergency attention and long-time programs of rehabilitation. The slum riots are not done with.

September 15, 1964

Mr. Stephen Austin
Rieber Hall
310 De Neve Circle
Los Angeles, California 90024

Dear Mr. Austin:

We do not have any publications suitable for your 1964-65 intercollegiate debate topic, "Resolved: that the federal government should establish a public works program for the unemployed." Our current publications list is enclosed, for your information.

We can, however, give you some references from our own files; I am also sending you photo-copies of some newsclips which I think may be helpful to you. May I suggest you look up the following in your library:

U.S.News & World Report, 5-11-64, "Poverty Laboratory--the Cost, 4 Billions (Appalachia)

The New Republic, 3-28-64 (this one seems especially good) by Christopher Jencks, "Johnson vs. Poverty"

Current, March 1963, "The Other America--Poverty as a Separate Culture"

Saturday Evening Post, 12-21 & 28-63, by Ben H. Bagdikian, "The Invisible Americans"

New York Times: 6-17-64, Marjorie Hunter, "Antipoverty Measure is Facing Opposition on the Racial Issue"; 8-;6-64, " "Poverty Program Now Faces Big Test"; and "LBJ Pushing Job Corps to Get Started"; 8-18-64, "Antipoverty Key Is Local Action"; Ben A. Franklin, 9-6-64, "Virginia County Resists Job Camp."

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure: local newsclips

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Rieber Hall
310 De Neve Circle
Los Angeles 90024, California
September 11, 1964

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta

Dear Sirs:

This year's intercollegiate debate topic is, "Resolved: that the federal government should establish a public works program for the unemployed." I am thus writing to request any information you might be able to send me concerning this area. Thank you.

Stephen Austin

Mizell
Sen J K Jarvits "Groundless Fears
of the White Backlash" 1964
J. of Negro Education (Fall)
p. 4 Fall

Washington Post

Art Carnt.

McGill - 5-8-64 "Poverty & Education"

Ed., WP - 3-17-64 "The War on Poverty

ed, AC - 4-14-64 "Tackling Our Nat Domestic Problem" Geo Brewell

C - 3-19-64 Bell Shipp
57 Pct of Ga Negroes Prone Need for Job Corps"

C - 8-14-64 Gallup Poll
"Public Favors Compulsory Training for Youths under Poverty Program"

WP - 4-9-64 Eve Edition
"Jobs Corps Camps Can Start Quickly Udall Tells Hearing"
WP ed - 3-17-64 The War on Poverty

AdC - 4-29-64 Bruce Galphin
"Worst Poverty Isn't Lack of Money"

* AdC - 3-20-64, "Bricks & Mortar Are Only a Start," Geo. Brazell
4-14-64 "Tackling Our Not Domestic Problem"

J - 5-21-64 Pearson
GOP Stalls Anti-Poverty Bill

C - ed - 8-19-64
Community Readies for Anti-Poverty War

August 14, 1959

Mrs. Bem Price
3916 McRall Avenue
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Les has assigned me the job of putting things back together again in the wake of the new voting survey. He says files and materials are scattered not only in his office, but all the way to Washington. If you have anything there that properly belongs in our files, we would appreciate your putting it in the mail, so we can reassemble.

Please bill us for postage.

Thanks a lot.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM:a

file

PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY

Prince Edward School Foundation, chartered as a non-political and non-profit organization, without reference to race in its charter, created 1955, began operation Fall 1959 after federal circuit court order May 5, 1959. The statement of resolve to discontinue public education was signed in 1956 by 4,500 adult citizens.

County had 13 Negro and seven white schools (another report: 21 schools) and valued at $2½ million. Enrollment 1958-59, 1,782 Negro, 1,562 white. There were 70 white teachers, Negro. T. J. McIlwaine is superintendent, of both Prince Edward and Cumberland Counties; two-thirds his salary paid by former. Has had no s lary from Prince Edward since July, 1959, although he and his clerk still doing office chores. The state has continued to make its constitutionally required allocation (about $30,000) to Prince Edward, but apparently this cannot be used for anything except instruction. Buildings and buses and other property idle; little or no maintenance because of no funds. All county funds cut off except $30,400 for debt service: money had been borrowed to build R. R. Moton High School (Negro), opened 1953.

The county school board consisted of L. E. Andrews (chairman), George Shorter, Dr. C. L. Baird, Calvin Bass, T. Cook Hix, George W. A. Palmer. In Spring 1960, Andrews said in interview that vexing problems (e.g. what to do with money left in club treasuries) of administering a closed system take more Board time than old duties. January 11, 1960, Foundation asked Board to sell Farmville High School. At a public hearing January 18, a big majority voted in favor (several Longwood College faculty people spoke against). The Board, however, took the position that it would not sell unless a referendum held as provided by law voted in favor. On January 19, the Foundation withdrew its request. At the February

meeting of Board, Palmer moved that building be sold; the move failed by a tie vote, 3-3. On April 6 (?), all Board members except Palmer resigned. In a statement joined by legal counsel (who also resigned), W. C. Fitzpatrick, they said they had been unfairly criticized, would not sell property without referendum, and questioned whether people realized long-haul problems of running a private system; said they could not "sit idly by and see all our school building unused forever." Palmer's term ended June 30. Board is appointed by School Electoral Board (P. Tulane Atkinson, chairman), which itself is appointed by Circuit Judge. On June 29, the Electoral Board held a public hearing to receive suggested names; got seven. (outcome ?)

B. Blanton Hanbury (who is secretary-treasurer of his family's box and barrel factory) is president of the Foundation. Roy R. Pearson (retired Far East manager of Standard Vacuum Oil Company) is administrator; had been school board chairman. Pearson has a two-woman staff. E. Louis Dahl (sporting goods store owner) was finance campaign chairman. J. B. Wall, Jr. is counsel; he is also chairman of the County Electoral Board. His father, J. Barrye Wall, is editor and publisher of Farmville Herald and has strongly supported; he is chairman of 1960-61 fund drive).

As of August 15, 1959, the Foundation had $75,000 in hand and pledges of $260,000. When school opened in September, it had $10,000 and pledges for the remainder of its $305,000 - $310,000 budget. Pearson estimated a $225 per pupil cost. A ruling had been obtained that contribution to the school, over and above tuition costs if one had children in attendance or in full if one had no children in attendance, were deductible for federal income tax purposes. The county tax rate was cut $3.40 to $1.60, representing the amount allocated in the past to schools, and tax payers were urged to donate the savings; a personal call was made on each taxpayer. In the Spring of 1960, it was reported that $265,864 was contributed by 2,700 county residents. Contributions from others apparently must have been received, for in the Spring the Foundation reported a total cost of operation of $304,103; the per pupil cost was $211. (These were estimated final costs, made in May.) The total was

divided as follows:

Instruction	$269,330
Other instructional costs	2,400
Operation	10,550
Fixed charges	9,467
Administration	12,356
	$304,103

Virginia does not (?) provide free text-books, so the Foundation had no expense here. The library was supplied chiefly (altogether ?) by donation, of which there were 12,000 (Senator Robertson gave a 1959 Britannica). Bus service was not provided by the Foundation, but by another organization named Patrons, Inc., second hand buses were purchased, and 14 were in operation at school opening. They were serviced by volunteer mechanics. (What was cost?). Parents helped make blackboards (blackboard paint applied on smooth side of masonite), coat racks, installed lights, wash rooms, and fire escapes; 30 typewriters rented; power tools for shop were lent; chalk (year's supply), one expensive microscope, toilet paper (unlimited supply), ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ flush doors for making tables - all donated; sewing machines for home economics rented, new stove and refrigerator purchased (?); bookshelves and tables made from scrap lumber; removable wooden "boots" made for tots' Sunday school tables so they could be used during week by high school youth; some lab specimens donated. Jaycee members gave land for football field, and volunteers put up the lights, which were donated; grading was free (?).

Two high schools - or upper schools - and six elementary - or lower-schools were operated. In Farmville, the upper school (Prince Edward Academy, upper) was in Farmville Presbyterian Church; the lower school at Farmville Methodist Church; industrial art shops, science labs, home economics shops were within a block of the high school. (The first in an old blacksmith shop where a floor had been laid and windows installed; second in a second floor room of a converted store building on North Street; and third in a house.) The other high school (Worsham Academy, upper) was at the Baptist Church in Worsham, where four classroom addition was built on, with donated cinder blocks, at a cost of $2,500, giving a total of eight classrooms.

Worsham lower was at the College Presbyterian Church on the Hampden-Sidney campus. Other elementary schools were: Liberty Lower School at Green Bay; Pisgah Lower School in the Baptist Church at Rice; Spring Creek Lower School in the Methodist Church at Darlington Heights; Patrick Henry Lower School in the Methodist Church at Prospect. (The reports are partially confusing and the above is probably not complete as to number of buildings: one report said 26 throughout the county; another, nine in Farmville and 24 in rest of county; another listed these buildings in use in Farmville: Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Episcopal Churches, Moose Club, Woman's Club, private buildings owned by Mrs. R. J. Martin, Sr., T. W. Bloomfield, A. N. Fore; the State Theatre in Farmville was rented when needed for assemblies. Another report - which looks detailed enough to be accurate - said that in Farmville, grades 1-4 were in Methodist Church, 5 and 7 in Moose Hall, 6 in the Woman's Club, 8 in an old house.) All buildings were approved by fire underwriters and inspectors. Most were rent free, the Foundation pays for custodial help, heat, lights. ~~Foundation decided against using local armory because of public support question.)~~

There were no facilities for physical education, but the State Department of Education waived the requirement. (Foundation decided against using local armory because of public support question.) Shops and labs were not ready in September. There were no lunch acilities; therefore, classes ran from 8:30 to 1:30 with one brief recess. The Journal and Guide alleged that children of one elementary school (which?) had to go two blocks to a bathroom. Some rooms a reporter found crowded, with ~~their~~ thin r cutains the only dividers between classes; same repo rter stated there were not enough buses.

The official attendance figure given in June 1960 was 1,446; elementary 968; high school 478. Graduates numbered 62 (?). Pearson had said in August 1959 that about 1,490 applications had been received out of about 1,590 eligible. Worsham had 83 high and 128 in grades six and seven. (No other figures.) Attendance throughout county was said to be 95%.

Sixty-six teachers, nearly all from public schools, were hired at state salaries. The same academic program was given. Pearson was quoted April 59:

"We're putting more emphasis on the fundamentals - reading, writing and arithmetic...and constructive thinking.

"We're giving the students more homework, but not executive (?) homework. We've reduced teachers' reports, classroom interruptions, and extra-curricular activities to a minimum."

One new program during the year, seven business and community leaders addressed senior class (which?).

The system was accredited by state January 28.

Two hundred or more Negro children went to school out of the county, including 52 (?) seniors (some juniors too?) at Kittrell College in North Carolina. Ten community centers were set up by Prince Edward County Christian Association, and about 400 children attended. Rev. L. Francis Griffin, pastor of First Baptist Church in Farmville, is president of Association; also local NAACP head. Rev. A. I. Dunlap of Farmville is vice-president. December 15, Southside Schools, Inc. was chartered to operate private schools for Negroes financed by tuition grants; J. Barrye Wall, Jr. applied for charter and was designated registered agent. Board members, all white, were (are?): Dr. R. B. Hargrove, president; W. J. Sydnor, T. W. Brooks, Jr., Mrs. Bessie W. Taylor; C. W. Glenn, A. N. Fore, and R. E. Taylor of Farmville; R. M. Bradshow, Rice; J. V. Lewis and J. Nat Wilkerson, Prospect; and Graham Raiford, Green Bay. Southside hoped to accommodate the children in the Negro school buildings. A personal letter was sent in January to every Negro parent, but only one application was received. A second offer was made, by public announcement, in June. In November, by a fluke, James L. Carter, a Negro, was elected a justice of peace. Both whites and Negroes have been conducting registration drives (outcome?); registrars are now authorized to work two days a week, registering on one and doing clerical work on other. Negroes allege that their registration is deliberately slowed down by stalling, etc. The Negroes are reported to have considered and rejected a boycott;

closest shopping center outside county is Lynchburg.

The Foundation budget for 1960-61 is:

Instruction	$293,909 *	
Other instructional costs	2,700	
Operation	13,150	
Fixed charges	13,600	
Administration	10,000	
	$333,359	(cost per student: $238)
Contingency fund	15,141	
	$348,500	

The operation will be financed differently. Tuition will be charged: $265 high school, $240 elementary. (No child, however, will be denied, and a scholarship fund will be established.) The Foundation will accept state tuition grants, believing that changes made by the 1960 General Assembly strengthen the constitutionality; these will amount to $150 for high school and $125 for elementary students. The county for 1960-61 has budgeted $270,000 for educational purposes; the intention is to provide $100 grants for each child, age six to 20, to be used in attending public schools <u>outside</u> the county, or private schools <u>inside</u>. At budget hearing in June, a large number of Negroes turned out only one of whom (Fred Reed) spoke in favor (how many spoke against?). Thus, Foundation students will need but $15 extra. The County Board of Supervisors ~~vision~~ on June 29 adopted a $4.00 tax rate ($3.40 in 58-59, $1.60 in 59-60). Also under 1960 legislation, the county may (it will) give a tax credit up to 25% ~~off~~ for a contribution to private, non-sectarian schools (the Prince Edward action allows the credit only if gifts made to schools <u>in</u> the county). The expectation is that taxpayers will, in effect, pay taxes at a $3.00 rate, and give to the Foundation at a $1.00 rate. The Foundation in June launched a $300,000 fund drive.

The Foundation has plans for a 24 classroom high school in Farmville (combining present two upper schools), "campus type," to be erected on a 13 acre site at Church and Catlin Streets (purchased from the town for $2,400), near a privately owned community recreation center. Plans call for the four units of six rooms each; library, industrial arts, and agriculture buildings; an auditorium and a gym, each

*Higher instructional costs said due to higher salaries and faculty additions.

seating 800. The estimated cost is $175,000. Four smaller buildings for elementary schools in various locations are to be erected or purchased: estimated, $125,000.

For 1960-61, the Foundation plans to use same quarters (pretty much) as in 1959-60. Transportation will again be left to Patrons, Inc. According to Pearson on June 8, of 66 teachers from 59-60, eight have notified him they will not be back.

On June 27, in federal district court in Richmond, the NAACP asked an injunction against (1) refusal to operate a public school system; (2) selling vacant buildings to any private corporation. Argument was set for July 29.

(Although it has repeatedly been said that neither white nor Negro pupils of Prince Edward would accept tuition grants, state figures for 59-60 showed that 83 did. Who were they?)

Miscellaneous: Farmville was place of origin of Defenders of State Sovereignty and Indidivual Liberties, founded 1954. Appomattox Court House is 14 miles from county line. There was a football team (one for each upper school? Combined?).

Other names which have figured in news:

Robert B. Crawford, president of Defenders; laundry operator in Farmville
Wm. F. Watkins, Jr., Mayor of Farmville
Francis B. Simkins, historian, Longwood College
Kate O'Brien, librarian Prince Edward Academy
Mrs. Bertha N. Bristentine, a Foundation director
Naomi N. Jenkins, secretary to Pearson
Mrs. Mary Meade Edwards, chemistry teacher Prince Edward Academy
J. Boyd Bagby, superintendent (?) Worsham Academy
J. H. Allen, voting registrar
J. Segar Gravatt, from Blackstone, special counsel to Board of Supervisors
Frank N. Watkins, prosecuting attorney
C. Loyd Arehart, pastor Farmville Presbyterian Church
John C. Stock, member Board of Supervisors

COMMUNICATION AND THE SCHOOL CRISIS

Lucy Daniels, writing about Prince Edward in the August, 1960, issue of Coronet, comments upon the notable lack of both violence and communication. The reason for both, she concludes, is "the power wielded by extremists" - the leaders - on both sides. "Both speak clearly and determinedly," she continues. "But neither hears the other. And the moderates - - - do not speak at all."

These observations need not be limited to Prince Edward. Under the impact of a school crisis, communication between conservatives and liberals, and between Negroes and whites, declines toward the vanishing point. Factions solidify and attitudes harden under the pressures created by factional oppositions. Between the warring polar factions, there exists only a thinly populated middle ground in which it may be hazardous to walk; no sheltering group protects you from snipers of the opposed camps.

Communicators

But someone is badly needed to carry messages - perhaps even arrange a truce parlay. In every community at least a few unsung heroes appear who do, or try to do, these important things. But because they are of the community it is likely to be beyond their power to bring opposed factions together for sane and civilized discussion of the grievances each feels.

The fortunate communities are those which have had, by good chance, a few influential people who were not afraid of those lonely spaces on the middle ground. Charlottesville and Front Royal have had the Editors of the Daily Progress and the Warren Sentinel, respectively. Each has been true to the grand traditions of his craft, which call for

editorializing on the editorial pages and just plain unvarnished news elsewhere. Honest news reporting is message - carrying of a sort vital to movement toward peace in an embattled community.

Communications Mechanisms

Once factional warfare is well under way, it becomes extremely difficult for members of opposed camps to talk directly to one another, or even to directly propose doing so. Their own emotions get in the way as do considerations of pride and "face."

A new communications mechanism is needed. Something in the way of a "community peace commission," or a "board of arbitration," a human relations or a bi-racial council might ~~even~~ serve the need. Such a mechanism might antedate the crises or it might be created (or called upon) to help meet it. In either case it must command respect and inspire the faith that here is a non-partisan rock impervious to the gales and tides lashing the rest of the community.

Prince Edward County now stands as the conspicuous demonstration of need for such a mechanism. Leaders of its opposed forces do not communicate and, what is worse, emotion runs so high that it is increasingly difficult for middle ground leadership to move between them or, indeed, to move anywhere at all. Any action toward altering the precarious status quo is regarded by the segregationists as treason and as punishable. This fact was clearly established during events of the summer of 1960 when moderates met quietly to think through the community's growing problems and what might be done. They are now understandably discouraged and convinced that only an outside force can effect change.

Legal action may trigger change but if it is to be effected in an orderly fashion, the community's moderates will desperately need reinforcements. A roving "peace commission", either officially serving the State or provided by some private agency to serve communities of the South, should be made available on call. It is likely that the Prince Edward case will be far from the last of those requiring the services of a "peace commission."

Liberals and the Communications Problem

Liberal leaders and citizens are especially aware of the communication problem and the need. Says one: "the State is spending a lot of money trying to attract industry. It would be well off in the long run to spend something like that on better race relations. The State should establish bi-racial commissions." But, adds another, members of such commissions must be able to be truly "neutral" if they are to win the confidence of both sides, bring the two together, and hold them together while steering them through fruitful discussions.

A liberal minister says:

"One of the worst features of the situation here has been that no one has tried to establish an intergroup commission or council - - -. I tried to get the Mayor to establish one, but nothing came of it.

"People are afraid of repercussions if they get together; it ought to be put on a legitimate basis."

Mass media serving up straight news about school integration events in the State and nation are of great importance to the local community. Liberal and moderate leaders say, when asked what help can be given an embattled community by outsiders: "Pipe information

into the community," via the best newspapers and other media which reach that community, and "in any other ways you can." Information is needed on what is being done in a helpful way elsewhere in Virginia, news about the workings of bi-racial groups, for example.

Liberals and moderates tend to want the State and nation informed about what is going on in their communities. They "believe in the power of public opinion," and believe that it will generally and in the long run support their positions. They are appalled by the extent to which the national public in uninformed concerning Virginia's school crises. They would welcome publicity and perhaps mediation efforts by agencies or groups which have a reputation for fairness and dedication to the general welfare.

Liberals and moderates tend to the view that "outsiders can help" Conservatives tend to the opposite view even in this, and there is real bitterness among them about what they regard as the almost uniformly unfair and biased reporting of their views and activities. They incline to skepticism, if not suspicion, of "outsiders" in any role. Nevertheless they are quite as eager as the liberals to go on trying to explain and defend their views and their activities. Conservative leaders make themselves readily accessible to observers from "outside" and give generously of their time in interviews.

Role of the Neutral Observer

The outside observer who is able to preserve a genuinely neutral stance can himself improve communications and play a constructive role in the community. Johan Galtung (sociologist then of Columbia University), who conducted studies in Charlottesville during crucial

phases of its school crisis, is widely known and remembered in the community. Some say that he and his interviewers had a "therapeutic effect;" in listening attentively and respectfully to all opinions they inadvertently served for the speakers much the same function as that for which the "non-directive counselor" exists and is found helpful.

The observer can do more, however. He can - when asked to do so - supply facts with which he may be better acquainted after reading and a few interviews than are his informants who may have lived in the community all their lives. In a community under stress leaders of opposed factions so lose contact and communication with one another that they sometimes welcome a disinterested third party, if only as a news source. This third party bears a heavy responsibility, however, to guard confidences with the utmost of care and discretion and to purvey only such straight facts as can be damaging to no one.

The Inhibiting of Communication

Decline in communication may occur partly because someone or some group wills it. Embattled conservatives incline toward a dim view of full and free public discussion, with the result that they sometimes take steps to discourage it. Not surprisingly the embattled liberals see in this a dire threat to a priceless freedom, and react - at least privately - with the charge that the conservatives are in this "just like the Communists" they so relentlessly loathe and pursue.

The conservative's inclination to "play the cards close to his chest" and to sometimes resist when others try to "lay the cards on the table" perhaps stems in part from a tradition which might be labeled aristocratic. A young historian, himself Virginian to the core, comments that

"the Hamiltonian concept of government is not dead"(referring specifically to Prince Edward and vicinity). But resentful defensiveness is no doubt involved too, for the conservative in these times must feel an unhappy awareness of the extent to which the old order - which he so cherishes - dies again with every passing day.

Contracts

TODAY

June 25, 1959

HIGGINS-McARTHUR COMPANY • 302 HAYDEN STREET, N.W. • ATLANTA 13, GEORGIA

IS PLEASED TO QUOTE Southern Regional Council FOR DISTINCTIVE PRINTING

* DESCRIPTION:	Quantity	Price per____	Total Price
Private School booklet 6" x 9", 56 pages plus two-color cover	5,000	.318 ¢	$1,585.00
	7,500	.258	1,935.00
	10,000	.239	2,385.00
One color on colored stock cover	5000	.	$1435.00

1435

* SPECIFICATIONS:

Paper Stock: Cover--50-pound Beckett (colored stock if desired)
Inside--60-pound Modern Gloss

Printing: Letterpress

Binding: Flush trim
Saddle stitch

ITEM	FURNISHED BY		MEMORANDA
	US	YOU	
Original Layout			
Photographs			
Finished Art Work			
Typography	X		
Repro Proofs			
Camera-ready Copy			
Plates			

Remarks:

JA2-3306

By John Stuart McKenzie
HIGGINS-McARTHUR COMPANY
Telephone • • • WAlnut-3306

July 16, 1959

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McKenzie:

We shall get the page proofs of the Gauerke-Green pamphlet back to you as soon as possible - probably the first of next week. Apart from the typographical errors, they look excellent.

I am enclosing the Appendix. Unless you advise to the contrary, we would like this set in smaller type than that used in the text. The pages should be numbered in sequence from the last page of the text.

The title will be:

IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED...

(subtitle) A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan

Perhaps you would like to sketch several possibilities for a cover. I think the authors names should be on the cover. Whether our imprint appears on the cover and whether the subtitle appears on the cover are matters on which we have no firm opinions. Perhaps you could experiment with the several alternatives.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure:
Appendix

Tell-You-Gram

Mr. Dunbar —

I would think India OK
for the cover

John McK
eagle

left telephone message
7-23-59
2:05 p.m.
Maya

Tell Us when your supply of these
free Memo-Message pads runs low . . .

JAckson 2-3306

Higgins-McArthur Company · Atlanta

Typographers · Printers · Lithographers

February 12, 1960

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Please print 2,500 copies of "Racial Differences in Academic Achievement," galleys for which were returned to you yesterday. Publication is to be in the form we have discussed, and the completed bulletins are to have marginal holes punched according to the enclosed pattern and are to be folded for number ten envelope.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:a

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

Enclosure:
1 sheet L-report paper, punched

March 22, 1960

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Printing Co.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Please print 5,000 copies of Collins' The South and the Nation -- page proofs and galleys for which are herewith returned.

Can we have a less ponderous, more graceful type face for the title on the cover and the title page? also for the author's name on the cover? I don't know exactly what you can do about this, because I suppose we ought to keep the type consistent (although the byline on the title page is in a different type than the title) and the type you have used elsewhere on the cover and the title page looks very good.

Union bug on the back cover.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 5, 1960

Mr. Snell
National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. N. E.
Atlanta 9, Ga.

Dear Mr. Snell:

The galley proofs for the Tarplee leaflet are enclosed. I am also returning the original copy; please return the manuscript when you are finished with the job.

We have made a few changes in the galleys and have also corrected a number of printing mistakes.

The first page is to be laid out as we have agreed, which will, of course, require that the first paragraph of the galleys be reset.

In reading the galleys, we have noticed that in many places the "e"s are fuzzy with ink. Can they be cleaned up?

We would like the leaflet printed on blue stock per sample enclosed in 60 pound weight.

Please give me estimated prices on printings of 2,500 and 5,000 copies.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: galleys
paper samples, Meade
manuscript

WESTERN - PERRY
PRINTING PROCESSES COMPANY
196 MARIETTA STREET, N.W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA JA 4-5616

COLOR LITHOGRAPHY

1-2-4- COLOR LETTERPRESS

HEAT-SET WEBB MAGAZINE PRESS

FOTO-SETTER LINOTYPE COMPOSITION

ENGRAVING

COMPLETE BINDERY FACILITIES

STEREOTYPES

CREATIVE ART AND DESIGN

PLANNED DIRECT MAIL ADVERTISING

A PROPOSAL FOR:

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia
Attn: Mrs. Albright

DATE SUBMITTED

April 11, 1960

PROPOSAL FOR PRINTING

We take pleasure in submitting this Proposal based upon your specifications as follows:

DESCRIPTION	Magazine
QUANTITY	2,500 and 5,000 Copies
NO. PAGES	64
PAGE SIZE	6" x 9"
TRIMMED SIZE	6" x 9"
STOCK INSIDE	60# Enamel
STOCK COVER	100# Wedgewood Vellum
COMPOSITION	Linotype, 8 point and 10 point type.
ENGRAVINGS	Furnished by Western-Perry
ELECTROTYPES	None
STEROTYPES	None
IMPRINTS	None
PRESSWORK	Offset and Letterpress
PRESS PROOFS	
SILVER PRINTS	
INK INSIDE	Black
OFFSET NEGATIVES	
INK COVER	Two color, as per customer's specifications
LAYOUT	Furnished by Southern Regional Council
FINISHED ART	Furnished by Western-Perry

MISCELLANEOUS

BINDING Saddle stitched

PACKING In appropriate packages for shipment.

PREPARATION FOR MAILING None

MAILING None

DELIVERY To Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue

PRICE

2,500 Copies	5,000 Copies
$858.84	$1,235.52

REMARKS Customer understands that all copy must be typed. Any copy written hand must be charged at additional cost. Western-Perry will hold type and plates for 90 days.

Because of the constant changes in market conditions and their effect on such materials as enter into this Proposal, it is subject to acceptance on or before April 30, 1960

SPECIAL CONDITIONS: This Proposal is made, and if accepted, your order will be entered subject to the following Trade Conditions, which are hereby mutually understood to be binding on both parties.

PRINTING TRADES CUSTOMS

ORDERS: Regularly entered orders cannot be cancelled except upon terms that will compensate against loss.

EXPERIMENTAL WORK: Experimental work performed on orders, such as sketches, drawings, composition, plates, presswork and materials will be charged for.

ALTERATIONS: Proposals are only for work according to the original specifications. If through customer's error or change of mind, work has to be done a second or more time, such extra work will carry an additional charge at current rates for the work performed.

STANDING TYPE: All standing type matter held longer than 30 days is subject to a charge thereof.

PROOFS: Proofs, not in excess of two, will be submitted with original copy. Corrections, if any, to be made thereon and to be returned marked "O. K." or "O. K. with corrections" and signed with name or initials of person duly authorized to pass on same. If revised proof is desired request must be made when first proof is returned. No responsibility for errors is assumed if work is printed as per customer's O. K.

PRESS PROOFS: An extra charge will be made for press proofs. Unless the customer is present when the form is made ready on the press, so that no press time is lost. Presses standing awaiting O. K. of customer will be charged for at current rates for the time consumed.

POSTAL CARDS AND STAMPED ENVELOPES: Being a cash expenditure, customers are expected to furnish these with their order. If they are not furnished an extra charge of 10 percent for additional services for securing will be made on the amount required to purchase them.

HANDLING STOCK: A charge of 15 per cent of the value of all paper stock furnished by customer will be made for handling and care of same.

QUANTITIES DELIVERED: Owing to manufacturing fluctuations, a variation of 10 per cent either in excess or deficiency shall constitute an acceptable delivery, the variation to be charged for or deducted at the prorata rate for excess copies.

CUSTOMERS PROPERTY: All plates, cuts, paper and other property are held at customer's risk, and printer assumes no responsibility for loss or damage by fire, water, or from any other cause.

DELIVERY: Unless otherwise specified the price quoted is F. O. B. our dock. All estimates are based on continuous and uninterrupted delivery of complete order, unless specifications distinctly state otherwise.

TERMS: Net cash, unless otherwise provided in writing. Interest charged on past due accounts. All claims must be made within five days of receipt of goods.

AGREEMENTS: All agreements are made and all orders accepted contingent upon strikes, fires, accidents, unusual market conditions, or causes beyond our control.

Accepted ..... 19 .....

.....

.....

Very truly yours,

WESTERN-PERRY PRINTING PROCESSES CO.

James D. Young

James D. Young
Sales Representative

JDY:ds

QUOTATION

STEIN Craftsmen

THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY • 2161 MONROE DRIVE, N. E. • P.O. BOX 13426 • ATLANTA 24, GEORGIA
TRINITY 5-0421

April 12, 1960
Stein's 36th Year

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Attention: Mrs. Albright

Thank you very much, Mrs. Albright,
for the opportunity of quoting on
your booklet, "The Race Story and
the Press", by Spearman and Meyer.

As we understand the specifications, they are as follows:

QUANTITY:	2,500 and 5,000.
SIZE:	6 x 9.
STOCK:	Cover - 50 lb. White Beckett. Inside - 60 lb. Moistrite Wove Offset.
COVER:	Will include layout and art in two colors by Stein.
TYPE:	About one-third of the book will be 8 pt. Times Roman; two-thirds 10 pt. Times Roman.
NO. PAGES:	64.
BINDERY:	Saddle stitched.

Our prices for the above are:

2,500 copies	$1,275.89
5,000 "	1,674.42

Reprints:

2,500 copies	$ 652.23
5,000 "	1,053.78

ACCEPTED BY (Next Page Please)

_____

_____19_____

CONDITIONS

THIS QUOTATION is subject to acceptance in ten days.

SKETCHES, COPY, DUMMIES and all preparatory work created or furnished by the printer shall remain his exclusive property, nor may ideas obtained therefrom be used except upon compensation to be determined by the printer.

ART WORK, DRAWINGS, type, plates (including lithographic plates), engravings, electrotypes, negatives, positives, and other items when supplied by the printer shall remain his exclusive property unless otherwise agreed in writing.

ALL COPY shall be legible and prepared properly. Alterations from original copy or proofs will be charged for at current rates for the extra work performed. Mortising and other jobbing on cuts furnished by customer will be charged for on a time basis.

ORDERS accepted cannot be cancelled except upon terms that will compensate against loss. Labor and material used on an uncompleted order, which is being held for further instructions from customer, shall be paid for within a reasonable time after the work in progress has been stopped.

CREDIT — The printer may withdraw this offer without obligation if customer's credit is not approved.

TERMS, net cash 30 days. All claims must be made within five days of receipt of goods.

QUANTITIES DELIVERED not exceeding ten per cent over or under the amount ordered shall constitute an acceptable delivery. Any excess or deficiency shall be charged or credited to the customer proportionately.

ALL ORDERS accepted are subject to delays by fire, accident, strikes, or other causes beyond our control. We are not responsible for the loss by fire, theft, leaks or other causes beyond our control, to cuts, standing matter or other material furnished by the customer, or held for him unless the customer pays a rental for storage space used.

COLOR PROOFS may differ from the completed job because of the difference in equipment and conditions between the color proofing and the pressroom operations; therefore, a reasonable variation in color between color proofs and the completed job shall constitute an acceptable delivery.

NO VERBAL AGREEMENTS have been made and it is expressly understood that this accepted written quotation constitutes the entire agreement between the customer and the printer.

TAXES — All local, State and Federal Taxes are to be added to quoted amounts.

QUOTATION

STEIN Craftsmen

THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY • 2161 MONROE DRIVE, N. E. • P.O. BOX 13426 • ATLANTA 24, GEORGIA
TRINITY 5-0421

We will, of course, be happy, Mrs. Albright, to hold the type on this book for sixty days or longer, depending upon when you will need the reprints.

Incidentally, we propose to run the cover offset and the inside of the book letterpress.

I hope we may be of service to you in printing this booklet.

Sincerely,

Ben Covington

Ben Covington

THE STEIN PRINTING COMPANY

ACCEPTED BY

_____

_____ 19____

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TAXES — All local, State and Federal Taxes are to be added to quoted amounts.

April 13, 1960

Dear Mr. Snell:

Please print 5,000 copies of the Tarplee leaflet in accordance with instructions in our previous letter.

Final page proof is enclosed.

The union label is to be affixed somewhere on the back outside page.

Your early scheduling of this job will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 14, 1960

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Please give us 1,000 reprints of Stallings' "Racial Differences in Academic Achievement". I understand that the price will not exceed $190.00.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 19, 1960

Harper Printing Company
351 Whitehall St. S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs: (attention Mr. Ray)

We wish to inform you that the printing job on which you submitted a bid has been given to another company. We appreciate your interest and your willingness to big on the pamphlet, and hope that you will favor us again.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

May 10, 1960

Western-Perry Printing Company
196 Marietta Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs: (Attention Mr. Young)

Please print 5,000 copies of Racial Crisis and the Press, by Spearman and Meyer, in accordance with corrected galley proofs returned to you last week and our several conversations. We will be grateful for your prompt handling of this order.

Enclosed is the type-script of the Foreword, to be inserted at the front of the pamphlet.

The Union Label is to be affixed on the outside back cover.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

July 25, 1960

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Please print an additional 3,000 (three thousand) copies of Green and Gauerke, If the Schools Are Closed, at the price of $650 quoted to me by telephone.

On page 11 (eleven) of the pamphlet in the paragraph designated "i" will you please change the word "competitive" to "competent."

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

September, 1960

To: HCF

From: LWD

PUBLICATIONS SINCE MAY, 1960:

1. Spearman & Meyer, Racial Crisis and the Press

2. Desegregation: the First Six Years

3. Tarplee, The Church in Areas of Racial Tension

4. "BiRacial Conventions Pose Added Problems for South," New South, Sept. 1960.

5. Moreland, Lunch Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas

6. Price, Toward a Solution of the Sit-In Controversy

7. A Report on School Desegregation for 1960-61

8. L-18, Negro Buying Power

9. Brazeal's several county voting studies, including the McCormick County report (April, 1960) were assembled together with a summary written in June by Brazeal

10. Campbell's sermon, A Man Had Two Sons, was mimeographed for selected distribution

PUBLICATIONS SUPPORTED FINANCIALLY

1. Patrick, Lunch Counter Desegregation in Winston-Salem, N. C.

2. Westfeldt, Settling a Sit-In

PUBLICATIONS ACCEPTED FOR SELECTIVE DISTRIBUTION

1. Pollitt, "Dime Store Demonstration: Events & Legal Problems of First Sixty Days," Duke Law Journal, Summer, 1960

STUDIES IN PROGRESS

1. George McMillan - law enforcement as a basic issue of race relations (manuscript expected early Sept.)

2. Elmer Johnson - Negro crime (first draft in)

3. Comparative analysis of Negro and white public schools in Georgia--commissioned by Georgia Conference on Education Opportunities (research completed; to the printers by Sept. 15)

4. Robert Steamer - survey of federal rulings in school desegregation cases (manuscript in)

5. Adolph Reed - voting studies of Bossier and Webster Parishes, La.

6. William Howell - voting study of Orangeburg County, S. C.

7. Mary Ellen Goodman - Virginia's private schools

Service

Rather large assignments have been undertaken for Governmental Affairs Institute (voting), Fowler Commission (everything), Commission on Civil Rights (law enforcement), Helen Hill Miller (economics), George McMillan (sit-ins), Emory Via (Georgia county unit system), Hearst editorial syndicate (sit-ins)

LWD outside engagements

1. lecture - Southern Labor School, Mobile, July

2. consultation - Race Relations Progress Study, Texas Council of Churches, Austin, July

3. paper - Society for Study of Social Problems, New York, August

4. lecture - sociology class, Oglethorpe University, July

5. lecture & discussion - Episcopal bishops, Washington, May

Staff activities

EW attended Fisk Institute

MA has worked with school committee of Greater Atlanta Council on HR
Program Committee, GACHR Conference & workshop Apr. 29

MM did research for convention survey; writes Highlights for New South; has re-survey and will maintain on current basis sit-in record.

Pamela Coe, during her temporary employment, did research and writing for Georgia Educational study

Roselle Douglas, during her temporary employemnt, pruned and catalogued anew our pamphlet library.

October 24, 1960

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

We are returning the galley proofs on Georgia's Divided Education. Please print 5,000 copies, per the corrected galley proofs. Enclosed with them are five sets of statistical tables. This is the county data for Appendix 2 (see page 41 of the galley). Please print these in the order indicated by the red numeral in the upper left hand corner of each set.

Yourestimated price for 5,000 copies of 52 pages each was $1,650. The galley proofs as set run 40 pages. You may find that the five statistical tables will not require 12 pages of type.

You will note that, in addition to a few corrections, many changes have been incorporated in the galley.

I realize full well that we sent this job to you with the request for rush treatment, and that since receiving the galley proofs we have been slow in returning them, and that the changes will require considerable work at your end. Despite this, I hope that you can put this out soon, and we shall be grateful for your, as always, good service.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Mr. Luquin H. Pitts
Mr. J. O. Thomas

October 25, 1960

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Co.
302 Hayden, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear John:

Please print 10,000 copies of Racial Violence and Law Enforcement per the corrected galleys. The New South masthead is to be placed on the inside front cover of 6,000 copies; the other 4,000 copies should not carry the masthead.

As you will recall, we are desirous of releasing this pamphlet early in November.

The union label is on the outside back cover.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. Will you please make sure that the union label is placed on the outside back cover of Georgia's Divided Education also?

INVOICE

.05 each

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • DESIGNERS

longino and porter inc.

HAPEVILLE, GEORGIA | PHONE 761-6631

• Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Date December 19, 1960
Your Order No.
Our Order No. 8890-B
How Ship
Sold By Young

5,000	8½x11 Fowler Commission Reports 8 pages	205.00	
	3% Georgia Sales Tax	6.15	
	Postage, Fght. & Ins.		
	Total		$211.15

42
5000 | 21115
20000
1115
10000
1150

TERMS NET—THIS INVOICE PAYABLE BY THE 10TH OF THE MONTH AFTER DATE

November 16, 1960

Mr. Jim Young
Longino & Porter, Inc.
3421 Stewart Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jim:

For our conversation, please reproduce by photo off-set 5,000 copies of the Fowler Commission memorandum, a copy of which is enclosed in case the copy which I gave you the other day has become soiled. Also enclosed is the half-sheet which is to appear at the front of the memorandum.

You will notice (see the half-sheet) that we have dated the memorandum December 9. This means that we would like to have the job back by December 7. If you think this cannot be done, please call me and we will discuss another date.

The memoranda are to have three holes punched in the left-hand margin per sample enclosed. Also, 3,000 copies are to be folded for No. 10 size envelopes; the remaining 2,000 copies are to be delivered flat.

Your quoted price for 5,000 copies is $205. We assume that the price will be adjusted because of the half-sheet.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:m
Enclosures: half-sheet copy
Fowler Report
blank sheet with holes

CC: Ben Muse

December 21, 1960

Mr. Jim Young
Longino and Porter, Inc.
Hapeville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Young:

Please print another 3,000 copies of the 8½x11 Fowler Commission Reports (8 pages); punch the holes, but do not fold.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

February 2, 1961

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Please reprint the following:

2,000 copies of Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, by George McMillan;

2,000 copies of School Desegregation: the first six years WITHOUT the tip-on map.

Both of these pamphlets were issued as numbers of New South. On this reprint the New South masthead is NOT to appear. The union label will, of course.

I understand that you no longer have the type for School Desegregation: the first six years, but that you will reproduce it by offset. You have estimated the price for 2,000 copies by this method at $975.00 including the map. Without the map, my understanding is that the price will be somewhere between $75 and $180 less, on the basis of your tentative estimate. Perhpps the savings will be greater?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 6, 1961

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Please print an additional 3,000 covers for The Federal Executive and Civil Rights and deliver to this office. It would be appreciated if you could expedite this order.

Sincerely yours,

L. W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 6, 1961

Mr. Jim Young
Longino & Porter, Inc.
342 Stewart Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jim:

Confirming several recent conversations, please reproduce by photo-offset 3,000 copies of the manuscript delivered to you the other day titled, The Federal Executive and Civil Rights. You are to print the text on both sices of the sheet. Covers will be delivered to you and you are to bind with plastic ring binders.

You have indicated delivery not later than February 17, and if possible earlier.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

longino and porter inc.

HAPEVILLE, GEORGIA | PHONE PO1-6631

PRINTERS • LITHOGRAPHERS • DESIGNERS

February 7, 1961

Quotation to	Mr. Leslie Dunbar Southern Regional Council 5 Forsyth Street Atlanta, Georgia
Description	Booklets
Quantities	3,000
Size	8½ x 11 - 54 pages - Covers furnished by Customer
Paper and Materials	50# Springhill Offset
Art Work	Camera Ready copy furnished by Customer
Engravings	None
Composition	None
Process and Colors	Black
Binding	Plastic ring binder
Special Packing	In suitable packages
Delivery	Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia
Prices	3,000 copies - $985.00
Other Specifications	

This proposal is subject to the standard terms and conditions shown on the back of this sheet

Accepted _____ *19* ____ LONGINO & PORTER, INC.

Jim Young

Jim Young

STANDARD TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF PURCHASES AND SALES

Orders which are given and accepted on the basis of this quotation are not subject to cancellation except upon payment for services, materials and labor which have been provided and expended by Longino & Porter, Inc.

Sketches, art work, dummies, engravings, electrotypes, offset negatives and plates, cutting and stamping dies, engraving dies, and other such materials which are provided by Longino & Porter, Inc., do not become the property of the purchaser unless there is a special agreement to that effect.

Upon the request of purchaser, type matter will be held for a period of sixty days without charge, but storage for a longer period of time is subject to additional charge unless there is a special provision for such storage.

This quotation is made on the assumption that copy will be legible and in condition suitable for efficient setting of type. If copy is not in such usable condition, an additional cost will be involved and additional charges may be made. No such charges will be made, however, without agreement by the purchaser.

Any materials furnished by the purchaser, such as paper, photographs, art work, engravings, or other items shall be in proper condition as to be used without any additional expenses for conditioning on the part of Longino & Porter, Inc. If and when such expenses are necessary they will be borne by the purchaser.

One to two proofs, as may be required, will be submitted with the original copy. Additional proofs are subject to extra charge. Alterations from original copy after proof is submitted may be charged for without special agreement. Press proofs will not be submitted, unless provided for in this quotation, except at an additional charge.

Materials such as engravings and electrotypes which are the purchaser's property will be held in our plant upon request, but we assume no responsibility for replacement of such material in the event of its loss or damage.

Any alterations in the specifications on which this quotation is based which will increase or lower costs will be added to or deducted from the amounts quoted.

Overages or shortages not to exceed ten percent shall be acceptable to purchaser at adjusted price rates unless otherwise stipulated.

Production and/or delivery schedules mentioned in this quotation are approximate unless specifically guaranteed and in any event are variable in case proofs are not promptly okayed or are returned with changes which require additional time. They are subject to modification due to strikes, fires, accidents, failure of material suppliers to meet schedule, and any other conditions beyond our control.

All prices are net, local delivery, or FOB Hapeville, Georgia, unless otherwise specified. Shipments will be made via "Best Way" unless a carrier is designated. The responsibility of Longino & Porter, Inc., terminates with its delivery to a responsible common carrier.

Prices are subject to acceptance and authorization for the start of production within thirty days, unless otherwise specified.

February 22, 1961

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Please increase our order for "This I Believe" by Heywood Hill by 1,000 copies; in other words, we desire a total of 13,000 with 6,800 delivered as single fold leaflets and the remainder inserted in New South.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

McKenzie

10000 | 3860000
30000

$386.00 for 10,000

fronts as shown

plain backs

he needs this copy returned if you want them.

May 12, 1961

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McKenzie:

We do want the "Special Report" covers and backs, as per the enclosed copy you submitted, and for the quoted price of $386 for 10,000 front and 10,000 plain back covers.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

5-30-61

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: RHA

FROM: LWD

CC: GEORGE MCMILLAN

George McMillan is engaged on a writing project (Athens desegregation). The fee agreed upon at the start was $500 plus expenses; this was to be charged to RBF. The entire fee has been paid. The expenses of McMillan's trip to Atlanta last week should also be charged to RBF.

McMillan delivered when here a manuscript of 70 pages, and this I regard as satisfaction of the original assignment. I have asked him, however, to develop the study further. A supplementary agreement has been reached and is as follows:

Beginning May 24 and extending not longer than 23 days he is to be paid per diem at rate of $25.00 when working at home, $40.00 when away from Aiken.

May 24-25 were spent here in Atlanta, and should be paid at $40.00 rate.

I further agreed to advance $350.00 on June 1; please prepare the check and forward.

This supplementary agreement is to be charged to Research.

We can discuss later assignment of printing costs.

FOREWORD

From time to time, since 1954, Southern newspapers have paused for moments of reflection on how they have been reporting and interpreting the leading domestic story of these years, and these thoughtful self-examination have occasionally found their way to the printed pages. They have evidenced the realization of a responsible press that it has an inescapable part to play, not only in writing history, but in deciding how the history of the racial crisis will turn out.

In the same spirit, we have asked two men, each closely and prominently identified with the Southern press, to give their analysis and evaluation of its performance. Walter Spearman, who has taught many of the South's practicing journalists, has taken a close look at the treatment given selected stories by six representative papers. He has found the results generally good, though perhaps not always thorough or imaginative. He closes his analysis with the statement that "Southern newspapers are doing a better job in giving their readers the facts about racial events than in revealing their meaning and interpreting the points of view of the people involved."

It was to this final remark that we asked Sylvan Meyer, one of the region's ablest young editors, to address himself. He did, but he did more than that, ranging widely and impressionistically -- but perceptively and provocatively as well -- over the whole news gathering and ~~xx~~ reporting field.

A short while ago, a North Carolina Daily headlined wire report of the N.A.A.C.P.'s endoresment of the "sit-in" demonstrations as follows:

'Orderly Protests' Get

Endorsement of CP

Whether the headline originated in deliberate maliciousness, or just plain

sloppy press-room handling, it is suggestive of all that is irresponsible in newspaper work.

About the same time, another daily in the same section of North Carolina sent out a skilled reporter to interview a cross section of local Negroes. The result was a series of feature articles so good that if they weren't the stimulus for similar close-up reports which some other papers have since run they could well have been.

Because Spearman and Meyer know the Southern press as it is typified by both these examples, because they know both its failures and victories, merits and weaknesses, they are good critics whose sympathetic appraisals are worth newspapermen's attention.

Harold C. Fleming

Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE., N. E. ATLANTA 3, GA.

Mr. Young

From time to time, since 1954, Southern newspapers have paused for moments of reflection on how they have been reporting and interpreting the leading domestic story of these years, and these thoughtful self-examination have occasionally found their way to the printed pages. They have evidenced the realization of a responsible press that it has an inescapable part to play, not only in writing history, but in deciding how the history of the racial crisis will turn out.

Set 10pt Goudy
27 ems wide

Wallace Reeves
Rush

Save
Regular
Sample type

National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. • NE • Atlanta 9, Georgia
Printers & Lithographers • TRinity 5-7081

Higgin - McArthur

2500 - $995

5000 - 1290

6 X 9
64 pages + cover
2 color design
60 lb wove
50 lb Beckett cover

Harper Printing Company
351 Whitehall S.W. Ja 2-5890
Mr. Ray

submitted bid as follows: based on 64 pages; (not including plate for cover)

2,500	$804.95
5,000	1166.80

he will send in samples of paper, etc. Monday or Tuesday

	2500	5000
Stern	1275.89	1674.42
Higgins	995	1290
National	1369.25	2010.65
Western	858.84	1235.52
Harper	804.95	1166.80

64 pages

2/3 10 pt. type
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Mr Snell

These are rough, but think you can use as a "starter"

Al Thornberry

TYPE FACES:

Brush –
vogue –
alt gothic (as before)

possibility of a change in favor of Germany from the East is excluded completely and forever. Germany will seek, therefore, an opening to the West. You will recall my words. You will say that I was right."

Attacks on what he calls resurgent German militarism and the spirit of revenge have provided the motif of his public declarations during the first three days of his 12-day visit here.

RAISES POSSIBILITY

In the course of a wide-ranging speech and a question and answer period at the press lunch, he raised the possibility of a separate peace treaty with East Germany if his efforts to achieve a general German settlement proved in vain.

In that case, he said, all pre-

Continued on Page 9, Column 1

Negro Subdivision For Cobb Dropped

A Marietta land-development firm Friday dropped its proposal for developing a Negro subdivision on a 125-acre tract adjacent to the site designated as the future $2,000,000 campus of Southern Tech.

"We're delighted," said Dr. Edwin Harrison, Georgia Tech president. "We will now proceed with letting the contract (for construction) as quickly as possible."

Construction of a new plant, which will house Southern Tech when the school moves from its Chamblee location, is expected to get underway within the next three weeks, Harrison added.

Tech officials had held up the letting of a contract pending the outcome of the Marietta land-developing firm's application to the Marietta City Council. The firm had sought approval for building private Negro homes on a 125-acre tract adjacent to the 120-acre site earmarked for Southern Tech.

In a letter Friday to Marietta Mayor Sam Welsch, the developers asked that their petition be withdrawn.

The Cobb County Grand Jury earlier this week had issued a special presentment asking the Marietta council to "do nothing to jeopardize" Southern Tech's plans for moving to Marietta.

The grand jury had noted that University System and Tech officials were "firmly committeed to a withdrawal" of Southern Tech from Cobb "if the housing project located adjacent" to the proposed campus site.

The [illegible] was scheduled to be [illegible] Friday night at a special session of city council. But Mayor Welsch said the developers withdrawal of their petition apparently settles the issue.

The Board of Regents over a year ago approved preliminary plans for Tech to move from Atlanta to the new site in Cobb County. Some of the [illegible] commenced at the new site. [illegible] controversy flared.

Settelmayer Case In Hands of Judge

Judge Luther Alverson took under advisement Friday the question of whether the Atlanta Library Board or the Board of Aldermen had the right to fire Library Director John Settelmayer.

After hearing a full day of legal arguments, with Settelmayer charging he was illegally fired and the city and the library board saying he wasn't, the Fulton Superior Court judge said he will "consider the case" and advise attorneys of his decision.

The two main points raised in four hours of arguments by attorney Houston White for Settelmayer, and Edwin Sterne and Hamilton Lokey for the mayor, Board of Aldermen and the library board were:

Does a general state law putting the operation of libraries under a board of trusties control the situation here and is it mandatory?

Is the library director a department head, and as such, does he have the right to be tried before the Board of Aldermen before being fired?

on grounds that the library board had no right to dismiss him last December after it investigated his activities in connection with the sale and manufacture of plastic book jackets.

He contends he was a department head and that the general state law had never been complied with here and thus was not applicable.

White, arguing for Settelmayer, claimed the city had never "impliedly or expressly adopted" the general state law, but [illegible] under charter provision adopted in 1899 when the city took over operation of the library from the Young Men's Library Assn.

The attorney contended Friday it was the first time te city had ever claimed that the general state law controlled operation of the library here. "For the last 59

the race story and the press

By WALTER SPEARMAN & SYLVAN MEYER

U.S. Aid for Pakistan

KARACHI, Pakistan (AP)—The United States will pay half the costs of a three- to four-million-dollar Pakistani nuclear science institute to be built here, the gov-

THE RACE STORY AND THE PRESS

BY WALTER SPEARMAN AND STELLA [illegible]

The Race Question and the Press

WALTER SPEARMAN

SYLVAN MEYER

Walter Spearman

THE RACE QUESTION AND THE PRESS

Sylvan Meyer

Walter Spearman

Sylvan Meyer

PRODUCTS AND PROCESSES

December 6, 1962

Mr. Fred Powledge
Atlanta Journal
10 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Staige thought you might be interested in a copy of the enclosed clipping from the Washington Post on tuition grants.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

BP:s
enclosure: Washington Post, 12/2/62 clipping

BALTIMORE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
PEOPLE'S COURT BUILDING
FAYETTE AND GAY STREETS
BALTIMORE 2, MARYLAND
PHONE 752-2000

RAYMOND V. RANGLE, M.D.
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DAVID L. GLENN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
EXT. 2107

January 1963

Dear Sir:

In recent years, notable changes have occurred in Baltimore relative to the utilization of members of various minority groups in areas of employment which were previously closed to members of these groups.

On the assumption that many employers may not be fully aware of the breadth and magnitude of the changes which have taken place, this Commission feels that it would be a public service to acquaint the community with the progress in this area, and has therefore decided to publish and circulate a "Photogram", depicting the many areas of employment change. Enclosed is the first issue of the "Photogram", and it is our hope that you will find this and succeeding issues interesting as well as enlightening.

We are also enclosing a poster, which is required by City Ordinance No. 379, as amended, to be posted wherever employment occurs. This is being done on the assumption that those posters which were sent out several years ago to employers, labor unions and others have begun to show signs of wear.

We invite your comments.

Yours sincerely,

David L. Glenn

David L. Glenn
Executive Secretary

Enclosures - 2
DLG/gmf

February 27, 1963

Mr. David L. Glenn
Executive Secretary
Baltimore Equal Opportunity Commission
People's Court Building
Fayette and Gay Streets
Baltimore 2, Maryland

Dear Mr. Glenn:

It was very kind of you to send us the first issue of "Photogram," depicting the many areas of employment change in Baltimore. I think it is a very impressive way of illustrating the pace of progress in your city, and I hope other cities will follow suit in showing how equal opportunity can be granted to all with neither fuss nor fanfare. I trust you will keep up the good work in Baltimore.

Meanwhile, I am sending by separate attachment three employment studies we published last year, and I hope they will be of interest to you. I am also sending a special report titled "Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey," which we brought out last month.

Please let me know if we can ever be of any assistance to you in your work.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj

For immediate release

From

Baltimore Equal Opportunity Commission
People's Court Building
Fayette and Gay Streets
Baltimore 2, Maryland
Phone: Plaza 2-2000, Ext. 2109

BALTIMORE, Md. -- Local politicians and community groups, here, are mapping out means to reinstate the public accommodations law which was ruled invalid on January 31, 1963, by the City Superior Court on grounds that it conflicts with the State trespass act.

Now under consideration are three possibilities:

1. To urge the State legislature to pass the public accommodations law which has already been introduced.

2. To request the State legislature, now in session, to amend the State trespass law to exempt public places in the city, thereby giving Baltimore the power to enact its own laws regarding public accommodations.

3. To appeal the decision to the Maryland Court of Appeals.

In addition, Mayor Philip Goodman has called upon all restaurant owners to continue the open-door policy despite the fact that the law is no longer in force.

(more)

The decision to put an end to the seven-month-old accommodations law came about as a result of a recent court hearing on a suit filed by a well-established restaurant in southeast Baltimore near Fort Holabird.

In citing the conflict with the trespass law, Judge Edwin Harlan noted the clause which exempts a person who enters upon the land "under a bona fide claim of right". He ruled that this provision in the State act "was only intended to apply to vested property interests and not to comprehend a social or civil right existing or to be created by local ordinance."

He added: "A 'claim of right' in relation to the subject land would encompass entry under a claim of an established incorporeal property interest in the land such as an easement or profit, or a right created by the owner in the form of contract.... The Ordinance at issue does not create such a claim of right as is envisioned by this statute."

While the conflict issue was of secondary concern in the case, the suit primarily challenged the Ordinance on its definition and classification of places of public accommodation, as well as on its standards used to determine the exclusion of all, or parts, of those establishments which deal primarily in alcoholic beverages.

In effect, the law provided that establishments such as hotels, motels, inns and restaurants which are open to the general public for sleeping accommodations and/or serving meals must accept persons regardless of race, color, religion, ancestry or national origin.

(more)

Excluded from the provisions were: boarding houses, rooming houses, lunch counters or refreshment stands maintained in places of recreation or amusement (bowling alleys, billiard halls, swimming pools), establishments dealing primarily in alcoholic beverages where the average daily receipts of beverage sales exceeds the average daily receipts of food sales, and those areas of restaurants (bars and cocktail lounges) which are primarily devoted to the sale of alcoholic beverages.

Judge Harlan noted that "the purpose of the Ordinance is to afford everyone the right to eat in certain public places, but not the right to drink in such places", and therefore ruled that "the classification is a valid and reasonable attempt to minimize the violence, of which the City Council was apprehensive, while furthering the principle of equal opportunity." He also felt that the standards were "clear and reasonable".

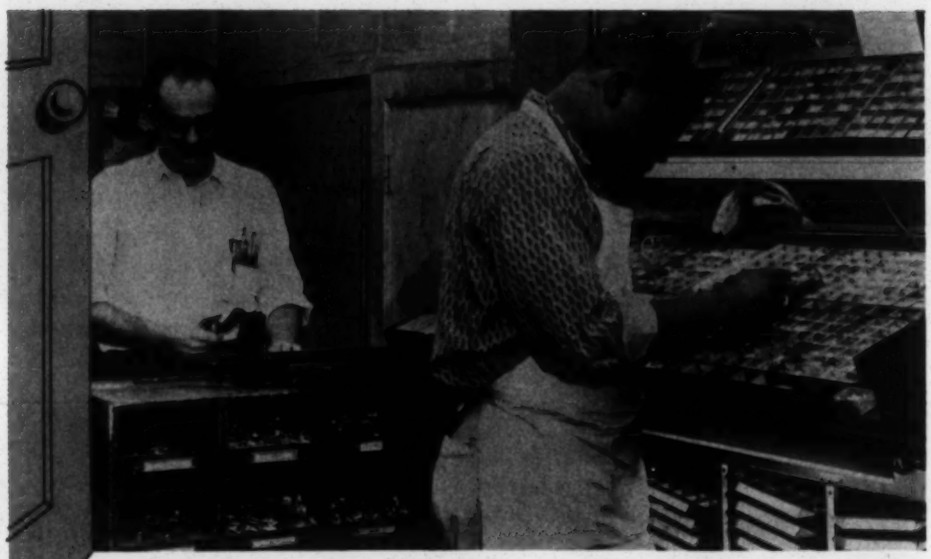
The Baltimore Equal Opportunity Commission, which administered the accommodations law in addition to enforcing the equal employment act, is now in process of suspending all operations relative to handling complaints, investigations and public relations in the area of public accommodations. These functions constituted a sizeable portion of the EOC staff's workload since the passage of the law on June 8, 1962.

FEB 6 1963

VOL. 1 No. 1

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY PHOTOGRAM

JAN. 1963



Recent years have brought about a change in the viewpoint of some employers in their hiring practices. The young man, above, is employed as an apprentice hand compositor at a local printing plant.

MR. EMPLOYER...

THE DOORS ARE OPENING!

Local banks, last year, undertook the merit employment policy, hiring tellers such as the young lady shown above.

Certain industries have maintained "open" employment policies for some time. The gentleman on the left, a licensed architect, is working as a layout draftsman for a local firm.

The photographs above illustrate the broadening trend in utilization of minority group man power in previously "closed" areas of employment. With conviction and proper planning, all employers stand to gain by taking advantage of the large reservoir of untapped skills and abilities available in the minority communities.

Baltimore Equal Opportunity Commission, People's Court Building, Baltimore 2

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Refer to: AG
Feb. 7, 1963

PROCESSING DEPARTMENT
EXCHANGE AND GIFT DIVISION

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Librarian of Congress has requested me to acknowledge, with many thanks, receipt of the material mentioned below. Your kindness in sending this material to the Library of Congress is deeply appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Jennings Wood, Chief
Exchange and Gift Division

The material received:

Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey.

February 15, 1963

Mr. Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Neier:

We will be glad to make copies of "Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey" available for distribution through your Readers Service.

We will, however, be a bit delayed in sending you the total order of 1,100 copies since our mail room is pretty overloaded right at the moment. But, we will send the first shipment of 100 copies to you next week, and the remainder the week after. I hope this arrangement is satisfactory.

I am glad that you were pleased by the study, and that through your magazine it will be made available to a larger audience.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj

Les, It will take a little time to run off these additional copies, but I think we should oblige Mr. Neier. Do you?

Urgent

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y., YUKON 8-7900

February 8, 1963

Mr. Staige Blackford
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

I wonder whether copies of "Plans For Progress: Atlanta Survey" could be available for distribution through our Readers Service.

I would expect that as a result of a listing of this pamphlet we would receive orders for about 1100 copies.

I must say that I was quite delighted to receive this survey. I was hoping that someone would do a study of the actual effects of the "Plans for Progress."

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Aryeh Neier

Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor

AN:add

February 27, 1963

Mr. Thomas K. Gilhool
2579 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Gilhool:

Mr. Fleming is no longer with the Southern Regional Council, and I, unfortunately, did not see your letter until this week. So, I fear whatever response I can make to it will arrive after your February deadline.

I am, however, sending along four recent SRC publications dealing with employment and the racial issue, and I hope they will be of some use to you. I would also like to suggest that you write to the following persons, all of whom are familiar with the subject of your article for the Yale Law Journal.

Mr. Paul Christopher
AFL-CIO Regional Director
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. Harry Fleischman
National Labor Service
165 E. 56th Street
New York, New York

Mr. Don Slaiman
Department of Civil Rights
AFL - CIO
815 - 16th Street
Washington, D. C.

Mr. E. T. Kehrer
Director
Southeastern Region, ILGWU
1065 Gordon Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

I am sure these gentlemen can answer the questions posed in your letter far better than I could myself since they are more directly involved with the problems faced by labor unions in the South. But please let me know if we can be of any assistance to you in preparing future articles. Also, if it is not too much trouble, we would certainly like to have a copy of your article when it is published. It concerns a topic about which there is a notable lack of reliable information at the present time.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

SB—

pls reply:

among other things,

you might suggest he

send questionnaire also

to Harry Fleischman,

Alan Slaiman, Paul

Christopher, Al Neher

marked {4- Employment studies
Plans for Proposal

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Fleming

I am writing an article for the Yale Law Journal on the employer's use of the racial issue in anti-union campaigns in the South.

I want very much to have the benefit of your experience with this issue, its effectiveness and the ways of combatting it. I will be gratefull for as full an answer as you are able to provide to the following questions. If you think it more useful to comment in another way, please feel free to disregard the formal questions.

1. How often in union representation campaigns conducted in the South does the employer raise the issue of the union's racial policy?

2. Where the issue has been raised, how often has it been effective in defeating the union's organization efforts?

In how many of these cases would the union have lost even if the racial issue had not been raised?

3. Does the effectiveness of the issue differ in different locations; for example, the deep South as compared with the border states?

4. How do union organizers now handle the question of the union's policy on race in the organizational campaigns?

In cases where no one else has raised the issue?
In cases where the employees raise the issue?
In cases where the employers raise the issue?
In cases where someone in the community raises the issue?

5. Do unions presently have sufficient access to the employees to discuss the union's position on the race issue?

The relevance of the union's position on the race issue to the employees and their decision to join or not join the union?

The benefits of union organization?

6. Would greater access to the employees help the union in handling the race issue on its own merits?

In getting the race issue its proper place in the context of the benefits to the employee of union organization?

7. How often does the employer misrepresent the union's policy?

How often does the employer state the union' policy in an way?

8. If the equal time rule were re-established, so that whenever the employer made an issue of the union's racial policy the union was given equal company time to speak to the employees, would this help?

9. How would the unions use this time?
To discuss the truth of social equality ?
To discuss the merits of desegregation?
To correct misrepresentations of the union's policy on race?
To explain the union's policy on race?
To deny that this policy would affect the employees,
to promise no integration in this plant?
To explain the benefits of union organization to the employees?
To explain that the benefits of union organization to the employees outweigh any assistance union membership would give to desegregation?

10. If the employers were prevented from raising the race issue, would it then be absent from the campaign?
Would the community organizations raise the issue?
Would the issue be present in the minds of the employees anyway?

11. How effective is removing this issue from the campaign would an NLRB rule that the union will be certified if anything suggests that the workers rejected the union for racial reasons?

12. How hard would it be to make the judgement that the workers had rejected the union for such reasons?

13. How effective would be a rule that the union will be certified whenever the employer raises the issue?

14. If the employer were thus prevented from raising the issue would community discussion of the issue still result in defeat of the union?
Would employee opinions on the issue still result in defeat of the union?

15. If new legislature were required to give the Board power to certify the union whenever the issue resulted in the union's defeat or to prevent the employer from raising the issue, would your union think the legislation of sufficient importance to lobby hard for its passage by Congress?
Wou ld other unions?
Would civil rights groups such as the NAACP?

16. If a representative of the NLRB were to tell the employees whenever the issue were raised that such an issue was not an appropriate consideration in the employees decision, would the union's organizing efforts be helped?

17. This article has as its starting point an analysis of the NLRB decisions in the Sewell and Allen-Morrison cases handed down in August, 1962. What is your opinion of the effectiveness of these decisions in removing the race issue from campaigns?
In preventing the race issue from defeating union efforts to organize?

I will be grateful for your prompt reply, as this article goes to press sometime in February.
Thank you.

Thomas K. Gilhool

Thomas K. Gilhool
2579 Yale Station
New Haven, Conn.

March 13, 1963

Mr. Walter R. Greene, Chief
Equal Employment Opportunity Office
Detroit and Cleveland Districts
1580 E. Grand Boulevard
Detroit 11, Michigan

Dear Mr. Greene:

We are glad that you found our "Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey" report useful and interesting. And we will be happy to send you ten copies of that report. They went out this week, and you should receive them shortly. There is no charge for these extra copies.

Please feel free to call upon us if we can be of service to you in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj

HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

SB - please send with ack no change (note address)

AMXDE-IRS

6 March 1963

Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We have found your Special Report entitled, "Plans For Progress: Atlanta Survey" a very enlightening document of great interest to this office. Local responsibility for enforcement of the requirements in Executive Order 10925 with U.S. Army contractors of Michigan and Upper Ohio rests in this office.

It is requested that you mail to us ten copies of that report and we shall remit your stated costs, including postage.

Sincerely,

Walter R. Greene

Walter R. Greene
Chief, Equal Employment Opportunity Office
Detroit and Cleveland Districts
1580 E. Grand Boulevard, Detroit 11, Mich.

Sent 3/12/63 BCC

file P for P

March 29, 1963

Mr. M. T. Puryear,
Associate Director
The National Urban League Inc.
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Check $2.50
recvd 5/2/63

Dear Mr. Puryear:

You have our permission, as requested in your letter of March 26, to reproduce the Council's Report L-40. And under separate cover we will be mailing Monday the additional 25 copies of PLANS FOR PROGRESS. An invoice is enclosed for your convenience. Also, I thought you would be interested in the enclosed two speeches which are similar to Governor Sanford's.

Please let me know if we can be helpful again.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp
Enclosures: L-41
Invoice

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York
PLaza 1-0300

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of the National Urban League, Inc.

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Assistant Director

March
Twenty-sixth
1 9 6 3

Dr. Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Blackford:

Thank you for your letter of March 6 and the thirty copies of the "Plans for Progress" report.

I have just received a copy of Report L-40 dated February 13, which I presume is excerpted from North Carolina Governor Sanford's address before the North Carolina Press Association. May I have permission to reproduce this report and share it with other members of our Urban League family?

I would also appreciate receiving an additional twenty-five copies of the "Plans for Progress" report - if there is a charge for these, please let me know.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

M. T. Puryear
Associate Director

MTP:RAK

The Commerce and Industry Council is an advisory group to and supporter of the Urban League's program for equal employment opportunity.

LWD, fyi

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y., YUKON 8-7900

April 10, 1963

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

Enclosed, you will find a copy of the April issue of Current. You will find your publication "Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey" listed in our Readers Service section on the back cover.

We are very grateful to you for making available copies of your publication for distribution through our Readers Service.

Sincerely,

Aryeh Neier

Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor

AN:add
enclosure

5-27-63

Employment figures for Plans for Progress firms in the Atlanta area

Ford - 2,000 approx.
Western Electric - 440
Lockheed - 15,000
International Harvester - 200 approx.
Goodyear - 340
American Machine & Foundry - approx. 20
Burroughs Corp. - 190
Continental Motors - 31
General Dynamics - 21
General Electric - approx. 900
General Motors - ass of 12/62 6,319
as of 5/63 6,695
RCA - 57
Minneapolis Honeywell - 60
Westinghouse - approx. 480
Chrysler - 150
Hercules Powder - 21
IBM - approx. 435
Kaiser Industries - 25
Pan American World Airways - 11
Philco Corp. - 8
Raytheon Corp. - 3
Thompson Ramo-Wooldridge - 3
Collins Radio - 4
Garrett Corp. - 10

The four in compliance	Ford	2,000
	Lockheed	15,000
	Western Electric	440
	IBM	435
	total	18,325
Others (not in compliance)	total	9,027
Combined		27,352
News story (Times 4/17/63) figure		23,084

Mr. Kraut (personnel)

Western Electric — JA2-3615 (440)

Mr. Lou Jenkins (Ind. Relations)

* Ford — PO1-5431 P.R.: JA5-1853 — approx. (2,000)

Lockheed — 424-3211 approx (15,000)

x IBM — TR2-0731 Miss Ruby Sparks as of 1/1/63 (439) approx.

(31)

Part Haverty — HU8-4440 - Mr. Tate approx. (200)

Goodyear — CE7-4611 - Miss Quarles (340)

American Machine — 873-1766 approx. (20)

Burroughs — 873-5531 Mr. Smith - 146 DR8-1761 - 44 (190)

Continental — ~~TR3-3171~~ sales ~~(35)~~ ~~355-2481 plant~~ Horton, Clyde

Electronics ~~873-2168 Ind. Relations~~ Ind.

Gen. Dynamics sales (12) off only

✓ Gen Elec ✓ Telecommunication - (Strowberg - Carlson) Sales only 875-7467 (21) approx

in Atlanta 900 employees

Motors PO1-7741 —

Courtesy—TUCKER-CASTLEBERRY PRINTING, INC. • JAckson 5-8654

Bus. Pg. 42 yest. paper 3Gen 6695

✓ Gen Motors ✓ plants 12/62 (6319)

P.R. 523-7451 —

RCA JA4-7703 — Mrs. Hartman —

Dist. Corp. 549-5364 — Mr. Miclot — (57)

Minneapolis — Honeywell 875-9561

approx (60)

✓ Westinghouse ✓ — approx (48)

---

featured display posters

union form

recruitment posters

G. Motors — not much since 1955

Chrysler — state 1959 (150)

Hercules — (21) few hires

Courtesy—TUCKER-CASTLEBERRY PRINTING, INC. • JAckson 5-8654

MAT — Economy - South

5/13/63 GM employment figures:

they are using the figure

6,695

for their 3 Atlanta plants as reported on pg. 42, business section, of yesterdays paper

BP

thank you

23084 - total
18325 the 4
4759

Ford	2,000	27,352	25
Lockheed	15,000		11
W. Elec.	440		8
IBM -	435		20
	18,325		560
	9,027 the others		190
	27,352		21
			900
			6,695
			57
			60
			480
			9,027

TR2-0731 IBM - 435 approx. as of 1/63

873-1561 Kaiser - 25 -

JA4-7788 Pan-American - 11

MU8-7014 Philco Corp. = John Ramsey, mgr. - 8

231-3350 Raytheon - 3

233-3292 Thompson Ramo-Wooldridge - 3

Collins Radio - (761-0607) - 4

CE3-7157 Garrett Corp. - 10

PLANS FOR PROGRESS: LATEST INSTALLMENT, 4/18/63

Herewith the results of some checking done yesterday as a result of Pomfert piece in Times and Constitution.

* * *

Statement to Fred Powledge by IBM Manager Charles Workman, Jr.:

"Fundamentally, the Plan hasn't made a great deal of difference with us. Our company has always practiced a non-discrimination policy. There is one Negro in the Atlanta branch who has been with us over 25 years.

[Powledge: "What does he do?" Workman: "He is a Building Service Employee." Powledge: "A janitor?" Workman: "Yes."]

"It is difficult to find Negroes who are properly qualified, but when we find them, we hire them. This includes secretarial work--everything."

Powledge: "How many Negroes do you employ in Atlanta?"

Workman: "I prefer not to say...there are several. We have increased the number this year. The increase is not significant because of [redacted] Plans for Progress--we have just had our own operation all along."

Whatever the number, Powledge did not see any Negro employees when he [redacted] visited IBM's offices--not even the Building Service Employee.

** ** **

While IBM manager Workman would not give Fred the figures on the company's Atlanta employees, Miss Ruby Sparks, another IBM employee, told [redacted] Babara yesterday that the company [redacted] currently has approximately 439 employees in its Atlanta offices.

Statement made to Fred by the editor of Ford's Atlanta house organ (whose name Fred did not recall off-hand last night, but BP checked this a. m. He is Ed Lintz.):

"No matter how well meaning the heads of these companies are, there are a lot of special considerations in each case which, when they're added all up, mean that this thing isn't going to progress very rapidly."

* *

[redacted] Fred also [redacted] talked to L. W. Jenkins, Industrial Relations Manager for Ford in Atlanta.

Fred's [redacted] figures on Ford employees in this area concur with those given us yesterday: approximately 2,000.

* * *

Other firms queried yesterday about number of employees in their Atlanta offices were:

Ford - 2,000

Western Electric--440 employees

Lockheed--15,000

International Harvester--approximately 200

Goodyear--340

American Machine--approx. 20

Burroughs--190

Continental Motors--31

General Dymamics--12

General Dymamics Telecommunication--21 — NOT PART OF GENERAL DYNAMICS; SUBSIDIARY, STROMBERG CARLSON.

General Electric--approximately 900

General Motors (as of 12/62)--6,319 (as of 5/63 6,695

RCA--57

Minneapolis Honeywell--60

Westinghouse--approx. 480

* Chrysler * 150 *

Hercules Powder - 21

According to the story in yesterday's Constitution, the four [redacted] Atlanta branches in compliance with PFP are Western Electric Co., Lockheed, Ford Motor Co., and International Business Machines.

"The four which did [redacted] comply...employed three-fourths of the 23,084 employees of the 24 companies," the Constitution reported.

The late city edition of the Times (just in) reported ~~[illegible]~~ this about the ~~[illegible]~~ firms in compliance:

"The four concerns...were said to employ 18,325 of a total of 23,084 for all Atlanta area [redacted] branches. One of the complying concerns had nearly 15,000 employees. The 11 branches not in compliance had 4,508 workers and the nine for which no conclusion was possible had 251."

Our independent check yesterday resulted in these respective employment figures for the four complying firms: Ford, 2000; Lockheed, 15,000; Western Electric, 440; IBM, 439 approximately. According to these figures, the total employee figure for the four firms is 17,879.

If we except the seven firms we said "showed evidence of compliance"--Lockheed, Western Electric, Goodyear, IBM, Minneapolis-Honeywell, [redacted] International Harvester and General Electric--if we also except Ford, these are the firms remaining from those [redacted] queried 4/17/63: American Machine, Burroughs, Continental Motors, General Dynamics, General Motors, RCA and Westinghouse. They have a total of 7,109 employees, according to our report yesterday, or 2,350 more than the total of 4,759 employees of the 19 firms either not in compliance or for which no conclusion was possible.

The total employees of the four complying firms and and the seven just listed is 24,988. This is 1,904 more than the total figure cited in yesterday's papers, and we [redacted] still not including all the firms originally covered in our report (e. g., [redacted] Chrysler, General Electric).

All in all, one is [redacted] reminded of [redacted] an adage which goes like this: "Figures don't lie, men do."

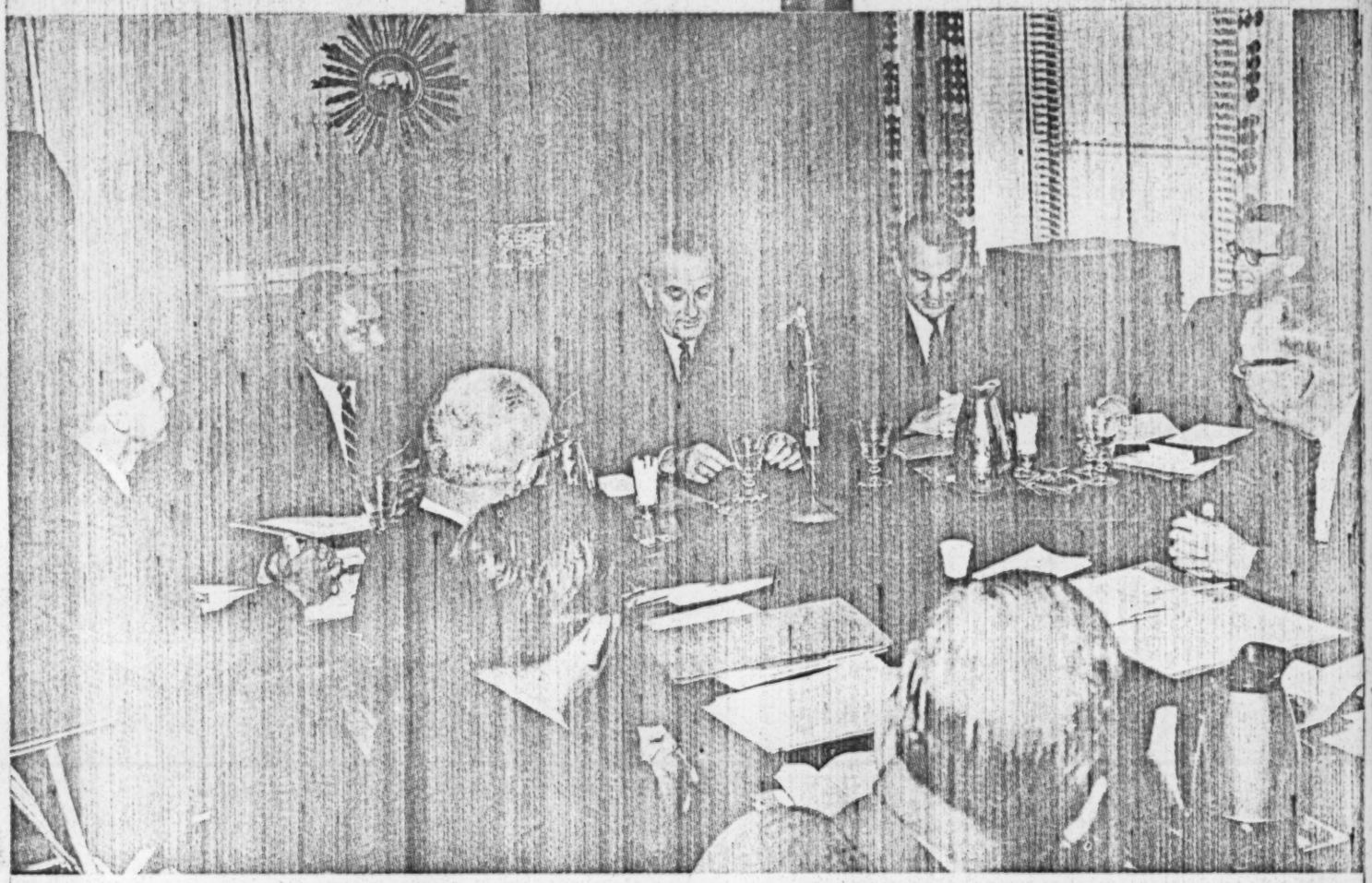
---SDB

from: Aug. 1964 A First Year Report, Plans for Progress Advisory Council

PARTICIPATING EMPLOYERS

AUGUST 1964

ACF Industries
Acme Steel
Addressograph-Multigraph
Aerojet-General
Aerospace Corporation
Aetna Life Affiliated Companies
Air Reduction
Allegheny Ludlum Steel
Allied Chemical
Allis-Chalmers
Aluminum Company of America
American Airlines
American Bosch Arma
American Brake Shoe
American Can
American Cyanamid
American Home Products
American Machinery & Foundry
American Motors
American Radiator & Standard
American Sugar
American Telephone & Telegraph
American Tobacco
Anheuser-Busch
Anchor Hocking Glass
Archer Daniels Midland
Armco Steel
Armour
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe
Avco
Babcock & Wilcox
P. Ballantine and Sons
Bellcomm
Bell & Howell
Bell Telephone of Pennsylvania
Bell Telephone Laboratories
Bendix
Bethlehem Steel
E. W. Bliss Company
Boeing
Brown & Root
Brown Engineering
Brown University
Budd Company
Bunker Ramo
Burroughs
Campbell Soup
Carborundum
Carnation Company
Carrier Corporation
Caterpillar Tractor
Celanese
Cessna Aircraft
Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone
C & P Telephone of Maryland
C & P Telephone of West Virginia
Cincinnati and Suburban Bell Telephone
Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific RR
Chrysler
Cleveland Electric Illuminating
Coca-Cola
Colgate-Palmolive
Collins Radio
Colorado Fuel & Iron
Columbia Broadcasting System
Combustion Engineering
Commonwealth Edison
Continental Can
Continental Motors
Control Data
Cook Electric
Corn Products
Crown Zellerbach
Crucible Steel
Cudahy Packing
Cummins Engine
Curtiss-Wright
Datatrol
Deere Company
Detroit Steel
Diamond Alkali
Douglas Aircraft
Dow Chemical
Dresser Industries
Dun & Bradstreet
E. I. duPont de Nemours
Eastman Kodak
Eaton Manufacturing
Electric Storage Battery
Emerson Electric
Equitable Life Assurance
Fairchild Stratos
Federal-Mogul-Bower Bearings
Federal Pacific Electric
Federated Department Stores
Firestone
Ford
Foremost Dairies
Garrett Corporation
General American Transportation
General Dynamics
General Electric
General Foods
General Instrument
General Motors
General Precision
General Telephone & Electronics
General Tire & Rubber
Genesco
Georgia-Pacific Corp.
Glidden Company
B. F. Goodrich
Goodyear Tire and Rubber
W. R. Grace
Grand Union
Granite City Steel
Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea
Greyhound Lines
Grumman Aircraft
Hercules Powder
H. J. Heinz
Heublein, Inc.
Hilton Hotels
Hooker Chemical
J. M. Huber Corp.
Honeywell, Inc.
Hughes Aircraft
Humble Oil
Hunt Foods
Illinois Bell Telephone
Indiana Bell Telephone
Inland Steel
Interlake Iron
International Business Machines
International Harvester
International Telephone & Telegraph
Johnson & Johnson
Jones & Laughlin Steel
Kaiser Industries
Kellogg Company
Keystone Steel & Wire
Kimberly-Clark
Koppers Company
Kroger Company
Laclede Steel
Lear Siegler
Lever Brothers
Ling-Temco-Vought
Lockheed
Lukens Steel
Magnavox
Marlin-Rockwell
Martin Company
Massey-Ferguson
Mayflower Hotel, D. C.
McDonnell Aircraft
McGraw Hill
Mead Corporation
Mellon National Bank
Melpar
Merritt-Chapman and Scott
Michigan Bell
Michigan Consolidated Gas
Monsanto Company
Monsanto Research
John Morrell & Co.
Mountain States Telephone
National Biscuit
National Cash Register
National Distillers & Chemical
National Lead Company
National Steel
National Tea Company
New England Telephone
New Jersey Bell
Newport News Shipbuilding
New York Life Insurance
New York Telephone
North American Aviation
Norton Company
Northrop Corporation
Northwest Airlines
Northwestern Bell
Northwestern Steel & Wire
Ohio Bell



Mr. Johnson participating in Advisory Council meeting at International Telephone and Telegraph offices in New York City.

Olin Mathieson
Olivetti Underwood
Oscar Mayer
Otis Elevator
Owens-Corning
Owens-Illinois Glass
Pacific Gas & Electric
Pacific Northwest Bell
Pacific Telephone & Telegraph
Pan American World Airways
J. C. Penney
Pepsi-Cola
Pet Milk
Philco
Pillsbury
Pitney Bowes
Pittsburgh National Bank
Pittsburgh Steel
Polaroid
Proctor & Gamble
Public Service Electric
Quaker Oats
Radio Corporation of America
Ralston Purina
Raytheon
Republic Aviation
Republic Steel
R. J. Reynolds Tobacco
Rohr Corporation
Ryan Aeronautical
St. Regis Paper
Sanders Associates
Jos. Schlitz Brewing
Scott Paper
Scovill Manufacturing
Jos. E. Seagram
Sharon Steel
Shenango Incorporated
Shell Oil
Sherwin-Williams
Sheraton Corporation
Singer Company
A. O. Smith
Socony Mobil Oil
Southern California Edison
Southern N. E. Telephone
Southern Pacific RR
Sperry Rand
Standard Oil (Ohio)
Stauffer Chemical
Sterling Drugs
Sterling Engineering
Swift and Company
Systems Development
Texaco
Texas Instruments
Textron
Thiokol Chemical
Thompson Ramo Wooldridge
Timken Roller Bearing
Todd Shipyards
Trans World Airlines
Twentieth Century Fox
Union Carbide
United Aircraft
United Airlines
U. S. Industries
U. S. Plywood
U. S. Rubber
U. S. Steel
Vitro Corporation
Walgreen Drugs
Wayne State University
Western Electric
Western Union
Westinghouse Air Brake
Westinghouse Electric
Wheeling Steel
Whirlpool
Wilson & Co.
Wisconsin Telephone
Worthington Corporation
Youngstown Steel

For information about joining Plans for Progress write to:

Administrative Director, Plans for Progress
Federal Bar Building, Suite 506
1815 H Street Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20006

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Research Park
Princeton, New Jersey 08540
Area Code 609 924-5900

JAMES W. GOUTHRO, *Survey Director*

January 28, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

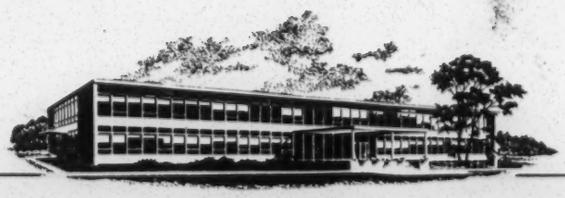
Would you please send me a complete listing of those companies who are currently signers of the government's Plans For Progress.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

James W. Gouthro

:djh



Established in 1938

February 17, 1965

Mr. James W. Gouthro
Survey Director
Opinion Research Corporation
Research Park
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Gouthro:

Attached is a photo copy of participating employers who were signers of the government's Plans for Progress in August, 1964. We receive the Advisory Council's Newsletter, and I have gone through subsequent issues without turning up any list of additional names. Perhaps if you write to

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
Plans for Progress
1815 H St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

and request any additional names they have added since the First Year Report, August 1964, they will fill you in. The list I am sending was taken from that report.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosed:
Xerox copy, Participating Employers (268)

Persons Interviewed

Sources for Plans for Progress Survey

Fred Powledge

L.L. Colbert, Pres.
~~President~~, Chrysler Corp.
341 Massachusetts Ave.
Detroit 31, Mich

Chrysler Corp.
E.J. Newton, regional manager,
2930 Forest Hills Dr., SW

M.W. Cresap
President, Westinghouse
40 Wall St
New York, N.Y.

Westingouse Electric Corp. -
Paul T. Lagrone, vice president
1299 Northside Dr., NW

General Electric Co.
Gaynor Collester, public relations director
1860 Peachtree Rd., NW

Robt. Paxton, Pres.
General Electric Bldg.
570 Lexington Ave.
NYC

Volunteer? C.E. 3-6004 att. ~~re~~

American Machine & Foundry Co.
~~Harrig~~, regional manager
3224 Peachtree Rd., NE

Calls for wa
C.L. Burgess - Pres.
261 Madison Ave.
NYC 16, NY

Burroughs Corp.
H.A. Mullen, district manager
961 W. Peachtree St., NE

R.R. Eppert, Pres
6071 Second Ave. Detroit 32

344-2933

Collins Radio Co. engineer
James Hunt - ~~Dist. Manager~~
2804 Dodson Dr., East Point

A.A. Collins Chmn + Pres.
261 Madison Ave, N.Y. 16

Continental Motors Corp.
Vern Kring, branch manager
1252 Oakleigh Dr., East Point

Clarence Rice, Pres + Gen Mgr.
205 Market St, Muskegon, Mich.

Ford Motor Co.
L.W. Jenkins, industrial relations manager
340 S. Central Ave., Hapeville

Henry Ford, II, Pres
American Road
Dearborn Mich.

The Garrett Corp.
Charles E. Baugh, manager
3272 Peachtree Rd., NE

J.C. Garrett, Pres.
9851-9951 Sepulveda Blvd
Los Angeles 45

General Dynamics Corp.
L.J. Schuler, electronics branch manager
750 Ponce de Leon Place, NE

E.D. Johnson, Pres.
445 Park Ave, NY 22

General Motors Corp.
James L. Tolley, public relations director
134 Peachtree St., NW

J.F. Gordon, Pres
3044 W. Grand Blvd
Detroit 2

Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.
R.H. Donaldson, regional personnel manager
2755 Piedmont Rd., NE

Russell de Young, Pres
1144 E Market St.
Akron 16

~~Hemxmh~~ Hercules Powder Co.
W.E. Hamilton, district manager-paper
Rhodes-Haverty Building

A.E. Forster
~~P. Mansfield~~
Delaware Trust Bldg
Wilmington, Del.

Thomas J. Watson Jr. Pres.
590 Madison Ave. NY 22

International Business Machines Corp.
Charles C. Workman Jr., district manager
1439 Peachtree St., NE

Frank W. Jenks, Pres
180 North Mich. Ave, Chi. 1,

International Harvester Co. —
Maxwell Zierath, district manager, motor truck division.
580 Whitehall St., SW

E. F. Kaiser Pres.
1924 Broadway, Oakland 12,

Kaiser Industries Corp —
Robert W. Gregory, district manager
1375 Peachtree St., NE

C. S. Grass, Pres.
P.O. Box 5-51, Burbank, Cal.

Lockheed-Georgia Corp. —
Lee Rogers, public relations director
Marietta, Ga.

P. B. Weisbart - Pres.
2747 Fourth Ave. South
Minneapolis 8,

Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Co. —
George D. Guler, regional manager
500 Plaster Ave., NE

688-6652
Jn. 4-726
874-3883
Jn. 3-7711

Mr. Juan Trippe, Pres.
(See Moody's Transp. Manual)
Chrysler Bldg, N.Y., N.Y.

Pan-American World Airways Inc. —
Stewart R. Swift, district sales manager
Fulton National Bank Building

J. M. Skinner Jr. Pres.
Tioga & "C" Sts., Phila 34

Philco Corp. —
John E. Ramsey, area manager
Fulton Federal Building

F. M. Folsom, Pres.
RCA Bldg. 30 Rock. Plaza
20

Radio Corp. of America —
Elmer D. Eades, southern regional manager
1121 Rhodes-Haverty Building

C. F. Adams
Waltham 54, Mass.
Willow St.
Care for Name

231-3320

Raytheon Co. —
Mrs. Catherine Hamilton (office manager)
3110 Maple Dr., NE

D. E. Wooldridge, Pres.
23555 Euclid Ave.
Cleveland 17,

Thompson Ramo-Wooldridge Inc. —
Rogdon Currie, regional manager
3272 Peachtree Rd., NE

Jn. 2-3615

Western Electric Co.
W.F. Gannon, manager, distributing house
820 Forest Rd.

(See Moody's Pub Utilities Manual)
H. J. Romner, Pres.
222 Broadway
N.Y., N.Y.

-0-

DRAFT

PLANS FOR PROGRESS 18

In the summer of 1961, just a few months after the Kennedy Administration took office, representatives of nine large corporations, each of them defense contractors, affixed their names to the first Plans for Progress, pledging their voluntary support for equal employment opportunities. They would work affirmatively, they promised, toward elimination of job discrimination in all of their branches, plants, and divisions. They would chart their progress on self-analysis forms supplied by the government. And they would do this, they declared, in the knowledge that they were committed, as defense contractors, to making their jobs available to all qualified Americans, regardless of race, religion, color, or creed.

The first Plans for Progress embodied a program originally designed to implement President Kennedy's Executive Order 10925, issued the previous March. This order gave the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity powers to require government contractors to eliminate discrimination in hiring and promotions. The key aspects of the Plans, as the program's supporters pointed out, were the "voluntary" and "affirmative" points of the documents.

The Plans not only pledged non-discrimination; they also committed the companies to positive steps in bringing Negroes

and other minority groups into their work force in non-traditional positions.

The Plan signed by Lockheed Aircraft, for example, stated: "Lockheed will in its employment recruitment aggressively seek out more qualified minority group candidates in order to increase the number of employees in many job categories..."

Western Electric Company's agreement noted that "High school and college recruiting programs will include non-white students. Qualified minority group members will be considered for all job categories for which we hire including professional engineering positions, technical positions, administrative and clerical positions and shop work."

Because of the commitment to "affirmative" action, the criterion for success of the Plans is simple. Has employment of Negroes (and other minorities) increased, and have they been placed in non-traditional job categories?

Robert B. Troutman, Jr., an Atlanta lawyer and member of the President's Committee, has been credited with conceiving and carrying out the Plans, and became chairman of a sub-committee charged with spreading them. An advocate of voluntary compliance, Mr. Troutman ~~stated~~ was quoted in the summer of 1962 as saying: "Compulsion is not the thing. I'm a lawyer. I can show you how to get around the executive order. It's got to be voluntary."*

Since Lockheed Aircraft Corp., the first signer, joined the program in May 1961, a total of ~~85~~ 105 firms have signed up, including 20 new signers in January 1963. ~~Another group of 25 or so is expected to sign soon.~~

* Mr. Troutman resigned from the Committee in the summer of 1962, but has since maintained a strong interest in the E P Plans program.

President Kennedy has acclaimed the program as "an historic step forward in the effort to secure equal employment opportunity for every American of every race, color, and belief." Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, in a statement made in 1961 when eight companies followed Lockheed's lead, cited the companies for "proclaiming to all the world that we mean what we say when we pledge equal employment opportunity for all, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin."

Insert B

Nonetheless, there was controversy over the true value of the Plans for Progress. ~~and over the policies and philosophies of Plans chairman Troutman. The St. Louis Argus, whose executive editor, Howard B. Woods, is himself a member of the President's Committee, called Mr. Troutman a "liability" in the struggle for equal job opportunity. The Baltimore Afro-American, calling for Mr. Troutman's resignation, said the Plans permit "employers to say 'I will' when they really intend to say 'I won't'." (Mr. Troutman resigned a short time later, in the summer of 1962, but he gave as his reason the press of other responsibilities.)~~ The strongest attack came from Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who charged in April 1962 that the Plans had "resulted in more publicity than progress." In a speech delivered at the NAACP convention in Atlanta in the summer of 1962, Mr. Hill said:

INSERT C-----

The controversy, reported the New York Times on June 17, 1962, "has strong political overtones. It centers on reconciling the 'compulsory' program and a [redacted] 'voluntary' approach being pressed by Robert B. Troutman, Jr...who is a close [redacted] friend of President Kennedy." The Times article pointed out that "some civil rights groups" felt ~~that "Mr. Troutman's~~ that "Mr. [redacted] Troutman's operation, if uncontrolled, will weaken the 'hard line' originally laid down by the President." The strongest attack came from (pick up original text).

> It is our experience that major U. S. government contractors regard the signing of a 'Plan for Progress' as a way of securing immunity from real compliance with the anti-discrimination provision of their government contract . . . . the program called 'Plans for Progress' is simply a public relations term for what in previous administrations was called 'voluntary compliance'.

See insert C (attached)

~~The NAACP officer called for Mr. Troutman's resignation.~~

While the controversy over the effectiveness of the Plans has diminished somewhat, ~~since Mr. Troutman's resignation,~~ there is still a widespread difference of opinion about the results of the program. Mr. Troutman made his final report to the President on the Plans on August 20, 1962. In it he noted that "the potential of Plans for Progress can now be clearly seen." He supplied these figures in his report:

--Thirty-seven of the Plans signers who had carried out analyses reported a six-month total employment increase of 3.1 per cent. In the same period, the number of non-whites employed increased by 10 per cent, a great deal, even considering that some non-whites would normally be expected to obtain employment.

--When translated into income, these figures show that "where expected total increase for non-whites was $7,800,000, the actual increase was $27,000,000."

--In salaried positions, as distinguished from hourly-paid jobs, the 37 companies reported at the beginning that only one per cent of the jobs were held by non-whites. At the end of the six months, according to Mr. Troutman, 6.6 per cent of the new salaried jobs were filled by non-whites.

INSERT C

The Plans for Progress, in idea, are akin to a recommendation made by the Southern Regional Council in January 1961. In describing possible action which the President could take to combat job discrimination, the Council declared:

> ...the executive department, in consideration of practical difficulties, might adopt as its first goal the ability to report to the people that all of the large contractors of the government practice fair employment...the method of attaining this goal could be certification by the Government Contract Committee (if it is continued), or by a new office... that the bidder or proposed contractor is presently operating, in all its plants and offices, without discrimination. Such certification could be made a prerequisite to the award of any contract above a specified sum (perhaps $1,000,000) or of any contract which would increase the total active orders of a company and its subsidiaries beyond that amount. (For lesser contracts the non-discrimination clause could still be inserted, and procedures made available for receiving and processing complaints.) Enforcement would not require litigation, and would be administratively far simpler than either sole reliance on the processing of individual complaints, or the proposed use of sanctions.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of Employment Security maintain copious data on the nation's work force, and can with minimum difficulty prepare and publish current information on the number of Negroes in various categories of the working force. These data could be taken into account in determining upon certification. The test would be the record of actual employment, including enrollment in the company's in-service training program, if it has one. The large contractors of the government would, in effect, be required to do more than pledge non-discrimination; they would be required to recruit Negroes throughout their operations.

This would be an undeniably arbitrary requirement. Its premise, however, would be clear cut; viz., that as a condition for doing business with the government above a certain amount, the company will cooperate with the government by a positive program of developing Negro talent and skills. It would be asked to assume partnership with the government in achieving a national goal.

It will be noted, however, that the Council's recommendation did not visualize voluntary compliance, and would have, in fact, <u>required</u> compliance as a prerequisite to holding a contract.

(to typist: Return to p. 4 "While the controversy...")

The Atlantan ended his report with the statement that "Plans for Progress is one approach. It was never intended nor expected to be a panacea; it is merely one avenue toward bettering the employment picture."

Insert D

* * *

~~One major criticism of the Plans is that results~~, such as those ~~presented above~~ last August, are largely general. They show what has happened in the nation. But what about the South? A $27,000,000 increase in non-white income ~~was made available~~ is fine, but how much of that income was reported to Negroes in places such as the Deep South, where they have been systematically barred from euqlity in employment. If most or all of the increased opportunities occurred in places, such as California, which outlaw discrimination anyway, then the effectiveness of the Plans was being overstated.

To get an impression of the degree of compliance which has been reached by Plans signers in the Deep South, a limited survey was taken. Of the original 52 signers, it was found that 24 had plants, offices, or regional headquarters in the Atlanta metropolitan area. Of these, only one firm ~~— one of the Big Three authomobile manufacturers~~ declined to answer questions about its Atlanta operation. Information was obtained about this firm from other sources. In almost all other instances, the regional executives talked freely and with apparent sincerity about the part their organization is

INSERT D----

Mr. Troutman's final report coincided with the release of a specially-prepared study of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity made by Theodore W. Kheel, a former president of the National Urban League. Mr. Kheel's report, was prepared at the request of Vice President Johnson. It urged the Administration, reported the New York Times on August 18, "to give priority to compulsory rather than 'voluntary' approaches to ending discrimination against Negroes by employers with government contracts."

In his report, Mr. Kheel contended that "purely voluntary approaches are not likely to produce lasting results," although he praised the "energetic leadership" of Mr. Troutman in getting 85 major corporations to join the Plans for Progress.

playing in Plans for Progress. Most of the executives asked that their names not be used, and this request has been honored.

insert E

The firms are:

American Machine & Foundry
Burroughs Corporation
Chrysler Corporation
Collins Radio
Continental Motors
Ford Motor
Garrett Corporation
General Dynamics
General Electric
General Motors
Goodyear Tire & Rubber
Hercules Powder
International Business Machines
International Harvester
Kaiser Industries
Lockheed Aircraft
Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator
Pan-American World Airways, Inc.
Philco Corporation (a division of Ford)
Radio Corporation of America
Raytheon Corporation
Thompson Ramo-Wooldridge
Western Electric
Westinghouse

10

All together, the 24 firms employ, or have regional jurisdiction over, about 26,000 employees. The biggest employer of the group is Lookheed in nearby Marietta, with 14,500 workers. General Motors, with its assembly plants, is second with 6,490; Ford has 2,000. The others number their employees in the hundreds or dozens; some have as few as three employees.

INSERT E------

Of course, the way to test the effectiveness of the Plans in the 24 Atlanta firms surveyed would be to count heads and thereby determine what increase there had been in the number of Negro employees hired since the firms signed up under the program. Unfortunately, however, these figures were not available. Accordingly, this report is drawn from interviews with the Atlanta regional executives.

in Atlanta. ~~An overwhelming~~ large majority operate only sales and service divisions in Atlanta, while some also have distributing warehouses. All these firms, with the exception of Lockheed, are keyed to the city as a hub of southeastern business, service, repairs, and distribution.

All had at least one year in which to implement their Plans, to take ~~the~~ affirmative and voluntary action toward elimination of job discrimination. Yet the results of the survey clearly indicate that, except for a handful of the companies, the Plans for Progress were, for the regional office in Atlanta, largely meaningless.

Only ~~six~~ seven of the firms interviewed produced evidence of affirmative compliance with their pledges. Of the ~~six~~ seven, three -- Lockheed, Western Electric, and Goodyear -- demonstrated what appeared to be a vigorous desire to create job opportunities.

The remaining ~~18~~ 17 firms have paid varying degrees of attention to Plans for Progress, ranging from ignorance to indifference. Some did not know what the plans were (one regional manager referred to the program as the "Alliance for Progress") and others simply dismissed them. (An office manager for another firm said: "I'm not familiar with the Plans for Progress. I have other things to worry about, like selling merchandise, rather than what Mr. Kennedy says"). When it was explained that the president of his company had signed a document promising that his company

would work affirmatively in all fields, this official had a ready answer: "They don't mean regional divisions like us. They mean something else."

Similiar replies, perhaps a little less blunt, were made by several other executives. The most frequent comment was: "This is just a sales and service office; we don't have any manufacturing in Atlanta" -- an unstated admission that little if any thought had been given to hiring Negroes outside assembly lines. When an executive was asked what his company's policy was toward job opportunity, ~~(each of the firms, in its Plan for Progress, enunciated a policy of non-discrimination)~~ he was likely to retort: "our company has always been open to every qualified worker," "regardless of race, creed, or color." But, with only a very few exceptions, the policy was not being carried out in the Atlanta office. Or, in firms which have hired Negroes for hourly-paid or production-line jobs, the door to salaried, white-collar employment remains closed. The exceptions to this rule are discussed below.

The "fact" that Negroes were not suited for any but production jobs was voiced repeatedly, even by the executives who had a clear understanding of the Plans and who took a measure of pride in their company's participation in the program. An official at the Ford assembly plant explained,

on a tour of the 22-acre facility, that the company "always hires employees on the basis of ability," but pointed out that layoffs at the plant had impaired the company's ability to hire more Negroes. The few Negroes who do work at Ford busy themselves, usually in twos and threes, apart from their white fellow workers. The official was asked if there were any Negroes among the plant's 250 salaried employees. He answered, "No," with a note of surprise in his voice.

Other companies, whose regional executives seemed genuinely aware of the provisions of the Plans for Progress (and the Executive Order), said their work was extremely technical, implying that it was too technical for a Negro. Few appeared to have considered the hiring of Negroes as secretaries and clerical workers. And only one of the companies has hired a Negro as a salesman. The others reflected the statement of one regional manager, whose firm sells appliances and housewares all over the nation: "We signed it because practically all of our major manufacturing is in the northern part of the country. When we signed this Plans for Progress thing we signed it as a corporation as a whole. It doesn't mean that down here in Atlanta we have to hire them. This is a sales office." His company has a few Negroes on its Atlanta staff. The executive referred to them as "material-handling" people.

An official at Pan American World Airways said that "even though we're an international firm, we have to be localized

in Atlanta." A manager for Kaiser Aluminum, whose president is a member of the President's Committee, commented "it would strike me as rather ridiculous to hire someone [such as a Negro] for an outside sales responsibility. . . . If we had a lot of Negro customers, we would have a Negro salesman."

Another company, which has tried to find "inside" jobs for Negroes in its Atlanta office, has not yet hired a Negro salesman. It took a survey, an executive related, "to determine whether we might employ a Negro salesman. The results indicated there wasn't a need for it at this time. If our marketing needs should change, I don't think we'd hesitate to hire a Negro salesman." By "marketing needs," the representative freely admitted that he meant the Negro market. Yet this firm's Plan for Progress, signed almost one year ago, states: "Persons from minority groups will continue to be considered and selected for hiring for any job openings for which they are qualified, including, but not limited to, supervisory, professional, technical, administrative, clerical, and production jobs."

These statements from company representatives themselves show that, for every company which wants to keep its promise to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, there are several which view the Plans lightly -- or who somehow believe that the program does not affect their Deep South operations. There is also some apparent confusion over the meaning of the phrase, "equal employment opportunity."

At Continental Motors, for example, an official contended that "we allow no discrimination whatsoever." Then he explained the differences between his 23 white and three Negro employes: "Back in the back, where we work these three Negroes, there are eight whites. One of the Negroes is a porter and general helper . . . . The other two are engine teardown and cleanup men. We term them 'mechanic's helpers'. Their restroom is called the 'janitor's room'. They're not told to go anywhere; they just go where they want to go."

* * *

Seven ~~Six~~ of the 24 firms showed evidence of compliance with the objectives laid down in their Plans for Progress. Of these, only three appear to have responded with vigor in their Atlanta operations. They are Lockheed, Western Electric, and Goodyear. The remaining four do at least report the employment of more than a token number of Negroes. ~~three must be classified separately for various reasons. They are Minneapolis Honeywell, International Business Machines, and International Harvester.~~

These last three report the employment of several Negroes -- more than a token number -- but IBM did not give even a general estimate of the dimensions of its program. Minneapolis-Honeywell, which employes Negroes in its warehouse, seems reluctant to seek out qualified Negroes to serve in positions where they would be in contact with the public.

International Harvester's record contains complaints of discrimination which were filed and processed by the President's Committee in connection with the company's position as a defense contractor.

In the last analysis, [redacted] only three of the 24 firms studied appear to be genuinely interested in adhering to both the spirit and the letter of the Plans for Progress, but even in those three cases, there are other considerations which overshadow the Plans to some degree. Lockheed now has an unannounced number of Negro employes -- unannounced because the company desegregated not only its assembly lines, wash rooms, and cafeterias, but its employment records as well. While an accounting of the number of Negroes employed at Lockheed exists, it exists only for the company and the interested federal agencies. There is sufficient evidence from unofficial sources, however, to show that Lockheed is carrying out its pledge and its obligation under Executive Order 10925.

It is worth noting, though, that even before Mr. Kennedy's election and the subsequent creation of Plans for Progress, Lockheed was claiming more than 1,300 Negroes among its Marietta workforce, which then numbered 20,000 persons. Some of these Negroes were foremen. Much of what has occurred at Lockheed since the new administration took office can be credited not to the Plans, but to a series of complaints filed

by the NAACP. A man close to the situation at Lockheed, observed that most of the firm's progress resulted from the NAACP complaints and from the company's own sense of responsibility. "In a way," he said, "they were doing everything they could before the Plan was signed . . . . But there was certainly this idea of going and doing a little bit more. When Lockheed signed the Plan, they went into it wholeheartedly. This wasn't just something they were signing and then turning their backs on. There were some areas that may have gotten a little added impetus from the Plan -- some cases where the Plan made it easier to do some things." ~~He could think of only one specific example of this: the rest rooms were totally segregated.~~

Western Electric, one of the 22 companies associated with the giant American Telephone and Telegraph, operates a facility in Atlanta where 275 production workers and 175 office people handle the repair and distribution of all telephone sets and other equipment for Southern Bell's Atlanta and Georgia systems. The plant also repairs equipment owned by AT&T in the same general area. Western Electric was one of the original ten Plans signers.

"Our commitment is being carried out here and elsewhere," said W. F. Gannon, manager of the distributing house. "That's obvious." Fourteen Negroes are currently employed by Western Electric, 13 of them in production jobs. One is on the office staff. A tour through the production facilities revealed Negroes at work beside whites, with no apparent discrimination

being practiced, either by their co-workers or by the company. "We have made more than a subtle effort to find qualified Negroes," said Mr. Gannon. "We looked three weeks for a comptometer operator. We have felt in all sincerity that we should hire people on their merits, rather than because of their origin." It appears that Negroes already employed by Western Electric will stand equal chances with whites of being promoted into white collar, even executive, jobs in the future. Yet an assessment of the firm's Atlanta stand on discrimination must include the knowledge that the NAACP has previously filed numerous complaints against the company's operations in other cities.

~~Of the three national corporations with Atlanta offices which seem to be taking vigorous steps in the equal employment field,~~ Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company is a good advertisement for Plans for Progress -- and for the power of the Negro market. The firm has about 160 employes in its Atlanta headquarters and in its 12 company-operated stores in the region. Personnel in these stores report to the Atlanta office. Of the 60 store employes, four are Negroes. The four are full-fledged "incentive salesmen," (as Goodyear calls its employes who deal with the public) in Miami, Fla.; Lima, Ohio; Dayton, Ohio; and Pritchard, Alabama, a suburb of Mobile. R. H. Donaldson, regional personnel manager of Goodyear, said all four are paid the same as whites (a base salary plus commission) and all are treated the same as whites. All four of the stores have substantial, but not exclusively, Negro trade.

"Good business? It's excellent business," observed Mr. Donaldson. "Good business from everybody's standpoint except those who are staunch segregationists. As long as they leave this thing more or less voluntary, it'll be all right. We won't have any trouble. In fact, before next year is over I believe we'll have some more Negro salesmen." In all four stores, he said, "Quite a few colored people have dropped in and said 'I bought this set of tires from you because you have a Negro salesman'.

"Sure it's good business. Of course, there are some places in the Deep South where it would be hard to force this on the public. But we are going to carry this program out, wherever we can -- wherever the store is big enough and the situation allows it. Presidential order or no, we would like to have qualified colored salesmen. It would be to our distinct advantage."

* * *

Such is the range of reaction among Atlanta regional executives to the Plans for Progress. Most felt -- and readily stated -- that the Plan was not applicable to them. A few said it would become applicable when the hiring of a Negro would be advantageous, i.e., when the Negro market demanded it. Some did not even know of the existence of the Plans for Progress, while others who knew, and who did employ a few Negro janitors or porters on their staffs, felt that they

were thereby upholding the object of the Plan.

~~It would be harsh to say, as some critics have, that Plans for Progress is a subterfuge for non-compliance with Executive Order 10925, and in a number of cases indications are that the interpretation of the voluntary and affirmative provisions of the program is being left to the individual signers themselves.~~

To sum up,

would be certainly refuted.

Survey Shows Two-Year Gain

New South 8/52

NEGRO FIREMEN IN THE SOUTH

City	Employed Since	*Officers	Other	Total
Charleston, S. C.	1865	2	18	20
Clover, S. C.	1950	—	1	1
Knoxville, Tenn.	1952	2	9	11
Louisville, Ky.	1923	4	20	24
Mobile, Ala.**	1921	2	5	7
Nashville, Tenn.	1885	2	12	14
Oklahoma City, Okla.	1951	—	12	12
Richmond, Va.	1950	—	11	11
Winston-Salem, N. C.	1951	—	8	8
TOTALS		12	96	108

*Volunteer department
**1951 data

The employment of Negroes in municipal fire departments has a long and successful history in the South. Four Southern cities — Charleston, Nashville, Mobile, and Louisville — have employed Negro firemen since 1874, 1885, 1921, and 1923, respectively.

But despite these favorable precedents, only in the past two years has the idea begun to take hold in other communities. A survey conducted by the Southern Regional Council shows that since 1950 five additional Southern cities have employed 43 Negro firemen, bringing the total for the region to 108. Still other cities are either considering or formulating plans to do so. Most notably, Columbia, S. C., contemplates hiring 14 Negro firefighters in the spring of 1953, when a new fire station now under construction is completed.

In some instances, fire departments report that the absence of Negro firefighters is not the result of any official policy of discrimination. One chief comments: "No Negro citizen of this city has ever taken or requested examination. Consequently no Negro has ever been employed by this department and none will be employed until such time as they may qualify through Civil Service examination, which is open to any resident citizen of the city who meets physical, educational, and moral character requirements, regardless of creed or color."

CIVIL SERVICE STATUS

The survey reveals that in most cases Negro firemen are appointed by regular civil service procedures and work under the same rules and salary scales as white firefighters. Work arrangements vary from city to city.

(Continued on Page 8)

Negro Firemen

(Continued from Page 7)

For example, Louisville and Nashville have all-Negro fire companies directed by Negro officers. Their firehouses are located in mixed white and Negro sections, serving all homes in the surrounding areas. In the case of Richmond and Oklahoma City, mixed white and Negro firemen protect all-Negro neighborhoods.

WHITES AND NEGROES COOPERATE

According to the fire chief of Knoxville, the company recently established there has two Negro captains, one on permanent civil service status and one acting. The company is located in an all-Negro section, but "there will be companies of white firemen answering with [the Negro company] at fires, and all firemen, white and colored, will cooperate in the extinguishment of fires."

Columbia's fire company, now in the planning stage, will have white officers and drivers (as in the existing Winston-Salem company). The Negro firemen "will serve a regular probationary period of six months before they are placed on a permanent civil service status and will have to serve out a regular term of a fireman before consideration is given to promotion."

This growing practice is only one of many examples of increased employment of Negro municipal workers in Southern cities. (See NEW SOUTH, May-June, 1951.) In terms of expanded employment opportunity, it is far from the most significant. But in symbolic importance it is perhaps second only to the employment of Negro policemen. In the same sense, it gives Negro citizens greater confidence in a municipal service designed to protect life and property.

It is revealing that each of the five cities recently adding Negro firemen have employed Negro policemen for at least several years. This is no doubt explained in part by the presence in those cities of such common factors as increasing political participation by Negroes and generally improved public attitudes. It also suggests that satisfactory experience with Negro police may pave the way for the employment of Negro firemen.

If that is the case, Negro firemen should soon cease to be a novelty on the Southern scene.

— *Anna Holden, Research Assistant*

Southern Reg'onal Council
52 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Oct. 11, 1954

FIRE DEPARTMENTS
(Supplement to August, 1952 New South)

Columbia, S.C. employed eight Negro firemen in May, 1953, to man a new fire station located in a predominately Negro section of the city. The eight men, who all passed regular civil service examinations, were to train and work under white officers. Before the new firemen were selected there was some objection from the white firemen's union, who advised the Columbia City Council against hiring Negro firemen. The union said it would not object to an all-Negro company with Negro officers, but was opposed to white officers having to eat and sleep in the same quarters with Negro firemen. There were, of course, no trained Negro firemen available to act as officers in the new station.

Florence, S. C. became the third South Carolina city to employ full-time Negro fire fighters in July, 1953. Six Negro firemen were hired to man a new station in a Negro section of town. Apparently all ~~NEGRO~~ firemen in the station are Negro, with no white firemen in supervisory positions.

Baltimore, Md. began hiring Negro firemen for the first time in the city's history, October, 1953. Ten Negroes were among the 46 new fire fighters assigned to stations, according to a statement released by the Board of Fire Commissioners. There was no mention in the release as to whether Negroes would work in segregated or non-segregated units. Baltimore's Urban League led the campaign to open firefighters' jobs to Negroes.

In Louisville, Ky., where Negro firemen have been employed in All-Negro units since 1923, Fire Chief John Krusenklaus announced that Negroes would no longer be used in in all-Negro units, but "wherever we need them." Krusenklaus' statement, released in March, 1954, followed a request from Mayor Broaddus to integrate all city employment in Louisville. At the time the policy change occurred in the fire department there were 41 vacancies in all-white companies. Vacancies were to be replaced from the new civil service list which included both white and Negro applicants.

Washington, D.C. Commissioners ordered integration of the fire department in the nation's capital early in September, 1954, ending a long controversy over the department's policy of segregating its employees. Eighteen Negro firemen were immediately reassigned to formerly white companies, and Fire Chief Millard H. Sutton announced that in the future all personnel assignments will be made "in accordance with the needs of the service." Washington's fire department was integrated before 1919, when the first all-Negro company was established. Another all-Negro company was set up in 1945; two all-Negro companies were created in 1949; a fifth, in 1950.

2, 1957

Texas
w/
Tenn
Ala

Arkansas

State Sovereignty Commission - created by act of legislature, Feb. 1957, headed by governor

has a subversive registration law similar to Internal Security Act of 1950 (The Carson Act)

Florida

special committee to investigate both pro- & anti segregation activity created by 1956 legislature, renewed by 1957 legislature (Johns Committee) - 1957 renewed linked racial agitation with Communist party

adopted broad sedition act in 1953 aimed at Communists, Nazis, anarchists

Georgia

Georgia Education Commission created by act of legislature 1953 - abolished in 1959 replaced by ~~Commission on Constitutional Govt~~

joint legislative investigating committee created 1958

adopted a broad sedition act in 1953 aimed at "seeking to overthrow U.S. or Ga. govt"

Louisiana

joint legislative investigating committee (Reinecke Committee) created in 1954

has a subversive registration law similar to The Carson Act (Louisiana Subversive Activities Law)

Mississippi

State Sovereignty Commission - created by act of legislature, March 1956 - 12 man body headed by Governor

also has a standing (legislative) General Investigating Committee

Texas

has a subversive registration law similar to the Connally Act

has a law outlawing Communist party or making membership in it a crime

Tennessee

special legislative committee 1959 to investigate Highlander

North Carolina

has old registration laws used against NAACP.
requires registration foreign corporations and ~~[illegible]~~ regulating raising influence opinion

more or less permanent bodies:

Arkansas
Georgia
Mississippi
South Carolina

special legislative committee only:

Florida
Louisiana
Virginia
Tennessee

prone

Texas
Alabama
North Carolina

p. 56
47 on cal

Virginia

Act of legislature 1956 created 2 legislative committees:

Committee on Law Reform & Racial Activities (Pocahontas committee)

Committee on Offenses against the Administration of Justice (Thomson comm)

South Carolina

Act of legislature 1958 created Communist Activities Committee - joint House-Senate ~~[illegible]~~ committee

Legislature in 1951 also created South Carolina Education Commission (Fraser commission) to make continuing study segregation policies - so far as I know has not acted as an investigating committee

In 1956, act creating a committee to investigate NAACP activities at South Carolina State College (Negro teachers' college) - situation "cleared up" before it began operating & after a one day hearing it went home

Has a subversive registration act similar to the Carran Act

Alabama

Has a subversive registration law similar to the Carran Act

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

A Special Report

from the S O U T H E R N R E G I O N A L C O U N C I L

PRO-SEGREGATION GROUPS IN THE SOUTH

This is a summary report of a continuing field study of the pro-segregation "resistance" organizations in the Southern States, prepared by Paul Anthony.

Revised
May 23, 1957 (Out of Print. (No additional copies available.)
SR/7
(See Supplement)

THE RESISTANCE GROUPS OF THE SOUTH

The following is a brief summary of resistance group activity in eleven Southern states. This information was collected during a three-month field study conducted in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, and South Carolina. Information on Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia is drawn from the Southern Regional Council's files and correspondence.

In the majority of these states the groups concerned use the designation "Citizens' Councils." This alteration of the original "White Citizens' Councils" is a significant index to the striving for respectability. To eliminate confusion, this report will refer to all groups that use any form of the Citizens' Council title as "WCC's." Such groups now exist in Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. Fifteen other states have similar organizations which are closely associated with the WCC's, including the Georgia States Rights Council, Inc., and the North Carolina Patriots, Inc. To coordinate the activities of the state groups there is now a "Citizens' Councils of America" with offices in Greenwood, Mississippi.

Resistance groups claim a total membership of more than half a million and, based on the information gathered during this survey, they do have well over three hundred thousand in the eleven states covered. Funds at the disposal of these groups are estimated to be in excess of $2,000,000. Their influence and effectiveness vary widely state by state. But in general it may be said that they represent a considerable and growing power.

Following is a state-by-state summary of the status of the organized resistance movement during January, 1957.

ALABAMA - "The Citizens' Councils of Alabama"

Alabama has a strong WCC movement, headed by Sam Engelhardt, Jr., of Shorter, a planter and state senator. (Currently, Engelhardt is also Chairman of the Citizens' Councils of America.) Other major leaders include Walter C. Givhan of Safford, also a planter and state senator; Alston Keith of Selma, an attorney; Luther Ingalls of Montgomery, an attorney; and, Albert Boutwell of Birmingham, an attorney and state senator.

This group does not have the support of the state administration, but it does have considerable support from the legislature, as indicated by the nature of the WCC leadership. In turn, the WCC is particularly active in politics and can be expected to have a significant influence on future state elections.

The Montgomery bus boycott and the Autherine Lucy incident at the state university have been helpful in recruiting members, though it is difficult for the WCC leadership to maintain the emotional pitch created by these controversies. The membership of some 80,000 is located primarily in the central and southern portions of the state, with the greatest concentration being in the Montgomery area, site of the state association headquarters. There is little membership in the extreme southern portion of the state and no organized activity in the upper third of the state north of Birmingham. Membership fees vary from $3 to $5, of which a minimum of $1 is designated for the state office.

A second organization, the North Alabama Citizens' Council has been expelled from the state association because of its extremist approach. As a result the majority of the members in the original NAWCC have transferred to the state association. Asa ("Ace") Carter, the leader of this expelled faction, has little influence in the state but remains active throughout the

South. Carter's participation in the Clinton, Tennessee, disturbances and his association with John Kasper of Washington, D. C., has given new strength to his movement. In addition to his NAWCC Carter has been active with the Alabama KKK.

ARKANSAS - "The Citizens' Councils of Arkansas"

This state has a weak resistance movement, though in the past year the WCC has shown considerable growth under the direction of James D. Johnson of Crossett. Johnson, who leans to emotionalism and advocacy of extreme measures, is a former state senator and an unsuccessful candidate for governor in the May 1956 Democratic primary. He is assisted in the movement by Curt Copeland of Hot Springs, long active in resistance-group activity. (Membership claims run high, but 20,000 is probably the maximum figure.)

The strongest WCC unit in the state is located in Little Rock. There, in December, 1956, the WCC and White America, Inc. merged and adopted the name, Capital Citizens' Council. Robert Ewing Brown, promotion and publicity director of Little Rock stations KTHV and KTHS is president.

FLORIDA

While there are several resistance groups in Florida, none has achieved a position of importance. A WCC movement, largely directed by former Klan leaders, has had little success. A. C. Shuler, a retired Baptist minister, is reported to serve as acting president of the WCC of Florida and M. B. Sherill of Fort Pierce (a co-founder of the 'Pro-Southerners"), serves as secretary. Thus far activity has been limited to the Jacksonville, Tallahassee and Tampa areas. These same areas have experienced some Klan activity during the past year.

A new movement, the National Association for the Protection of White People and Fair Treatment of Negroes, was chartered in Miami in September,

1956, with former Governor Fuller Warren as its attorney. Thus far nothing further has been heard from this group.

Resistance groups have less influence in Florida than in other Southern states. The growing pro-segregation atmosphere is such, however, that this situation could change if the proper resistance leadership presents itself.

GEORGIA - "The States' Rights Council of Georgia, Inc."

The States' Rights Council of Georgia was incorporated on December 27, 1954. On September 23, 1955, at the invitation of Governor Marvin Griffin, 200 of the state's most prominent and influential political and business leaders met and voted to support the movement as "a statewide organization dedicated to the preservation of constitutional government and the maintenance of harmonious race relations."

The Rev. William T. Bodenhamer of Ty Ty, who is a member of the General Assembly, a member of the State Board of Education, a Baptist Minister, and a former school superintendent, was appointed executive secretary and instructed to form local groups in each of the state's 159 counties, with a total membership of at least 150,000. There are no indications that any significant portion of this membership has been secured. However, the downtown Atlanta office of the group is active and distributes an unusually expensive collection of publications. A visiting school teacher who requested such literature was given a generous supply of "teaching materials" which included: a history of the organization; a statement of aims and purposes; a series of expensively reproduced pro-segregation statements by such historical figures as Jefferson and Lincoln; a booklet, "The Supreme Court, The Broken Constitution, and the Shattered Bill of Rights"; "The Cause of the Confederacy"; Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook's booklet, "The Ugly Truth about the NAACP"; a copy of the third party movement newspaper, "Free Men Speak,"; and a copy of the anti-Semitic "Williams Intelligence Summary."

Since its formation the group has enjoyed the unqualified support of the Governor, the state Attorney General, Senator Herman Talmadge, and most of the other significant political leaders of the state. It has not, however, developed into a grass roots movement.

GEORGIA - "The U. S. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan"

During August 1955, announcements were made that an Atlanta auto-assembly plant worker named Eldon L. Edwards had been appointed Imperial Wizard of a revived Klan movement. Since that time the group has obtained a charter and has begun to hold public meetings of robed but unmasked members.

At its inception, the caliber of leadership and strong public opposition to a Klan movement indicated that this new movement was to be of little significance. This may still be the case. However, during the past several months there has been a conspicuous flurry of public activity by the Klan. Public meetings, some impressive in size, have been held in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas. These states, with the possible exception of North Carolina, have formal organizations and officers, and most claim to be divisions or associates of the Atlanta group.

A pattern of Klan activity is now developing which gives some indication of adequate leadership and financing. This leadership may come from Edwards, and the funds may come from membership fees (of $10). The Klan effort to recruit mass membership can be a highly lucrative endeavor. However, if the current trend continues, the possibility must be considered that leadership and financing have been injected which are far superior to that represented by the known Atlanta group.

Under any circumstances the development of a new Klan movement, its leadership, and its support comprise that area of resistance group activity

which most commands attention in the near future.

LOUISIANA - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of Louisiana"

The Louisiana WCC has its headquarters in Homer, site of the first organized resistance activity in that state. The group has an impressive list of officers headed by the chairman, State Senator William M. Rainach of Summerfield, and the executive secretary, attorney W. M. Shaw. Others are J. Stewart Slack of Shreveport, a member of the L.S.U. Board of Supervisors; Malcolm Dougherty of Baton Rouge, president of the Louisiana Farm Bureau Federation; Dr. Emmett Irvin of New Orleans, past president of the Louisiana Medical Association; C. Carneal Goldman of Waterproff, an attorney and farmer; and Harry P. Gamble, Sr., of New Orleans, president of the American Association for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity.

The WCC claims a membership of 75,000 to 100,000 with over 50,000 members in New Orleans; however, it is doubtful if there are actually more than half that number. The membership fee of $5.00 includes $2.00 for the state office. In addition, considerable wealth is represented among WCC supporters - for example, B.H.J. Balter, a prominent realtor in whose downtown office building the New Orleans WCC has its headquarters.

The group is having a growing influence in the state, especially through the legislature where the WCC state chairman is also chairman of the Joint Segregation Committee of the Legislature. The original legislative program of the WCC has been accomplished and it is now turning its attention to Negro registration. Chairman Rainach has issued this warning: "...We are going through the familiar pattern set by registration of Negroes in the early days of reconstruction. Our forefathers knew well the disastrous consequences of that pattern in the South."

In October, 1956, WCC units began challenging the qualifications of registrants in 13 parishes. Thus far some 10,000 names, mostly Negro, have

been removed from the lists of qualified voters.

(Article 8, Section 1 of the Louisiana Constitution requires that any applicant for registration shall be able to read or understand any clause in the constitutions of Louisiana or of the United States. Any two qualified voters may challenge the qualifications of a registered voter or of a person desiring to register. The WCC has served notice that, through these two approaches and through the support of the Joint Segregation Committee of the Legislature, "the problem of Negro registration will be solved in a legal way".)

Other groups in the state include the Federation for Constitutional Government, (James U. Barr, New Orleans); the Southern Gentlemen, Inc., (J. B. Easterly, Baton Rouge); the Ku Klux Klan (Edgar Taylor, Baton Rouge); the Society for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity (Harry P. Gamble, Sr., New Orleans -- largely inactive); and the Knights of the White Christians (Alvin A. Cobb, New Orleans -- inactive). Free Men Speak, a newspaper devoted largely to third party movements, is published in New Orleans by Kent H. Courtney.

MISSISSIPPI - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi"

The Mississippi WCC headquarters are in Greenwood, with "administrative" offices in Jackson. Robert B. Patterson, planter, businessman, and founder of the WCC movement, is executive secretary. W. J. Simmons, a Jackson businessman, is "administrator."

A few counties in the northern part of the state and others along the Gulf do not have WCC units, but this state movement is the strongest in the South and will have considerable influence for years to come. The major opposition to the movement comes from the governor and others of the state Democratic Party, who have refused to lend their official support to the WCC and who took issue with WCC support of the third party movement in the Fall of 1956. This is primarily a fight for political control, however, and does not represent a weakening of the nearly universal white pro-segregation sentiment of the state.

From slightly more than 85,000 members, plus a women's auxiliary, the WCC collects a membership fee of $5.00, of which $1.00 remains in the local unit, $2.00 is sent to the state office, and the remaining $2.00 is used as a subscription to the Citizens' Councils, the official paper.

This state is the fountainhead of the region-wide WCC movement and it is significant that the "temporary national office" of the Citizens' Councils of America is located in Greenwood. The basis of the movement was well expressed in the Mississippi WCC second annual report (1956), which stated: "The best prophet of the future is the past. History proves that the supreme power in the government of men has always been public opinion. Public sentiment is the law!"

This movement has the support of, or is feared by, the majority of the people of Mississippi. In the smaller communities, and generally throughout the Delta, the WCC is almost all-powerful. In these areas, elementary steps in race relations toward achieving the fundamentals of a democratic society have yet to be taken.

NORTH CAROLINA - "The Patriots of North Carolina, Inc."

A charter for the Patriots of North Carolina, Inc., was filed in Raleigh on August 22, 1955 bearing the patriotic date July 4th. It carried the names of 356 men and women from 59 North Carolina counties about whom the Winston Salem Journal and Sentinel commented: "All in all few North Carolina corporations can boast a more impressive list of charter members. For that reason it is unwise to dismiss lightly the Patriots of North Carolina. The group represents something more than a scrubbed-face revival of the Ku Klux Klan in new haberdashery."

The Patriots, estimated to have some 20,000 members, is headed by Dr. W.C. George, a professor at the University of North Carolina Medical School. Its

executive secretary, with offices in Greensboro, is A. Allison James, a Winston Salem druggist and one-time head of the U. S. Savings Bond Sales in North Carolina. Among the charter members and officers are three former Speakers of the state House of Representatives, a trustee of the University of North Carolina, several major industrialists, a former U. S. Attorney, a former state commander of the American Legion, and several respected ministers. This caliber of leadership has set the tone of resistance as being restrained but uncompromising in opposing any possible move toward desegregation. The recent acts of the state legislature are some indication of the measure of their success.

Outside elements have recently attempted a Klan revival in the state, especially in the Kannapolis area. They may be successful, since a potential Klan membership exists there.

SOUTH CAROLINA - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of S. C."

The South Carolina WCC is a moderately strong movement with a membership of approximately 30,000. The largely inactive state office is located in Charleston and a businessman of that city, Micah Jenkins served as first chairman of the group. S. Emory Rogers, an attorney in Summerton was first executive secretary and the actual leader of the movement. Through Rogers the group has become thoroughly involved in politics, especially in the 1956 third party movement. Rogers resigned in December, 1956, due to poor health and, thus far, no replacement has been selected. T. D. Keels, an original worker in the WCC movement and former chairman of the Sumter WCC, is current state chairman.

Much of the work which might be done by the WCC is accomplished through the Gressette Committee, a legislative body charged with maintaining segregation in South Carolina. The Chairman, State Senator Lawrence M. Gressette, is a supporter of the WCC movement but very carefully distinguishes its activities from

the work of his committee, reportedly because he has political ambitions which require that he, not the WCC, receive the credit for maintaining segregation. This type of potential conflict among pro-segregation leaders represents one of the major threats to the continued effectiveness of the WCC.

A number of South Carolinians who might otherwise support the WCC have failed to do so because of these political activities and conflicts and because of the extreme measures, including economic reprisals, taken by the WCC. Economic pressure and other means of intimidation have lessened, at least temporarily. Political activity and support of the third party movement grew during the Presidential campaign and were probably more evident in the South Carolina WCC than in any other statewide resistance group.

The state has denied a charter to the Klan, but considerable and increasing Klan activity is led by Georgia Klansmen. A second and smaller Klan group is now functioning in competition with the Georgia affiliated group.

TENNESSEE

There are several resistance groups in Tennessee, each active in its own area to the general exclusion of the rest of the state. All, however, claim to be statewide organizations.

In Chattanooga there is the Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation headed by Arthur A. Canada, long a disruptive influence in organized labor in the state. Canada and his group receive substantial support from Judge Raulston Schoolfield and attorney Charles Coleman, both political figures of Chattanooga.

In Nashville there is the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, headed by Donald Davidson, well known writer and professor of English at Vanderbilt University. This group has a slate of officers, largely business executives, who represent considerable wealth and influence in the area.

In Memphis there is the WCC headed by the Rev. Wayne Cox, pastor of Woodlawn Terrace Baptist Church. This group has gone through several reorganizations and seems to have much difficulty with membership and finances. Also in Memphis, the Tennessee Citizens for Progress has been formed reportedly as a partial revival of the old Crump organization, interested primarily in political power through a pro-segregation platform. All of the leaders of this group have been identified by Memphis newspapers as being "former lieutenants" of the Crump machine.

A second WCC group, with headquarters in Clinton, was chartered in December, 1956, and is led by John Kasper.

The resistance groups of Tennessee, all of which have insignificant membership, have found it difficult to cooperate with each other and are often in open competition for attention, membership, and finances. Therein lies their greatest weakness. All, with the possible exception of the WCC, are primarily interested in politics and one questions whether the activity is a primary end in itself or merely a means to an end.

Klan activity, which is light, has been limited to the Chattanooga and the Georgia-Tennessee border areas.

TEXAS - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of Texas"

Texas has several resistance groups, of which the WCC is the strongest. Dr. B. E. Masters, retired educator and former junior college president, is chairman of the Association, and attorney Ross Carlton of Dallas is chairman of the WCC executive committee.

Thus far the major activity of the group has been that of campaigning for the pro-segregation referendum of the Democratic primary election of July 28, 1956. More recently WCC members have been active in the several disturbances which have occurred where integration has taken place, as in Mansfield. The

estimated membership of 25,000 and its activities are located largely in east Texas.

Ku Klux Klan activity has shown an increase during the past year though the Texas Attorney General has publicly stated his opposition to a revival of the Klan movement.

VIRGINIA

Virginia has a number of small, and largely ineffective, resistance groups of which the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberty, headed by W. E. Maxey, Jr., of Richmond is probably the strongest. This group claims some 15,000 members in 37 chapters throughout the state; however, the infrequent meetings, spasmodic programs, and lack of publicity indicate little power or effectiveness.

The "Ace" Carter faction of the WCC has been organized under the direction of John Kasper, a book store operator in Washington, D. C., as a unit of the "Seaboard White Citizens' Councils." The group has little membership and less financing but it has been outspoken and has received considerable publicity, especially in Charlottesville. There are no indications of Klan activity, but there are few differences between this WCC faction and the Klan.

These groups cannot claim credit for the considerable change in atmosphere in Virginia during the past year. However, partially because of that change, the state could become a fertile ground for a "respectable" resistance movement.

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MEMBERSHIP, BY STATE, AND ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FEES PAID.

(Omissions represent those areas where a meaningful estimate cannot be made)

State	Estimated Membership	Estimated Funds
Alabama	80,000	$240,000.
Arkansas	20,000	- - *
Florida	5,000	- - *
Georgia	- -	- - **
Louisiana	40,000	200,000
Mississippi	85,000	425,000
North Carolina	20,000	- - **
South Carolina	30,000	50,000.
Tennessee	- -	- - **
Texas	25,000	- - **
Virginia	15,000	- - *
TOTAL	320,000	$1,015,000.

* Represents those states where specific estimates are difficult but where conditions indicate little financing.

** Represents those areas where specific estimates are difficult but where conditions indicate considerable financial backing.

These estimates indicate that approximately $1,000,000 is represented in membership fees. It might be assumed that memberships where no evaluation is made, plus contributions and fund drives, would account for at least $1,000,000 more.

The following are publications in regular circulation among Southern resistance groups. Sample copies or subscriptions may be obtained by writing to the indicated addresses.

The Citizens' Council
("Official Paper of the Citizens' Councils of America." originated as official paper of the Mississippi WCC.)
605 Plaza Building
Jackson, Mississippi
(Monthly - $2.00 per year)

The Augusta Courier
1300 Southern Finance Building
Augusta, Georgia
Roy V. Harris, Editor & Publisher
(Weekly - $4.00 per year)

(The Courier is an independent weekly paper, not published by any group, however it receives considerable circulation among pro-segregation forces, especially in Georgia.)

The White Sentinel
("Official Organ of the National Citizens' Protective Association")
(Published outside the South but distributed by a number of WCC groups, in lieu of printing a local paper)
P. O. Box 156
St. Louis 3, Missouri
(Monthly - $2.00 per year)

SUPPLEMENT

(May 23, 1957)

The resistance movement is currently characterized by three developments: (1) a substantial decrease in total membership, probably to the lowest level in several years, (2) a continuing growth of Klan activity, and (3) a change in tactics.

Reports indicate substantial losses of membership in South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana -- three of the states with the largest WCC memberships. Mississippi, where the Councils are most firmly entrenched, continues an active program, though the group is no longer enjoying the uncontested growth and influence of a year ago. Only in this state does the WCC movement continue to reflect widespread "grass roots" support. The South Carolina group, much involved in state politics, has not announced the appointment of a new executive secretary following the December 1956 resignation of S. Emory Rogers.

In North Carolina, Dr. W. C. George has resigned as executive secretary of the Patriots. The group is still organized, capable of action, and seems to enjoy considerable financial support, though it is probably at its lowest point in membership and activity since it was founded. There has been some Klan activity and the KKK has announced a goal of at least one meeting in every North Carolina county during 1957.

Of the Southern states, Florida has experienced the strongest recent WCC and Klan organizing activity. In February 1957, Robert Patterson, founder and chairman of the Mississippi WCC, helped to organize a state-wide Florida WCC. Homer Barnes, a Tallahassee drug clerk, has become the secretary-treasurer of the new group. This movement is now stronger than at any time in the past, though still with a small membership. John

Kasper was very active in the state during 1957 until his former associations with Negroes in New York's Greenwich Village came to light. This and other information were disclosed during a special legislative committee investigation of the NAACP and several of the resistance groups. There has been much Klan activity in Florida. Bill Hendrix, one-time gubernatorial candidate, claims to be "National Adjutant of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," presumably the Atlanta headquartered group. W. J. Griffin of Tampa, who disbanded the"Florida KKK" in 1955, has announced official revival of that group.

The strongest Klan group continues to be the U. S. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, whose Imperial Wizard is Eldon Edwards of Atlanta. Recently, through national magazines and television, Edwards has enjoyed considerable notoriety. The Klan is unquestionably growing, but it is unlikely that it has reached the 100,000 mark estimated by several sources. The group's biggest problem remains that of competition among rival Klans, especially in South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana. This rivalry has caused one Florida Klan official to complain that Klan groups are springing up like "rabbits and rats." The movement has attracted a number of opportunists.

Public acceptance, too, continues to be a problem. In South Carolina, a Klan group (rival of Edwards' Klan) has been refused a charter by Secretary of State B. Frank Thornton. The refusal was based on an opinion of Attorney General T. C. Callison that "public policy" would not be served by chartering the group. In Montgomery, violence has been attributed to the Klan and several Klansmen have been arrested. In Birmingham, Ace

Carter, recently defeated in his bid for police commissioner, is under indictment charged with shooting two men at a Klan meeting. One of the victims has testified that Carter was leader of the group and the argument arose over the handling of funds.

Despite considerable growth and activity, the Klan has not achieved a position of importance. Its growth does indicate current feeling among extremists and their disappointment with the WCC. The Klan's major significance is its ability, with even a small membership, to create disturbances, violence, and fear.

The new tactics of the more established resistance movement are aimed at swaying public opinion -- especially that of the rest of the country. The recent losses of membership probably do not greatly disturb the top WCC leadership. This was not in the strict sense a grass roots movement and new surges of membership may be expected where segregation is threatened. Of more importance is the move (carried on in many instances in conjunction with state governments and/or officials) to sell to the nation the idea that "the South must be allowed to handle this problem." Current successes in Congress by the opposition to civil rights legislation have encouraged these efforts to influence national opinion.

The fact that the resistance movement is losing in membership should not be misinterpreted. This is a disadvantage to them to be sure, but it may very possibly be only a temporary one. The real strength of the pro-segregation movement has not been its mass membership, but its access to the institutions of power and control. By these standards the resistance forces remain strong. State legislation, national opinion, attacks against pro-integration forces, and increased restriction of the

ballot, all indicate continuing unity and effectiveness among state WCCs and related groups.

In many of the Southern states the once clearly defined resistance group membership may well have been absorbed into the larger society. At no time since May 1954 has public opinion been more akin to the expressed opinions of the WCC.

Douglas' assistant

Suffrage

June 7, 1957

MASTER COPY

MEMORANDUM

From: Research Office, Southern Regional Council

Re: Negro Voter Registration in Southern States

The attached material on Negro voter registration was compiled in the summer of 1956 from official records or from the best estimates available from reliable sources in each county. The registration figures are for 1956 except in Arkansas, where only 1955 figures were available. There have been newspaper reports that Negro registration has decreased in Mississippi, but the Southern Regional Council cannot supply accurate figures for this state. The State Times of Jackson conducted a survey of Negro registration in some Mississippi counties in 1956, and excerpts from its report are included.

We do not have registration data for Tennessee. Because of Texas' extensive geographical area, the consultant did not travel throughout the state's 254 counties. It is estimated that 90% of Texas' Negro population resides in the 95 counties included in this report. The lack of registration data for many counties in North Carolina does not mean that there were no Negroes registered; we could not secure the number of registrants or a racial breakdown of registrants in these North Carolina counties. In all other states, a zero, blank space or dash means that there were no Negro registrants known to our sources of information. If a county has no Negroes registered, the column, "Nonwhite or Negro Population Over 21 (or 18)," should be checked to determine if there are potential Negro registrants. In some counties, persons other than Negroes are part of the nonwhite total, but the majority of the nonwhite persons in the South are Negroes.

majority

important

The Southern Regional Council is aware of the excess of registrants over potentially eligible persons in some counties. However, these are the figures furnished from official records or other reliable sources. Where there is an excess, it may be due, in part, to the failure to purge registration lists and/or population growth since 1950.

ALABAMA

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Autauga	4,042	73
Baldwin	4,493	625
Barbour	7,158	220
Bibb	2,801	235
Blount	429	0*
Bullock	5,425	6
Butler	6,024	805
Calhoun	8,304	1,800
Chambers	7,175	649
Cherokee	736	250
Chilten	2,027	350
Choctaw	4,822	112
Clarke	6,434	700
Clay	1,010	140 ~~0*~~
Cleburne	380	60
Coffee	3,114	600
Colbert	4,519	921
Conecuh	4,435	960
Coosa	1,828	450
Covington	3,157	175
Crenshaw	2,801	600
Cullman	249	81
Dale	2,454	380
Dallas	18,145	275
De Kalb	443	0**
Elmore	5,543	226
Escambia	5,425	1,606
Etowah	7,672	2,000
Fayette	1,497	326
Franklin	700	200
Geneva	1,686	300
Green	6,628	157
Hale	7,041	130
Henry	~~3,929~~ 4029	600
Houston	7,211	1,700
Jackson	1,242	~~0~~ 625
Jefferson	121,667	7,000
Lamar	1,204	100
Lauderdale	4,022	495
Lawrence	3,010	408
Lee	8,954	500
Limestone	4,013	800
Lowndes	6,512	0**
Macon	14,539	1,100
Madison	10,333	1,500

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Marengo	10,226	170
Marion	384	200
Marshall	604	~~0***~~ 20
Mobile	45,493	6,400
Monroe	5,914	140
Montgomery	34,079	2,176
Morgan	4,641	1,500 ~~0***~~
Perry	6,351	300
Pickens	5,547	600
Pike	6,866	720
Randolph	2,728	1,171
Russell	10,135	560
St. Clair	2,363	750
Shelby	3,356	375
Sumter	8,700	295
Talladega	9,318	1,134
Tallapoosa	5,083	~~0~~ 559
Tuscaloosa	14,157	5,500
Walker	3,850	2,800
Washington	2,835	600
Wilcox	8,218	0**
Winston	63	~~0*~~ 7
Total		53,366

* Information could not be secured.

** No Negro registrants known to our sources of information.

*** Estimate of Morgan County probate judge.

Morgan -
2,112
2,529
4,641

ARKANSAS

County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1955	County	Nonwhite Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1955
Arkansas	2934	995	Lee	7572	1610
Ashley	5062	1361	Lincoln	4808	1391
Baxter	3	0	Little River	2107	782
Benton	43	5	Logan	209	183
Boone	0	0	Lonoke	3267	805
Bradley	2744	1210	Madison	9	5
Calhoun	1277	844	Marion	0	0
Carroll	13	2	Miller	5000	1840
Chicot	6924	2588	Mississippi	11975	3915
Clark	3228	1067	Monroe	4930	1031
Clay	6	0	Montgomery	24	15
Cleburne	2	0	Nevada	2578	825
Cleveland	1061	371	Newton	1	0
Columbia	5603	957	Ouachita	7020	2500
Conway	2196	1527	Perry	133	65
Craighead	~~6944~~ 998	292	Phillips	15226	3561
Crawford	414	21	Pike	294	86
Crittenden	16495	1352	Poinsett	1754	195
Cross	4041	723	Polk	9	0
Dallas	2504	1033	Pope	426	150
Desha	6511	2518	Prarie	1192	900
Drew	3118	1038	Pulaski	28881	8364
Faulkner	1480	430	Randolph	102	57
Franklin	91	23	St. Francis	10734	2300
Fulton	5	0	Saline	974	413
Garland	3751	2520	Scott	94	45
Grant	370	231	Searcy	3	0
Greene	40	5	Sebastian	2678	661
Hempstead	5244	1452	Sevier	610	235
Hot Springs	1575	717	Sharp	5	3
Howard	1406	460	Stone	3	0
Independence	407	100	Union	8434	2570
Izard	62	27	Van Buren	59	31
Jackson	2067	1215	Washington	309	40
Jefferson	21174	5774	White	726	288
Johnson	144	18	Woodruff	3549	954
Lafayette	3004	1033	Yell	335	55
Lawrence	164	67			
			Total		67,851 *

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*this is the 1955 total. An estimate from the Arkansas consultant indicated that registration had reached 69,697 in 1956.

FLORIDA

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Alachua	9,430	3,153	Okaloosa	1,177	606
Baker	818	361	Okeechobee	406	348
Bay	4,028	2,012	Orange	14,321	3,137
Bradford	1,408	859	Osceola	958	358
Brevard	3,544	2,160	Palm Beach	22,253	6,520
Broward	12,234	6,958	Pasco	1,713	624
Calhoun	594	231	Pinellas	12,118	3,477
Charlotte	469	268	Polk	15,492	4,989
Citrus	879	580	Putnam	5,199	1,770
Clay	1,230	1,193	St. Johns	5,053	2,051
Collier	1,402	741	St. Lucie	3,732	1,813
Columbia	3,357	1,645	Santa Rosa	928	730
Dade	42,682	19,048	Sarasota	2,896	783
De Soto	1,229	807	Seminole	6,881	2,242
Dixie	387	181	Sumter	1,703	790
Duval	55,832	27,368	Swannee	2,606	565
Escambia	14,521	6,733	Taylor	1,945	91
Flagler	872	64	Union	2,453	6
Franklin	904	521	Volusia	10,415	5,761
Gadsden	10,930	5	Wakulla	833	345
Gilchrist	203	29	Walton	1,051	954
Glades	584	262	Washington	1,056	743
Gulf	1,129	481			
Hamilton	1,983	507			
Hardee	404	375	Total		148,703
Hendry	1,034	135			
Hernando	869	622			
Highlands	2,054	1,243			
Hillsborough	24,941	8,856			
Holmes	326	130			
Indian River	1,764	427			
Jackson	5,843	3,430			
Jefferson	3,272	183			
Lafayette	176	0			
Lake	5,110	1,363			
Lee	3,017	1,818			
Leon	11,213	4,046			
Levy	2,107	603			
Liberty	333	1			
Madison	3,153	1,010			
Manatee	4,425	1,686			
Marion	8,387	4,324			
Martin	1,374	706			
Monroe	2,043	1,652			
Nassau	2,123	1,223			

GEORGIA

County	Nonwhite Population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Nonwhite Population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Appling	1356	1068	Echols	379	15
Atkinson	897	408	Effingham	1838	211
Bacon	558	8	Elbert	3371	986
Baker	1819	0	Emanuel	3597	1657
Baldwin	8461	2487	Evans	1340	494
Banks	229	32	Fannin	47	63
Barrow	1235	413	Fayette	1261	11
Bartow	2404	702	Floyd	6046	2730
Ben Hill	2659	918	Forsyth	25	20*
Berrien	1107	738	Franklin	970	300
Bibb	25993	5140	Fulton	99347	24441
Bleckley	1588	39	Gilmer	14	6
Brantley	451	175	Glascock	470	21
Brooks	4693	707	Glynn	6069	2185
Bryan	1269	885	Gordon	641	348
Bulloch	4755	1795	Grady	3442	527
Burke	8797	399	Greene	3548	2586
Butts	2168	1414	Gwinnett	1751	1000
Calhoun	3232	126	Habersham	381	300
Camden	2062	1556	Hall	2357	1421
Candler	1494	1174	Hancock	4094	1850
Carroll	3578	939	Haralson	721	319
Catoosa	183	129	Harris	3380	275
Charlton	772	12	Hart	1803	327*
Chatham	38272	9720	Heard	867	388
Chattahoochee	1510	8	Henry	3657	1529
Chattooga	1030	1020	Houston	3835	443
Cherokee	473	320	Irwin	2171	800
Clarke	6249	2866	Jackson	1571	436
Clay	2148	97	Jasper	2327	570
Clayton	2070	275	Jeff Davis	1034	42*
Clinch	1222	422	Jefferson	5588	237
Cobb	3935	1948	Jenkins	2899	891
Coffee	3133	980	Johnson	1717	416
Colquitt	4409	1047	Jones	2223	536
Columbia	2451	487	Lamar	2230	673
Cook	1861	750	Lanier	926	473
Coweta	5788	1348	Laurens	7298	3537
Crawford	1806	125	Lee	2456	29
Crisp	4390	835	Liberty	2825	2453
Dade	72	45	Lincoln	1617	3
Dawson	0	0	Long	695	1061
Decatur	6231	895	Lowndes	8350	2767
Dekalb	8694	2650	Lumpkin	82	73
Dodge	2863	2068	Macon	2914	141
Dooly	3887	1008	Madison	2056	126
Dougherty	11773	2130	Marion	4821	54
Douglas	1020	730	McDuffie	1158	356
Early	4790	226	McIntosh	1879	1197
			Meriwether	5727	1207
			Miller	1372	6

GEORGIA, Continued:

County	Nonwhite Population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Nonwhite Population over 18 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Mitchell	5955	345	Washington	6387	1363
Monroe	2885	737	Wayne	1644	1448
Montgomery	1613	887	Webster	1313	0
Morgan	3264	738*	Wheeler	1101	476
Murray	96	28	White	192	189
Muscogee	20031	9987	Whitfield	859	951
Newton	3860	1539*	Wilcox	1841	258
Oconee	932	446	Wilkes	3748	263
Oglethorpe	2201	229	Wilkinson	2621	327
Paulding	602	418	Worth	4837	322
Peach	4270	640			
Pickens	255	80	Total		163,389
Pierce	1295	425			
Pike	1915	372			
Polk	2795	1390@			
Pulaski	2371	248			
Putnam	2295	531			
Quitman	1005	45**			
Rabun	71	17			
Randolph	4971	473			
Richmond	23694	5372			
Rockdale	1322	563			
Schley	1184	134			
Screven	5146	729			
Seminole	1631	22			
Spalding	5075	1151***			
Stephens	1268	514			
Stewart	3463	68*			
Sumter	7441	485			
Talbot	2757	210			
Taliaferro	1575	888			
Tattnall	2384	1681			
Taylor	2233	325			
Telfair	2375	101***			
Terrell	5054	105			
Thomas	8246	1700			
Tift	3576	913			
Toombs	2631	155			
Towns	3	0			
Treutlen	1041	18			
Troup	9423	2036			
Turner	2009	418			
Twiggs	2593	354			
Union	0	0			
Upson	3822	542			
Walker	1389	1136			
Walton	3236	598			
Ware	4979	1998			
Warren	2836	200			

*1954 data or 1956 totals divided on a basis of 1954 Negro-white ratio (some counties do not report racial breakdown for 1956).

**1952 Negro-white ratio applied to 1956 total.

*** 1954 data

@Estimate. Polk did not report a racial breakdown.

KENTUCKY

County	Estimated Negro Population over 18 1956	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Estimated Negro Population over 18 1956	Negroes Registered 1956
Adair	657	550	Hancock	114	27
Allen	187	125	Hardin	2,441	450
Anderson	313	250	Harlan	3,620	3,500
Ballard	398	380	Harrison	478	150
Barren	1,505	867	Hart	993	500
Bath	368	300	Henderson	2,562	1,478
Bell	1,173	845	Henry	608	400
Boone	135	69	Hickman	602	450
Bourbon	1,976	1,000	Hopkins	2,654	1,800
Boyd	720	300	Jackson	2	0
Boyle	1,920	705	Jefferson	49,000	25,000
Bracken	98	363	Jessamine	818	450
Breathitt	56	13	Johnson	2	0
Breckinridge	463	451	Kenton	3,238	2,100
Bullitt	202	72	Knott	110	225
Butler	111	41	Knox	383	200
Caldwell	763	250	Larue	366	400
Calloway	575	350	Laurel	189	220
Campbell	1,043	829	Lawrence	57	30
Carlisle	82	50	Lee	24	15
Carroll	187	160	Leslie	9	5
Carter	29	10	Letcher	772	805
Casey	42	15	Lewis	25	15
Christian	7,072	3,759	Lincoln	777	515
Clark	1,343	851	Livingston	82	41
Clay	306	87	Logan	1,769	1,200
Clinton	40	20	Lyon	624	150
Crittenden	98	81	Madison	2,048	1,650
Cumberland	408	304	Magoffin	10	3
Daviess	2,141	1,125	Marion	1,021	700
Edmonson	84	45	Marshall	14	4
Elliott	0	0	Martin	0	0
Estill	64	45	Mason	1,350	1,000
Fayette	12,719	5,622	McCracken	4,451	2,036
Fleming	255	260	McCreary	24	15
Floyd	427	350	McLean	78	28
Franklin	2,022	851	Meade	212	159
Fulton	1,578	1,100	Menifee	12	5
Gallatin	64	40	Mercer	731	590
Garrard	759	525	Metcalf	304	302
Grant	64	40	Monroe	271	310
Graves	1,293	1,006	Montgomery	937	540
Grayson	62	42	Morgan	2	0
Green	509	275	Mohlenberg	1,140	900
Greenup	115	262	Nelson	1,095	700

KENTUCKY

County	Estimated Negro Population over 18 1956	Negroes Registered 1956
Nicholas	210	168
Ohio	284	180
Oldham	967	500
Owen	284	100
Owsley	45	15
Pendelton	71	50
Perry	990	700
Pike	837	500
Powell	93	140
Pulaski	565	500
Robertson	24	15
Rockcastle	13	10
Rowan	11	4
Russell	99	40
Scott	1,283	900
Shelby	1,573	1,000
Simpson	1,042	350
Spencer	261	125
Taylor	726	550
Todd	1,568	1,500
Trigg	1,002	800
Trimble	12	6
Union	936	700
Warren	3,469	2,500
Washington	826	296
Wayne	279	326
Webster	1,140	400
Whitley	140	90
Wolfe	6	5
Woodford	1,325	850
Total		87,073

LOUISIANA

Parish	Estimated Negro population over 21 1956	Negroes Registered 1956
Acadia	4500	3448
Allen	2470	1811
Ascension	4180	1926
Assumption	3380	1992
Avoyelles	4810	1960
Beauregard	1940	1120
Bienville	3980	587
Bossier	8020	495
Caddo	43770	5500
Calcasieu	14990	6244
Caldwell	1430	450
Cameron	250	236
Catahoula	2070	330
Claiborne	5980	17
Concordia	4560	587
DeSoto	6480	762
E. Baton Rouge	40700	8629
E. Carroll	5150	0
East Feliciana	6390	1361
Evangeline	3290	3262
Franklin	5070	650
Grant	1680	864
Iberia	7130	4225
Iberville	7110	2411
Jackson	2240	1113
Jefferson	13690	6097
Jefferson Davis	2890	1690
Lafayette	8980	4549
Lafourche	2950	1572
LaSalle	860	742
Lincoln	5420	1166
Livingston	1630	1162
Madison	6100	0
Morehouse	8590	935
Natchitoches	8350	2954
Orleans	124600	31880
Ouachita	16400	5782
Plaquemines	2840	49
Pointe Coupee	5580	1319
Rapides	20500	3160
Red River	2600	1512
Richland	5230	740
Sabine	2190	1385
Saint Bernard	1140	802
Saint Charles	2350	1949
Saint Helena	2170	1694
Saint James	3740	2117
Saint John, The Baptist	3730	2426
Saint Landry	16500	13050
Saint Martin	4400	2583
Saint Mary	7820	2668

Parish	Estimated Negro Population over 21 1956	Negroes Registered 1956
Saint Tammany	4450	1997
Tangipahoa	9550	3749
Tensas	4500	0
Terrebonne	5880	980
Union	3160	1600
Vermillion	2390	1916
Vernon	1470	891
Washington	6520	1806
Webster	6940	1769
W. Baton Rouge	3530	1017
W. Carroll	1420	292
W. Feliciana	4000	0
Winn	2480	1430
Total		161,410

Mississippi

The State Times of Jackson, Mississippi surveyed a number of counties in the fall of 1956 to determine changes in Negro registration since 1952. The 1956 and 1952 registration figures below are those released by The State Times.

COUNTY	NON-WHITE POPULATION OVER 21 1950	NEGROES REGISTERED 1956	NEGROES REGISTERED 1952
Benton	1,749	35	35
Calhoun	1,893	2	3
Choctaw	1,482	13	18
Clarke	3,849	0	0
Covington	2,354	440	311
Hinds	35,021	4,305	2,500
Issaquena	1,790	0	0
Itawamba	470	36	12
Marion	4,103	500	100
Sharkey	4,533	1	1
Smith	1,400	13	1
Tunica	9,123	38	3
Wilkinson	4,558	55	50

NORTH CAROLINA

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Alamance	6,897	3,300	Hertford	6,210	700
Alexander	516		Hoke	4,201	385
Alleghany	147		Hyde	1,207	50
Anson	6,143	1,560	Iredell	5,387	1,100
Ashe	154		Jackson	732	
Avery	151		Johnston	6,686	1,200
Beaufort	7,066	200	Jones	2,238	165
Bertie	7,016	400	Lee	3,214	585
Bladen	5,496	600	Lenoir	10,266	2,500
Brunswick	3,322	550	Lincoln	1,593	500
Buncombe	9,950	4,200	McDowell	796	400
Burke	1,824		Macon	198	
Cabarrus	5,169		Madison	105	50
Caldwell	1,574		Martin	6,117	1,500
Camden	991		Mecklenburg	29,472	8,750
Carteret	1,599		Mitchell	35	
Caswell	4,383	950	Montgomery	1,960	945
Catawba	2,878	1,000	Moore	8,900	1,002
Chatham	3,963		Nash	11,712	2,400
Cherokee	172	50	New Hanover	11,675	5,445
Chowan	2,681		Northampton	8,206	500
Clay	44		Onslow	3,316	500
Cleveland	6,652		Orange	4,385	
Columbus	7,897	350	Pamlico	1,549	100
Craven	8,446		Pasquotank	4,961	
Cumberland	14,275	1,200	Pender	4,180	
Currituck	1,102		Perquimans	2,290	
Dare	241		Person	4,118	1,400
Davidson	3,563	2,000	Pitt	14,057	500
Davie	1,143	325	Polk	799	400
Duplin	7,336		Randolph	2,273	600
Durham	20,101	9,500	Richmond	6,065	1,525
Edgecombe	12,845	600	Robeson	22,062	4,000
Forsyth	25,027	13,000	Rockingham	6,966	1,700
Franklin	6,643		Rowan	7,080	2,500
Gaston	8,163		Rutherford	2,828	
Gates	2,344		Sampson	8,660	
Graham	113		Scotland	5,791	488
Granville	7,179		Stanly	2,329	
Green	3,690		Stokes	932	
Guilford	22,309	8,000	Surry	1,372	
Halifax	14,350	950	Swain	706	
Harnett	5,924	900	Transylvania	385	
Haywood	488	125	Tyrrell	939	
Henderson	1,319		Union	4,666	1,095

NORTH CAROLINA

County	Non-white Population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Vance	7,179	1,000
Wake	21,902	5,000
Warren	6,908	800
Washington	2,730	
Watauga	129	
Wayne	15,141	1,500
Wilkes	1,482	
Wilson	10,964	1,500
Yadkin	576	200
Yancey	116	80

A total of the registrants listed would not ~~indicate~~ include all of the Negroes registered since figures were unavailable for many counties. It is estimated that 135,000 Negroes were registered in all North Carolina counties in the summer of 1956.

SOUTH CAROLINA

County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes registered 1956
Abbeyville	3,678	15
Aiken	9,896	1,500
Allendale	3,891	350
Anderson	9,993	3,000
Bamberg	4,485	500
Barnwell	4,776	750
Beaufort	7,624	2,000
Berkeley	8,125	3,200
Calhoun	4,437	0
Charleston	34,111	6,000
Cherokee	3,692	1,000
Chester	6,788	650
Chesterfield	6,059	3,500
Clarendon	9,279	1,200
Colleton	6,768	1,200
Darlington	10,455	9,000
Dillon	6,520	4,000
Dorchester	5,772	800
Edgefield	4,312	800
Fairfield	5,931	550
Florence	16,650	1,600
Georgetown	7,321	2,100
Greenville	17,150	9,000
Greenwood	6,782	2,500
Hampton	4,607	350
Horry	6,969	2,700
Jasper	3,281	1,100
Kershaw	7,065	1,000
Lancaster	5,111	1,500
Laurens	7,313	700
Lee	6,246	1,500
Lexington	4,698	150
McCormick	2,625	0
Marion	8,668	1,500
Marboro	7,460	1,200
Newberry	5,896	775
Oconee	2,457	2,000
Orangeburg	19,158	2,200
Pickens	2,364	900
Richland	28,383	12,500
Saluda	2,971	500
Spartanburg	17,546	7,000
Sumter	14,807	1,800
Union	4,879	1,500
Williamsburg	12,121	900
York	10,904	2,900
Total		99,890

TEXAS*

(151) Total: 214,000** ** estimate

County	Nonwhite population Over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956	County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes Registered 1956
Anderson	5,323	1,488	Lamar	4,617	1,721
Angelina	3,554	2,336	Lavaca	1,291	674
Austin	1,642	112	Lee	1,399	616
Bailey	141	78	Leon	2.538	1,426
Bastrop	3.385	1,103	Liberty	3,359	1,626
Bell	5,273	1,264	Limestone	3,959	1,894
Bexar	22,310	15,497	Lubbock	4,481	2,016
Bowie	8,813	3,012	McLennan	13,326	6,038
Brazoria	4,470	2,765	Madison	1,352	561
Brazos	5,006	2,504	Marion	3,086	913
Burleson	2,318	835	Matagorda	2,787	1,174
Caldwell	1,785	481	Midland	1,258	1,023
Camp	1,946	779	Milam	2,735	1,182
Cass	4,332	947	Montgomery	3,530	1,361
Chambers	876	339	Morris	1,529	422
Cherokee	6,447	986	Nacogdoches	4,378	2,015
Collin	2,077	350	Navarro	5,574	1,513
Colorado	2,567	1,139	Newton	1,923	1,081
Dallas	54,332	15,626	Nueces	5,182	2,684
Dawson	550	62	Orange	2,558	1,536
Denton	1,362	231	Panola	3,035	1,264
De Witt	1,975	349	Polk	2,624	913
Ector	988	260	Potter	2,408	712
Ellis	5,841	1,711	Red River	2,787	533
El Paso	3,139	1,433	Robertson	4,371	1,114
Falls	4,612	1,934	Rockwall	770	283
Fannin	1,851	638	Rusk	6,614	3,163
Fayette	2,185	1,244	Sabine	1,198	361
Fort Bend	4,437	858	San Augustine	1,515	601
Freestone	3,197	1,495	San Jacinto	1,981	572
Galveston	15,520	6,490	Shelby	2,963	615
Gonzales	2,134	896	Smith	12,599	3,713
Grayson	3,892	1,117	Tarrant	26,495	8,571
Gregg	8,595	2,398	Taylor	1,659	739
Grimes	3,427	767	Travis	13,890	5,268
Guadalupe	2,101	699	Trinity	1,576	1,023
Hardin	1,815	827	Upshur	3,032	1,369
Harris	96,679	36,654	Victoria	2,051	1,898
Harrison	12,840	3,914	Walker	4,322	1,406
Hays	718	210	Waller	3,150	1,063
Henderson	2,531	1,403	Washington	3,957	3,750
Hill	2,445	738	Wharton	4,337	1,963
Hopkins	1,395	374	Wichita	3,935	1,006
Houston	4,631	2,023	Williamson	3,203	813
Hunt	3,411	1,157			
Jackson	993	557			
Jasper	2,790	1,273			
Jefferson	26,477	10,567			
Johnson	1,048	370			
Jones	700	144			
Kaufman	4,782	1,274			

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~~If the estimated registration of Negroes for the unlisted counties is added to the above, Negro registration in Texas is 214,000 in 1956.~~

VIRGINIA

County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes registered 1956	County	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes registered 1956
Accomac	6,591	220	King George	987	325
Albemarle	2,840	350	King William	1,888	260
Alleghany	1,193	168	Lancaster	2,015	415
Amelia	1,999	555	Lee	257	97
Amherst	2,854	546	Loudoun	2,098	531
Appomattox	1,107	202	Louisa	2,602	361
Arlington	4,248	1,185	Lunenburg	2,905	500
Augusta	956	179	Madison	976	79
Bath	480	21	Mathews	1,139	150
Bedford	2,916	1,066	Mecklenburg	7,655	335
Bland	79	12	Middlesex	1,568	212
Botetourt	891	0	Montgomery	959	465
Brunswick	5,503	705	Nansemond	8,931	1,148
Buchanan	6	0	Nelson	1,882	352
Buckingham	2,493	290	New Kent	1,150	240
Campbell	3,357	955	Norfolk	8,898	1,426
Caroline	3,086	406	Northampton	5,105	529
Carroll	200	11	Northumberland	2,118	716
Charles City	1,930	704	Nottoway	3,607	655
Charlotte	2,702	284	Orange	1,791	247
Chesterfield	4,489	1,150	Page	313	110
Clarke	746	255	Patrick	626	80
Craig	13	0	Pittsylvania	9,271	502
Culpepper	1,907	452	Powhatan	1,349	329
Cumberland	1,996	340	Prince Edward	3,468	725
Dickenson	163	57	Prince George	3,129	175
Dinwiddie	7,879	395	Prince William	1,524	---
Elizabeth City	6,973	inc. with Hampton	Princess Anne	5,724	1,414
Essex	1,594	126	Pulaski	1,165	695
Fairfax	6,563	1,115	Rappahannock	617	330
Fauquier	2,913	106	Richmond	1,077	235
Floyd	236	104	Roanoke	2,321	539
Fluvanna	1,301	82	Rockbridge	1,211	345
Franklin	1,750	307	Rockingham	409	78
Frederick	214	48	Russell	370	75
Giles	265	140	Scott	187	36
Gloucester	1,960	513	Shenandoah	231	75
Goochland	2,515	657	Smyth	289	82
Grayson	462	53	Southampton	7,972	575
Greene	357	87	Spotsylvania	1,470	335
Greensville	4,506	790	Stafford	800	350
Halifax	8,675	521	Surry	1,941	310
Hanover	3,388	764	Sussex	4,034	540
Henrico	3,253	814	Tazewell	1,667	267
Henry	3,474	400	Warren	663	137
Highland	103	11	Washington	741	148
Isle of Wight	3,957	735	Westmoreland	2,285	331
James City	1,590	330	Wise	1,376	207
King & Queen	1,795	205	Wythe	663	169
			York	1,699	607

Virginia - continued

Independent City	Nonwhite population over 21 1950	Negroes registered 1956
Alexandria City	5,129	1,640
Bristol City	704	110
Buena Vista	148	29
Charlottesville	3,079	1,054
Clifton Forge	645	171
Colonial Heights	7	0
Covington		310
Danville	6,517	1,448
Falls Church	90	42
Fredricksburg	1,224	357
Galax		15
Hampton	8,617	2,087
Harrisonburg	433	185
Hopewell	917	350
Lynchburg	6,506	2,506
Martinsville	2,825	352
Newport News	11,754	3,341
Norfolk	42,028	9,328
Norton		135
Petersburg	9,399	1,407
Portsmouth	19,196	3,444
Radford	369	144
Richmond	48,257	11,569
Roanoke	9,420	2,408
South Norfolk	1,434	868
Staunton	1,397	285
Suffolk	3,004	476
Virginia Beach City		100
Warrick City	7,129	868
Waynesboro	564	130
Williamsburg	569	93
Winchester	722	91
Total		82,603

MASTER COPY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
September, 1959

Bibliog

SELECTED FILM BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Note: Distributor's addresses are listed on final page.)

EDUCATION

1. "The Baltimore Story." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Anti-Defamation League, Southern Regional Office. ($2.00 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

   An account of the processes followed in desegregating the Baltimore school system, which emphasizes actions taken by school officials to meet crisis situations.

2. "A City Decides." 27½ minutes, 16mm. Rental: $7.50 per booking. Contemporary Films.

   "...the timely, true story of how desegregation was affected in the public schools of St. Louis."

3. "Clinton and the Law." 54 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $15.00. Contemporary Films or McGraw-Hill Company.

   "A documentary based on the actual occurrences in Clinton, Tennessee, portraying the situation when desegregation was introduced and the community reactions to it," this kinescope of a "See It Now" telecast covers events through early 1957.

4. "Segregation and the South." 60 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $15.00. Contemporary Films.

   "A documentary film study of the progress and reaction since the Supreme Court ordered integration of the nation's schools... (and) in other fields." (1954 - early 1957.)

5. "Segregation in the Schools." 28 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $10.00. Contemporary Films, or McGraw-Hill Company.

   A kinescope of an Edward R. Murrow "See It Now" telecast which "describes and discusses desegregation and public reaction in Southern communities."

6. "Wanted - A Place to Live." 15 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($2.00 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

A "story of racial prejudice and discrimination against college students," this film is largely concerned with off-campus housing discrimination but is "constructed for use in psychological research in field of social perception of ethnic differences."

EMPLOYMENT

1. "Commencement," 20 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($2.00 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

   Deals with "causes and effects of racial and religious discrimination in employment."

2. "The New Girl," 28 minutes, 16 and 35mm. Contact President's Committee on Government Contracts for loan of the film.

   "Mary is 'The New Girl'...She is a Negro, the first in the office of the company...The human elements of the break with tradition are vivid in this motion picture story."

HOUSING

1. "All the Way Home," 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental fee: $15.00, Dynamic Films, Inc.

   "...examines the confused reaction of a community when a Negro family stops in front of a 'For Sale' sign...objectively explores the contagion of unreason and the guilt and other feelings which are barriers against a solution of the integration problem."

2. "The Burden of Truth," 67 minutes, 16mm. Apply to Anti-Defamation League, National Office, for availability and rental information.

   "A Negro family moves into a white suburban community and a mob gathers in protest. Through flashbacks, we discover the problems--and prejudices--that the young Negro faced in growing up."

3. "Crisis in Levittown, Pa." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental fee: $15.00, Dynamic Films, Inc.

   "Laced with a searching narration...these interviews...actually catch a whole community in turmoil during a moment of crisis."

RACE AND RACE RELATIONS

1. "To Live Together," 32 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($2.00 flat price for showings in Southern Region.)

"Examines American 'race problem' through eyes of a group of children at an experimental summer interracial camp."

2. "Brotherhood of Man." 10 minutes, 16mm. Rental: Apply to national or regional Anti-Defamation League. ($2.00 flat price of showings in Southern Region.)

"Animated color cartoon which presents in a humorous and entertaining way the scientific facts of how people are essentially alike." (Adult level.)

OTHER

1. "Face of the South." 30 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $2.00. Anti-Defamation League, Southern Office or United Auto Workers Film Library, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.

A discussion, with graphic illustrations, of factors affecting the economic and social development of the South. (Based on George Mitchell's famous "map talk.")

2. "Report From Alabama." 27 minutes, 16mm. Contact Anti-Defamation League, Southern Regional Office for rental and availability information, or AFL-CIO Film Division (rental: $3.00).

A kinescope report, first produced on television, on denials of suffrage rights in Tuskegee and elsewhere in Alabama, culminating in the 1958 Civil Rights hearings.

3. "The Constitution and the Right to Vote." 28 minutes, 16mm. Rental: $3.00. AFL-CIO Film Division.

"Traces the steps by which the aggrieved party took his case into the courts and was eventually upheld by the Supreme Court of the United Stated." Based on two cases in which the "white primary" was challenged. Legalistic nature of the production is countered by a cast of "real-life" characters and sustained dramatic action.

ADDRESSES OF DISTRIBUTORS

1. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, National Office
515 Madison Avenue
New York 28, New York

2. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Southern Regional Office
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 703
Atlanta, Georgia

3. Contemporary Films
   13 East 37th Street
   New York 16, New York

4. Dynamic Films, Inc.
   Department H
   405 Park Avenue
   New York 22, New York

5. McGraw-Hill Company
   Text Film Department
   330 West 42nd Street
   New York, New York

6. AFL-CIO Film Division
   815 - 16th Street, N. W.
   Washington 6, D. C.

7. President's Committee on Government Contracts
   Washington 25, D. C.

DESEGREGATION OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES IN THE SOUTHERN STATES
October, 1959

Alabama

Mobile - An Associated Press story of November 14, 1955, states, "Some Mobile, Alabama, neighborhood parks have always been used by both races." There is no specific reference to golf courses. A suit was filed in April, 1958, asking that the city's new golf course be desegregated.

Arkansas

Not available.

Delaware

Wilmington's swimming pools operated on an integrated basis for the first time, Summer, 1956.

Florida

Pensacola's municipal golf course is open to both Negroes and whites, although separate club houses are provided. (Opened, May 1956)

Miami - Without incident, municipal Miami Springs Golf Course was desegregated April, 1958, after U. S. Circuit Court affirmation of a district court's desegregation order. The course clubhouse was leased to an individual who planned segregated operation. (Note: All Miami recreational facilities were opened to Negroes by action of City Manager, late Oct., 1959. The City Commission rescinded the order several days later.)

West Palm Beach - City-owned golf course desegregated in compliance with federal court ruling. April, 1958.

Georgia

Atlanta Municipal Golf Courses were opened to Negro players after a ruling by the Supreme Court in December, 1955. Atlanta's annual Arts' Festival in municipal Piedmont Park is open to both Negro viewers and exhibitors.
Savannah Municipal Golf Course opened, Feb., ~~March~~ 1961.

Kentucky

Louisville - The city's five golf courses are opened to Negroes, 1955.

Louisiana

New Orleans - Segregation barriers at New Orleans City Park were dropped in December, 1958, following receipt of a mandate of the U. S. Supreme Court. Park General Manager Ellis Laborde said the action "means Negroes are now permitted to use all park facilities - the tennis courts, the baseball fields, the golf courses, the amusement rides - all facilities.

The swimming pool is closed at this time. I won't be able to say anything about it." Laborde said he had "no intent of violating the order of the United States Supreme Court." (The park integration issue has been in the courts since 1949.)

Maryland

Baltimore - The City Board of Recreation and Parks ends segregation in city parks and recreation facilities, November, 1955. In 1956, desegregation of eight city pools is termed successful by assistant superintendent or parks.

Maryland Commission on Forests and Parks ends segregation in all state parks, forests, and recreation areas under its jurisdiction, November 1955.

Mississippi

All facilities are thought to be rigidly segregated.

North Carolina:

City golf courses are desegregated in the following North Carolina cities: Charlotte (January, 1959); Asheville (January, 1956); Asheboro; High Point (February, 1956); Winston-Salem (1956); Thomasville (1956); Gastonia (1954); court orders preceded desegregation of golfing facilities in Charlotte and Asheville.

South Carolina

Evidently no desegregated facilities.

Tennessee

Nashville municipal golf courses are desegregated fully, February, 1956.

Knoxville - Formerly white parks, Tyson and Chilhowee, and the Negro park, Cowan, desegregated Summer, 1955.

Reported Aug. 1961 Oak Ridge - Swimming Pool, Library; Restaurants (McCrory's, Walgreen's, Holiday Inn, Gourmet only)

Texas

Houston and Dallas - Golf courses opened to both races, June 1954.

Fort Worth - public golf courses desegregated fully, 1955.

San Antonio - Public golf courses opened to Negroes, 1956. City swimming pools, tennis courts, rest rooms, and the auditorium are desegregated in 1956.

Beaumont - Negroes begin using the city's only municipal golf course, 1955.

Corpus Christi - Negroes admitted to golf course + municipal swimming pool, 1956.

Austin - All public facilities desegregated, March, 1956.

Virginia

Portsmouth - Golf courses desegregated by court order, August, 1956.

Norfolk's Seashore State Park, closed since 1955, scheduled to reopen in mid-May, 1961, with no segregation. A 200-acre section formerly used for recreation, swimming, picnic facilities, and cabins, will remain closed.

[Richmond News Leader - 2/13/61]

Master

DESEGREGATION OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES IN THE SOUTHERN STATES - AUGUST 1960 - ADDITIONS

Charlotte, N. C. It was announced in July, 1960 by the Parks and Recreation Commission that all three city-owned swimming pools will be desegregated. The commission warned that pools would be closed in the event of trouble. Desegregation is apparently proceeding slowly. Although 3 Negro girls were allowed to swim in the previously all-white pool in Revolution Park, 4 Negroes were, the following day, refused admission. Pools include the one in Revolution Park, a previously all-white facility in Cordelia Park, and one formerly for Negroes only in Double Oaks Park.

Bonnie Brae Golf Course, also in Revolution Park, was desegregated in 1958.

Kentucky state parks and their facilities are desegregated.

Daytona Beach, Fla. public beach facilities reportedly were desegregated in 1960. [PR report]

At least some Miami Beach, Fla. public beaches are used by Negroes without interference by police (Reported Aug., 1960) [AP - 8/9/60]

Miami swimming pools, following court order. May, 1961 [NAACP Newsletter Report ———]

Additions to Master Copy - Desseg. of Rec. Facilities

Savannah, Ga - Golf course, 1961; by action of city council, (lost)

Mobile, Ala - Fed. Judge orders golf course open to Negro players. 1961.

Charleston, S.C. Golf course ordered desseg. by May 26, 1961. Officials indicate they will comply.

Miami, Fla. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals enjoins city from denying Negroes use of municipal swimming pools, 1961.

Arlington, Va. All 57 parks + playgrounds and five recreation centers desegregated by County Board, May, 1961.

Macon - Golf course voluntarily desegregated, June, 1961.

DESEGREGATION OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES IN THE SOUTHERN STATES - AUGUST 1960 - ADDITIONS

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Bonnie Brae Gold course, also in Revolution Park, was desegregated in 1958.

Kentucky state parks and their facilities are desegregated.

September 1, 1960

Cities in which there have been demonstrations of some sort (excluding sympathy demonstrations in unsegregated cities):

	Date of First Demonstration:	City:
1.	2/1	Greensboro, N. C.
2.	2/8	Durham, N. C.
3.	2/8	Winston-Salem, N. C.
4.	2/9	Charlotte, N. C.
5.	2/9	Fayetteville, N. C.
6.	2/10	Raleigh, N. C.
7.	2/11	Elizabeth City, N. C.
8.	2/11	High Point, N. C.
9.	2/11	Hampton, Va.
10.	2/12	Concord, N. C.
11.	2/12	Norfolk, Va.
12.	2/12	Portsmouth, Va.
13.	2/12	Rock Hill, S. C.
14.	2/12	Deland, Fla.
15.	2/13	Nashville, Tenn.
16.	2/13	Tallahassee, Fla.
17.	2/15	Newport News, Va.
18.	2/16	Salisbury, N. C.
19.	2/18	Shelby, N. C.
20.	2/18	Suffolk, Va.
21.	2/19	Chattanooga, Tenn.
22.	2/20	Richmond, Va.
23.	2/22 (or 2/20)	Baltimore, Md.
24.	2/25	Montgomery, Ala.
25.	2/25	Orangeburg, S. C.
26.	2/25	Henderson, N. C.
27.	2/25	Charleston, S. C.
28.	2/27	Lexington, Ky.
29.	2/27	Tuskegee, Ala.
30.	2/27	Petersburg, Va.
31.	2/29	Chapel Hill, N. C.
32.	2/29	Denmark, S. C.
33.	2/29	Tampa, Fla.
34.	3/1	Monroe, N. C.
35.	3/2	St. Petersburg, Fla.
36.	3/2	Sarasota, Fla.
37.	3/2	Daytona Beach, Fla.
38.	3/2	Columbia, S. C.
39.	3/3	Atlanta, Ga.
40.	3/4	Sumter, S. C.
41.	3/4	Florence S. C.
42.	3/4	Orlando, Fla.
43.	3/4	Miami, Fla.
44.	3/4	Houston, Texas

	Date of First Demonstration	City:	
45.	3/5	Xenia, Ohio	
46.	?	Greenville, S. C.	
47.	3/7	Sanford, Fla.	(N)
48.	3/7	Bluefield, W. Va.	
49.	3/7	Knoxville, Tenn.	
50.	3/8	New Orleans, La.	
51.	3/10	Little Rock, Ark.	
52.	3/10	Huntsville, Ala.	
53.	3/10	Lynchburg, Va.	
54.	3/11	Austin, Texas	
55.	3/11	Galveston, Texas	
56.	3/12	Jacksonville, Fla.	
57.	3/14	San Antonio, Texas	
58.	3/15	St. Augustine, Fla.	
59.	3/16	Savannah, Ga.	
60.	? 3/17	New Bern, N. C.	
61.	3/18	Memphis, Tenn.	
62.	3/19	Arlington, Va.	
63.	3/19	Arlington, Va.	
64.	3/19	Lenoir, N. C.	
65.	3/21	Statesville, N. C.	
66.	3/22	Oak Ridge, Tenn.	
67.	?	Las Vagas, Nev.	(N)
68.	3/25	Pine Bluff, Ark.	(B)
69.	3/26	Lynchburg, Va.	
70.	3/26	Charleston, W. Va.	
71.	3/26	Marshall, Tex.	
72.	?	Waco, Tex.	
73.	3/28	Baton Rouge, La.	
74.	?	St. Joseph, Mo.	(N)
75.	3/31	Birmingham, Ala.	
76.	4/2	Danville, Va.	
77.	4/2	Frankfort, Ky.	
78.	4/5	Pensacola, Fla.	
79.	4/10	Jackson, Miss.	(B)
80.	4/9	Augusta, Ga.	
81.	4/17	Biloxi, Miss.	
82.	4/21	Beaumont, Tex.	
83.	4/26	Dallas, Tex.	
84.	4/27	Shreveport, La.	
85.	4/28	Hopewell, Va.	
86.	?	Lawrenceville, Va.	(B)
87.	5/18	Panama City, Fla.	
88.	6/30	Montgomery Co., Md.	
89.	7/1	Fredericksburg, Va.	
90.	7/4	Gulfport, Miss.	
91.	7/9	Kansas City, Mo.	
92.	? 7/10	Rockville, Md.	
93.	7/13	Tomoko State Park, Fla.	
94.	7/27	Spartanburg, S. C.	
95.	7/26	Bethesda, Md.	
96.	before 6/11	Kansas City, Kansas	

Sept. 1960

Master - Research Office -

STATE & CITY	Number Schools	Number Negro Pupils
ARKANSAS**		
Bentonville		2
Charleston		8
*Dollarway	1	1
Fayetteville		31
Ft. Smith		4
Hoxie		8
Van Buren		21
Little Rock	2	12
Pulaski County		10
** All but Dollarway and Little Rock approximate numbers.		
Approximate Total		97
NORTH CAROLINA		
Yancey County (approx.)		8
*Raleigh	1	1
Charlotte		2
Greensboro		5
Winston-Salem		9
Durham		12
High Point		3
*Chapel Hill		3
Wayne County		17
Craven County		25
Approximate Total		85
TENNESSEE		
*Knoxville	8	28
Anderson County (Clinton)	1	14
~~Rutherford County~~	~~2~~	~~1959:14~~
Nashville	10	159
Smyrna	2 X	12
Court order Voluntary *Knox County-all first grades opened to Negroes		0
Oak Ridge, (approx.)	2	1959:100
Approximate Total		~~327~~ 313

* Desegregated for first time

STATE & CITY	Number Schools	Number Negro Pupils
FLORIDA		
Miami	4**	27
Total		27
** One of the four, Orchard Villa, has 802 Negro children and 1 white. It is not included in column showing number of Negro children.		
TEXAS		
*Houston	3	11
130 Districts		
Estimated Total		3,500
VIRGINIA		
*Grayson-Galax**	1	7
*Richmond	1	2
*Roanoke	3	9
*Pulaski County	1	13
Charlottesville	2	20
Norfolk	6	23
Alexandria	6	26
*Fairfax County	8	~~24~~ 27
Arlington	7	45
Warren County	1	17
Floyd	2	19
		~~205~~ 208
** Grayson-Galax are two separate districts, but are considered as one by Southern School News.		

159
93
252

X- file

Proposed & Testimony

Pub Accom

According to news stories, these organizations no longer hold conventions or meetings where all delegates cannot be accommodated without discrimination:

American Association for the Advancement of Science

U. S. Conference of Mayors

Southern Sociological Society 4/12/1960 Atlanta Journal
About 250 delegates attend annual meeting
About 5% Negro membership

Southern Psychological Association

Southern Political Scientists Association

International Convention of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) in 1953 agreed to meet only where delegates would be accommodated without discrimination; reaffirmed in 1960 when some discrimination developed at meeting.

13,000 delegates

Amer

These assoc will not have seg. meetings from now on

① Am. Fed. of Cath. Workers for the Blind (see Pub Accom. '61)

② Am. Assoc. for the Adv. of Sci.

③ U.S. Conf. of Mayors

④ Southern Soc. Soc.

⑤ Southern Psych. Assoc.

⑥ Southern Polt. Sci. Assoc.

⑦ Inter. Convent. of Christ. Sci.

see note that pertains 1960

⑧ In the future (1962) Equity members will not appear in indust. shows before seg. audiences (see Press 1961)

(more int. inside)

(4) Am. Soc. Ass. fcod Chase-Park
Hotel in St Louis to open pool (8/31/61 -
Pub Accon.) E

Biracial Conventions Pose Added Problems for South

Compiled

by

Southern Regional Council

Research Department

In the Winter and Spring, 1960, SRC attempted to compile a directory of convention facilities available in the South for biracial groups. The response by hotels and convention bureaus to our mail questionnaire was disappointing, and therefore no comprehensive directory can be prepared at this time. Much interesting information was, however, obtained. It is presented here both because of the help it may provide to biracial groups seeking places to meet, and because of the further light it sheds on the shifting patterns of racial relations in the South.

In the course of the survey, letters were sent to several associations known to have biracial membership, asking that they indicate what their experiences had been in finding accommodations in the South. Some of the replies are reproduced at the end of this report.

Names of hotels are used only when information has come directly from them. In addition to the other sources of information mentioned in the report, we would like to acknowledge the assistance of the Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, and South Carolina Councils on Human Relations.

Widespread opinion to the contrary, public accommodations in Southern states are not generally required by law either to segregate or exclude Negroes. Virginia does by statute require segregation in "any place of public entertainment or public assemblage," although the specific applications of the law seem not to be wholly clear. Tennessee, and perhaps other states as well, has an administrative regulation prohibiting whites and Negroes from being served food together in hotels and restaurants; the regulation has so far been ignored in the desegregation of lunch counters in Knoxville and Nashville. A number of cities and towns have ordinances prohibiting non-segregated meetings; no compilation of such ordinances has been made. The prevalent pattern, however, both in state and municipal legislation, is not outright prohibitions (which raise directly the issue of state-action and therefore of constitutional rights); it is rather to leave the hotel proprietor legally free to select his guests. The proprietor remains, of

Biracial

(Continued)

course, subject to the restraints, or assumed restraints, of community custom.

There are, of course, a number of non-commercial conference facilities available. These include many Negro colleges, and a smaller number of white colleges, throughout the South. Certain urban churches and synagogues, even in Deep South states, allow meetings and occasionally provide for feeding interracial groups. Some YMCA and YWCA facilities, exclusive of lodging, are available in the Deep South. Church conference centers sometimes offer accommodations; however, often their policy excludes use by outside groups. At least two special conference facilities, Penn Community Center at Frogmore, S. C., and Holly Knoll in Virginia, do offer complete accommodations; the former can serve groups of 100 while the latter can accommodate at least 40 persons.

"And I want local committees formed in this state. I appeal to those communities—all communities—here and now to establish among your citizens biracial committees that can take up and consider grievances of a racial character and that can honestly and sincerely and with a determined effort try to find solutions to these difficulties.

"Now the fact that your community has not had any difficulties should not deter you in moving to form this committee because sooner or later you will. We are confronted with a great need in our state to intelligently and reasonably act and to do that I must have the cooperation of the people."—Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida in a TV-radio address.

ALABAMA

Birmingham: Although a few years ago racially mixed groups were served in private dining rooms in some hotels, this is apparently no longer true. Prospective convention groups are now carefully checked; if Negroes are included no invitation is extended.

In response to the SRC survey, the reply of the Chamber of Commerce's convention bureau was uninformative. Questions were said to require research of City Ordinances and the Alabama Code. Birmingham has had an ordinance requiring segregated facilities.

ARKANSAS

Little Rock: At least four of the leading hotels have been known to [illegible] private rooms for meetings and dinners of interracial groups, both small and large. Robinson Municipal Auditorium is also available for interracial assemblies.

FLORIDA

Jacksonville: Hotel Seminole, 225 rooms, reports that biracial groups are accommodated in meeting rooms only. No limit is placed on the number of Negroes within the group.

Hollywood: One of the city's two largest hotels recently offered completely desegregated meeting, eating, and lodging facilities for conventions of the

biracial Southern Sociological Society. Two thousand people can be accommodated in the largest meeting room, 1,500 in the largest dining facility, and there are 1,500 guest rooms.

Miami: Conditions influencing the acceptance of Negroes are vague and unclear. Although some hotels are known to offer non-discriminatory eating, meeting, and lodging facilities, negotiations must be undertaken anew each time.

A few hotels have reportedly adopted the policy of lodging Negroes, "very reluctantly," when they make up no more than 3-5% of the delegates to a convention. Meeting and private dining facilities are generally open in any hotel in the city.

Two auditoriums, the Bay Front Park Municipal Auditorium (seating capacity: 3,000) and the Dinner-Key Auditorium (seating capacity: 14,000) are open to any group. The Dinner-Key has facilities for light meals.

Miami Beach: The 385 hotels are open to conventions which include Negro delegates; hotel eating facilities are also open. A central auditorium, which seats 1,500 people, is available. The policies and practices of the hotels seem generally to be unfavorable to all-Negro meetings, but some exceptions have been reported.

Tallahassee: The Floridan Hotel reports that biracial groups are not accommodated in their absolutely segregated operation.

GEORGIA

Atlanta: The convention bureau reports it knows of no facilities available for lodging and feeding biracial groups, although on occasion a limited number of Negro delegates are allowed to attend business and educational sessions and to view technical displays.

It is the policy of two leading hotels as reported in the *Atlanta Journal*, to accept, after consideration, meetings of certain groups in which a few Negroes are included among the delegates; however, Negroes are required to eat in separate rooms (in a room ordinarily used by Negro hotel employees, in a recent case at one of them.)

Macon: The Hotel Dempsey stated it could give no help in accommodating biracial groups, and made reference to the policy of all leading hotels in Georgia.

KENTUCKY

Louisville: The Sheraton, with 500 rooms, reports that Negro members of conventions are accommodated in meeting rooms, eating facilities, and guest rooms. Two other leading hotels are reported to offer similar accommodations without discrimination. All three reportedly have opened all their facilities to Negro convention delegates, and their accommodations were made available to an all-Negro group several years ago.

One seemingly authoritative report has it that lodging is provided in all Louisville hotels but one, along with eating in hotel restaurants, "if they don't have too many Negroes," and as long as convention badges are worn in public.

Berea: A commercial facility on the local college campus, student operated but open all year, accepts Negro guests for food and lodging. It has only 75 rooms.

Mammoth Cave: There is no discrimination at the Mammoth Cave Hotel be-

Biracial

(Continued)

cause of race, religion, color, or national origin; however, it is hotel policy (as it is in most other national park hotels) not to accept group meetings between mid-June and mid-September. Approximately 85-90 persons may be accommodated for meetings, 150 may use dining facilities at one time, and lodging is offered in 86 rooms and units, including some cabins.

Ashland, Frankfort, Lexington, Paducah: At least one principal hotel in each of these cities has been known to accept biracial groups for meetings and to serve them banquets and private dinners; it appears, however, that Negroes are not served in the publicly used dining rooms and coffee shops, nor are they accommodated in guest rooms.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans: Hotels have been known to permit Negro delegates to attend closed sessions of meetings; no food service or lodging is offered.

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson: The King Edward and the Heidelberg report that no facilities are available for biracial groups.

NORTH CAROLINA

Chapel Hill: No accommodations are available for biracial eating, meeting, or lodging, the local Merchant Association reports; however, the Carolina Inn is known to have lodged Negro transients connected with University of North Carolina projects. One or two restaurants in town will serve Negroes.

Durham: The Washington Duke Hotel provides meeting and private dining facilities for biracial groups in t[illegible] mezzanine ballrooms. Each ballroom seats 500; 350 diners may be accommodated in one room, 450 in the other. Negro delegates are not lodged or served in public dining rooms, and are restricted to use of mezzanine restrooms. It is preferred that they constitute not over 25% of the total group.

Other North Carolina cities: Hotels in the larger cities are reported to serve mixed groups in special private dining rooms and to offer them meeting facilities if there is a relatively small number of Negroes.

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City: One major hotel (the Biltmore) offers eating and meeting facilities plus lodging to groups in which Negroes number not over 5%; Negroes are also served in the public coffee shop, the Oklahoma City Urban League reports.

Tulsa: The Tradewinds, a m[illegible] reports that eating, meeting, and lodging facilities are available if Negroes are a small minority of the group. Negro delegates must not eat singly, and must consider the lobby, patio, and swimming pool "off limits." Meeting and eating facilities accommodate 350 persons; 75 motel rooms, including family rooms, are available. Tradewinds' management notes it regrets so many restrictions "but we are slowly crawling right now."

Hotels generally permit biracial meetings, banquets, and dinners any place above the first floor, the Tulsa Urban League observes, with no apparent re-

striction on the number of Negroes within the group. Negroes may not eat in public hotel facilities and they are not lodged. A few of the larger and more modern motels will accommodate mixed groups for meetings; a smaller number offer lodging and permit Negroes to eat in main public facilities.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston: Individual requests from biracial groups are considered on their own merits, the Chamber of Commerce reports. On occasion, a small minority of non-white delegates have met with white delegates for business and technical or professional discussions, but the Chamber knows of no lodging or eating facilities available to groups which include Negroes.

Greenville: Two hotels, the Poinsett and the Greenville, report biracial meetings are not allowed.

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga: The city's largest hotel, the Read House, reports facilities for lodging or feeding biracial groups are not available; however, it is not clear whether this hotel may allow biracial private meetings, which are also reported as permissible in another large hotel.

Gatlinburg: The city and its hotels and motels welcome all groups, according to a representative of the local hotel association. The Chamber of Commerce states, however, in a promotional brochure, that convention groups are welcomed only during the tourist "off-season" following Labor Day and extending into late spring. A total of 6,000 persons may be accommodated in the city's four hotels (300 each) and 92 motels. Three thousand people may attend meetings in a civic auditorium, and 300 people may meet together in each of the four hotels. Eating facilities are available for 6,000 people. There are no restrictions on the use of any facilities: swimming pools, taverns, etc., are all open to Negro delegates.

A report from one of the larger hotels (the Riverside) states that the question of limits on the number of Negroes in the group "has not come up in the past and we have therefore had no previous experience with it." A second large hotel, the Mountain View, replied that no limits are placed on the number of Negro delegates.

Memphis: Leading hotels permit private biracial meeting and dining, though restrictions as to number are reported to limit the latter. Permissive policy applies to meetings, provided there is not a large proportion of Negroes.

Other Tennessee Cities: Some leading hotels in Knoxville, and Johnson City are understood to make meeting rooms and private dining rooms available to biracial groups. One downtown Nashville restaurant will accommodate Negro or mixed groups by advance reservation; it has space for 150-200.

TEXAS

Austin: Biracial groups may meet in a centrally located auditorium (capacity: 5,000) or in hotel ballrooms (capacity: 1,000), according to the Chamber of Commerce, if these places are hired exclusively for the meeting. Biracial banquets for up to 800 people may be held in private hotel dining rooms, but bi-

Biracial

(Continued)

racial lodging is not available. No limits are placed on the number of Negroes.

Beaumont: The Chamber of Commerce reports that it cannot give "a satisfactory answer to question three" (biracial lodging). No further information was provided.

Dallas: Hotels are said to provide space for meeting and eating but not lodging, to biracial groups, although large groups and groups in which there is a large percentage of Negroes have been known to meet some difficulty.

Houston: One 175-room hotel, the Plaza, reports neither meeting, eating, nor lodging of biracial groups is permitted. According to the Chamber of Commerce, as a general rule biracial groups may use private meeting rooms and dining rooms, but lodging is not available.

San Antonio: Two leading hotels, the Menger and the St. Anthony, report they do not accommodate biracial groups.

VIRGINIA

Norfolk: The Chamber of Commerce reports: "Here in Virginia we do have a State law which prohibits public meetings of the mixed races. There is no accommodation for any public biracial activity at all."

Portsmouth: No biracial accommodations of any type are available, according to the Chamber of Commerce.

Richmond: The Chamber of Commerce indicates it has in the past worked with interested parties in an effort to meet their particular needs. "We would be happy to continue this policy," the Chamber states, noting that it is virtually impossible to outline a general policy.

Roanoke: If Negroes do not exceed 10% of the total group, meeting facilities and private dining rooms are available, but biracial lodging is prohibited by law, the Chamber of Commerce states. 1,000 persons may be accommodated by the three hotels jointly.

One hotel, the Roanoke, with 12 meeting rooms seating groups of 25 to 100, reported the same policy, including the 10% limitation.

Colonial Williamsburg: All hotel facilities are available regardless of race, creed, or color. Convention groups are welcomed provided they do not conflict with the basic purpose of accommodating visitors to the Williamsburg restoration. A number of meeting facilities are available for gatherings of up to 400 persons. Banquet and dining rooms of varying sizes are offered; [illegible] may be served in the largest banquet room. A total of 535 guest rooms are available in the area's three hotels.

* * * * *

Excerpts from Letters from Associations

Let me say first of all that our Association in recent years has held a number of successful regional conferences in the South under conditions that were reasonably satisfactory to all persons involved.

We have a regional conference scheduled for next October in Miami Beach under a promise that there will be no discrimination on a racial basis for hotel

housing or meals. In a few instances we have been willing to hold such meetings on college campuses where integrated sessions and even private meal functions could be accommodated but with housing left entirely as the responsibility of each and every individual. We would have considerable favorable sentiment in our Association to hold one of our national conventions in a southern city such as Dallas or perhaps Atlanta but this we cannot do according to our present policies until we can be assured that there will be no racial discrimination.

I might add that my estimate of the attendance by Negroes to our national conventions probably would not exceed 5 per cent in a total of 2,000 persons. I appreciate, of course, that this figure might run larger if we were able to schedule an integrated convention in the South.

* * * * *

Our last meeting in the states mentioned was our national meeting in Atlanta, Georgia.

Because of discrimination shown, it was decided not to hold future *national* meetings in that area until the situation is rectified.

* * * * *

We have not held any meetings of our Association in the South in recent years. The main reason has been that there are almost no facilities available to accommodate a meeting as large as ours on a nondiscriminatory basis. We certainly would consider the South if such facilities were available.

* * * * *

The only state in which we have had any experience is Louisiana where we held meetings as long ago as 1940. At that time, the race question and integration presented no difficulties. Our membership contains a few Negroes, but the few who did attend were treated, as I recall it, civilly and respectfully. So far as our eating and meeting arrangements were concerned, no one seemed to be conscious of the existence of such a thing as the race problem.

Our pleasant experience in New Orleans in 1940 prompted us to plan another meeting there during the Christmas holidays in 1960. However, state segregation laws since passed and the emotions of both whites and blacks prompted our Executive Committee to cancel the meetings in New Orleans in favor of St. Louis.

* * * * *

The [organization] for a number of years has had an inflexible policy that it will not hold one of its annual conventions in any hotel in which discrimination of any sort against any of its members would be practiced. In effect this means that the members will be housed and fed regardless of color or any other considerations.

As a result of this policy, we have obviously not been able to hold conventions in the South. Our Executive Committee has long ago decided, however, that as soon as an opportunity for a break-through should come, a convention would be scheduled in a southern city. We have now made a definite commitment to meet in Miami Beach in 1962.

Our conventions range in size from 2,000 to 5,000 or more.

* * * * *

We have a regular schedule for our

Biracial

(Continued)

annual meetings—a six-year cycle: twice in the East, twice in the Middle West, once in the South, once in the Far West.

Our Board will not go to any city where not all of our members will be perfectly welcome in the hotels where we have our meetings; this will include eating facilities and so on. Up to this time this means that we have been able to go only to two places in the South: Miami Beach and Louisville, Ky.

* * * * *

We shall be meeting in Miami Beach, Florida in 1962. Our preliminary investigations have indicated that biracial groups will be permitted to meet, to eat and to lodge in any hotel in Miami Beach.

Non-racial discrimination is one of the conditions affecting the choice of location for the Annual Meetings of this professional society.

* * * * *

It is our practice not to hold segregated conventions.

A year ago in Dallas we did hold an Annual Meeting in which the only restriction was related to the assignment of hotel rooms. It was not possible for the Negro participants in the convention to have sleeping rooms in the headquarters hotel. There were no other restrictions. This single restriction, however, resulted in misunderstandings and hard feelings, so that I am sure we will not consider a meeting with any restrictions whatsoever attached in the future.

Facing Facts on Racial Problems

From St. Petersburg Times

May 31, 1960

(Note: Florida Governor LeRoy Collins, early this year, established a statewide committee to work toward better race relations in the state. The following is an editorial based on the first public statement of the committee and includes pertinent items from that statement.)

A careful study of the first report issued by Cody Fowler, chairman of the Governor's Commission on Race Relations, certainly reveals the necessity for such an agency, and the levelheaded approach the Commission is taking.

Almost more than anything else, the report shows that there are no easy answers to Florida's racial problem. There is no quick solution.

The Commission candidly faces the legal reality that segregation is on its way out. Through consultation with religious leaders of Florida, the members have become convinced that a moral, as well as a legal and political, issue is involved.

At the same time, the Commission

MASTER LIST

Report L-23
January 24, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W. - Rm. 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Listed below are formerly all-white colleges and universities of 17 Southern and border states, and the District of Columbia, which have desegregated since 1935 (when the University of Maryland admitted a Negro to its Law School) plus a few opened integrated in recent years.* Most of these schools did not desegregate until after 1948. Some still restrict Negro students to graduate and professional schools while others accept them at all levels. A few of the institutions listed may not as yet have enrolled a Negro; however, their governing bodies have announced a non-racial admission policy.

	Legal Control
ALABAMA	
Spring Hill College, Mobile	Roman Catholic
ARKANSAS	
Arkansas A. & M. College, College Heights	State
Arkansas College, Batesville	Presbyterian
Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russellville	State
Arkansas State College, State College	State
Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway	State
College of the Ozarks, Clarksville	Presbyterian
Henderson State Teachers College, Arkadelphia	State
Southern State College, Magnolia	State
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville	State
DELAWARE	
University of Delaware, Newark	State
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	
American University	Methodist
Catholic University of America	Roman Catholic
District of Columbia Teachers College (a merger of Wilson Teachers College and Minor Teachers College)	Municipal
Dunbarton College of Holy Cross	Roman Catholic
George Washington University	Private
Georgetown University	Roman Catholic
Georgetown Visitation Junior College	Roman Catholic
Immaculata Junior College	Roman Catholic
Trinity College	Roman Catholic

*The list is based on information in our files, and may not be complete. Periodic reports in Southern School News have been a principal source.

FLORIDA	Legal Control
~~Barry College, Miami~~	~~Roman Catholic~~
Dade County Junior College, Dade County	State
University of Florida, Gainesville	State
University of Miami, ~~Miami~~ Coral Gables	Private
GEORGIA	
Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur	Presbyterian
University of Georgia, Athens	State
KENTUCKY	
Asbury College, Wilmore	Private
Ashland Junior College, Ashland	Municipal
Bellarmine College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Bethel College, Hopkinsville	Southern Baptist
Brescia College, Owensboro	Roman Catholic
Berea College, Berea	Private
Centre College of Kentucky, Danville	Presbyterian
The College of the Bible, Lexington	Disciples of
Eastern Kentucky State College, Richmond	State / Christ
Georgetown College, Georgetown	Southern Baptist
Lees Junior College, Jackson	Presbyterian
Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Louisville	Presbyterian
~~Midway Junior College, Midway~~	~~Private~~ Disc. of Christ
Morehead State College, Morehead	State
Murray State College, Murray	State
Nazareth College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Paducah Junior College, Paducah	Municipal
Pikesville Junior College, Pikesville	Presbyterian
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville	Southern Baptist
Union College, Barbourville	Methodist
University of Louisville, Louisville	Municipal
University of Kentucky, Lexington	State
Ursuline College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Villa Madonna College, Covington	Roman Catholic
Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green	State
LOUISIANA	
John McNeese State College, Lake Charles	State
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge	State
Louisiana State University at New Orleans	State
Loyola University, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's Dominican College, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
Southeastern Louisiana College, Hammond	State
University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette	State
MARYLAND	
Baltimore College of Commerce, Baltimore	YMCA
Baltimore Junior College, Baltimore	City
College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
Goucher College, Baltimore	Private

MARYLAND, CONTINUED	Legal Contral
Hagerstown Junior College, Hagerstown	County
Hood College, Frederick	Private
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore	Private
Loyola College, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
The Maryland Institute, Baltimore	Private
Mt. St. Agnes College, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg	Roman Catholic
Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore, Baltimore	Private
St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg	Roman Catholic
St. John's College, Annapolis	Private
St. Mary's Seminary Junior College, St. Mary's City	State
State Teachers College, Frostburg	State
State Teachers College, Salisbury	State
State Teachers College, Towson	State
United States Naval Academy, Annapolis	National
University of Maryland, College Park & Baltimore Divisions	State
Washington College, Chestertown	Private
Western Maryland College, Westminister	Methodist

MISSOURI	
Park College, Parkville	Presbyterian - (Letter from P.H. Morrill President)
Central Missouri State College, Warrensburg	State
Culver-Stockton College, Canton	Disciples of Christ
Harris Teachers College, St. Louis	Municipal
Joplin Junior College, Joplin	District
Junior College of Kansas City	Municipal
Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, Kirksville	State
Northwest Missouri State Teachers College, Maryville	State
St. Louis University, St. Louis	Roman Catholic
St. Joseph Junior College, St. Joseph	Municipal
Southeast Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau	State
Southwest Missouri State College, Springfield	State
University of Kansas City, Kansas City	Private
University of Missouri, Columbia and Rolla Divisions	State
Washington University, St. Louis	Private
Webster College, Webster Groves	Roman Catholic
Westminster College, Fulton	Presbyterian (Report from Cunningham Presb. Foundation)

NORTH CAROLINA	
Belmont Abbey College, Belmont	Roman Catholic
Black Mountain College, Black Mountain	Private
North Carolina State College, Raleigh	State
Sacred Heart Junior College, Belmont	Roman Catholic
Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer	Methodist
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	State
Warren Wilson Junior College, Swannanoa	Presbyterian
Woman's College of University of North Carolina, Greensboro	State
Southeastern Theological Seminary, Wake Forest	Southern Baptist

OKLAHOMA	
Cameron State Agricultural College, Lawton	State
Central State College, Edmond	State
Conners State Agricultural College, Warner	State

OKLAHOMA, CONTINUED	Legal Control
East Central State College, Ada	State
Eastern Oklahoma A. & M. College, Wilburton	State
Murray State Agricultural College, Tishomingo	State
Muskogee Junior College, Muskogee	Municipal
Northeastern Oklahoma A. & M., Miami	State
Northeastern State College, Tahlequah	State
Northern Oklahoma Junior College, Tonkawa	State
Northwestern State College, Alva	State
Oklahoma Baptist University, Shawnee	Southern Baptist
Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City	Methodist
Oklahoma College for Women, Chickasha	State
Oklahoma Military Academy, Claremore	State
Oklahoma State University of Agriculture & Applied Science,	State
Panhandle A. & M. College, Goodwell /Stillwater	State
Phillips University, Enid	Disciples of Christ
St. Gregory's College, Shawnee	Roman Catholic
Southeastern State College, Durant	State
Southwestern State College, Weatherford	State
University of Oklahoma, Norman	State

TENNESSEE	
Austin Peay State College, Clarksville	State
East Tennessee State College, Johnson City	State
Madison College, Madison College	Private
Maryville College, Maryville	Presbyterian
Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro	State
Memphis State University, Memphis	State
Peabody College, Nashville	Private
Scarritt College for Christian Workers, Nashville	Methodist
Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, Cookeville	State
Tusculum College, Greeneville	Private
University of the South, Sewanee	Episcopal
University of Tennessee, Knoxville	State
Vanderbilt University, Nashville	Private

TEXAS	
Amarillo College, Amarillo	Municipal
Austin College, Sherman	Presbyterian
Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Austin	Presbyterian
Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas	Private
Del Mar College, Corpus Christi	Municipal
DeMazenod Scholasticate, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, Austin	Episcopal
Frank Phillips College, Borger	District
Gainesville Junior College, Gainesville	Municipal
Howard County Junior College, Big Spring	County
Incarnate Word College, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Kilgore College, Kilgore,	District
Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont	District
Laredo Junior College, Laredo	Municipal

TEXAS, CONTINUED,	Legal Control
Lutheran Concordia College, Austin	Lutheran
Midwestern University, Wichita Falls	Municipal
McMurry College, Abilene	Methodist
North Texas State College, Denton	State
Odessa College, Odessa	District
Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Pan American College, Edinburg	County
Paris Junior College, Paris	Municipal
St. Edwards University, Austin	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's University of San Antonio, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
San Angelo College, San Angelo	Municipal
San Antonio College, San Antonio	Municipal
Southern Methodist University, Dallas	Methodist
Southwest Texas Junior College, Uvalde	District
Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Fort Worth	Southern Baptist
Texas College of Arts and Industries, Kingsville	State
Temple Junior College, Temple	Municipal
Texas Christian University, Brite College of the Bible, /Fort Worth	Christian
Texas Lutheran College, Seguin	Lutheran
Texas Southmost College, Brownsville	Municipal
Texas Western College, El Paso	State
Texarkana College, Texarkana	Municipal
Trinity University, San Antonio	Presbyterian
University of Dallas, Dallas	Roman Catholic
University of Texas, Austin	State
Victoria College, Victoria	Municipal
Wayland Baptist College, Plainview	Southern Baptist
Wharton County Junior College, Wharton	County

VIRGINIA	
Bridgewater College, Bridgewater	Brethren
College of William & Mary, Williamsburg and Norfolk Divisions	State
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg	Mennonite
Medical College of Virginia, Richmond	State
Presb. School of Christian Ed., The, Richmond	Presb.
Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia, Alexandria	Episcopal
Richmond Professional Institute of the College of William & Mary, /Richmond	State
Union Theological Seminary, Richmond	Presbyterian
University of Virginia, Charlottesville	State
Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg	State

from Sarah Miller

WEST VIRGINIA	
Bethany College, Bethany	Private
Concord College, Athens	State
Davis and Elkins College, Elkins	Private
Fairmont State College, Fairmont	State
Glenville State College, Glenville	State
Marshall College, Huntington	State
Potomac (Junior) State College of West Virginia University, Keyser	State
Salem College, Salem	Seventh Day Baptist
Shepherd College, Shepherdstown	State
West Liberty State College, West Liberty	State
West Virginia Institute of Technology, Montgomery	State
West Virginia University, Morgantown	State
West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon	Methodist

JAN. 1961
Master List

DESEGREGATING NEGRO INSTITUTIONS

Many Negro colleges have never excluded white students, but in practice, the student body has been primarily Negro. In the majority of cases white students in attendance before 1948 were the children of faculty members. Recently, some of the private and denominational colleges whose charters limited enrollment to Negroes have removed these restrictions. The boards of trustees of several colleges without such restrictions have affirmed that their colleges are open to qualified students regardless of race. Some of the colleges listed below may not have had any enrollment of white students since the charter changes or the pronouncement on admission policies.

Institutions	Legal Control
Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.	American Missionary Association & private
on white list Agricultural, Mechanical, & Normal College, Pine Bluff, Ark.	State
Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark.	Methodist
Delaware State College, Dover, Dela.	State
Howard University, District of Columbia	Federal Government and Private
Minor Teachers College, District of Columbia (Consolidated with Wilson which was formerly restricted to white students and name changed to District of Columbia Teachers College)	Municipal
Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Fla.	Methodist
Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.	Private
Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.	Methodist
Interdenominational Theological Center, Atlanta, Ga.	Private
Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.	Private
Spelman College, Atlanta, Ga.	Private
Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Ky.	State
Dillard University, New Orleans, La.	Private
Xavier University, New Orleans, La.	Roman Catholic
Unknown whether previously all Negro or white Bowie State Teachers College, Bowie, Maryland	State
Coppin State Teachers College, Baltimore, Md.	State
Maryland State College, Princess Anne, Md.	State

Institutions	Legal Control
Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland	State
St. Augustine's Seminary, Bay St. Louis, Miss.	Roman Catholic
Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri	State
Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro, N. C.	State
Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.	Methodist
Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.	Presbyterian
Livingstone College, Salisbury, N. C.	Methodist
Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.	Baptist
~~Lincoln University, Lincoln University, Penn.~~	~~Private~~
Morris College, Sumter, S. C.	Baptist
American Baptist Theological Seminary, Nashville, Tenn.	Baptist
Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.	Private
LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn.	Am. Missionary Asso.
Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn.	Private
Tenn. A. and I. State University, Nashville, Tenn.	State
St. Phillips (Junior) College, San Antonio, Texas	Municipal
Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas	State
Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.	Private
St. Paul's ~~Polytechnic Institute~~ College, Lawrenceville	Protestant Episcopal
Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.	Baptist
Bluefield State College, Bluefield, W. Va.	State
West Virginia State College, Institute, W. Va.	State
Tougaloo Southern Christian College 9/15/61 Chan Suns	AMA UCMS

New Master List

Note: This list shows that some schools listed on L-23 are desseg. only in grad. or prof. schools.

~~Fall, 1959~~ Jan, 1961

DESEGREGATING WHITE INSTITUTIONS

The following is a list of colleges and universities in the District of Columbia and the seventeen Southern and border states integrating their student bodies since 1935 when the University of Maryland admitted a Negro to its Law School. The majority of these did not open or reopen their doors to Negroes until 1948 or later. Some still limit Negro students to graduate and/or professional schools while others accept all qualified applicants at any level. A few of the schools listed may not have enrolled Negro students: however, the State Board of Regents or comparable bodies have unequivocally established an open policy.

Not listed are colleges ordered by the Courts to admit Negroes, but still appearing recalcitrant.

~~Institutions~~	Legal Control
Alabama	
Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama	Roman Catholic
Arkansas	
Arkansas A. & M. College, College Heights, Ark.	State
Arkansas College, Batesville	Presbyterian
Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russellville, Ark.	State
Arkansas State College, State College, Ark.	State
Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway, Ark.	State
Henderson State Teachers College, Arkadelphia, Ark.	State
Southern State College, Magnolia, Ark.	State
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.	State
~~University of Arkansas Graduate Center, Little Rock, Ark.~~	~~State~~
~~Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College, Pine Bluff, Ark.~~	~~State~~
~~(at least two private colleges in Arkansas reportedly have non discriminatory policies.)~~	
Delaware	
University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware	State
District of Columbia	
American University, ~~District of Columbia~~	Methodist
Catholic University of America, ~~D. of C.~~	Roman Catholic
~~George Washington University, District of Columbia~~	~~Private~~
District of Columbia Teachers College (merger Wilson Teachers College and Minor Teachers College)	Municipal
College of the Ozarks, Clarksville	Presbyterian

Not in Directory of Higher Ed.

Previously Ark. Degree

Institutions	Legal Control
Dunbarton College of the Holy Cross, ~~D. C.~~ Ga	Roman Catholic
George Washington University, ~~D.C.~~	Private
Georgetown University, ~~D. C.~~	Roman Catholic
Georgetown Visitation Junior College, ~~D. C.~~	Roman Catholic
Immaculata Junior College, ~~D. C.~~	Roman Catholic
Trinity College, ~~D. C.~~	Roman Catholic
Florida	
Barry College, Miami, Fla.	Roman Catholic
Dade County Junior College, Dade County, Florida	State
University of Florida ~~(Grad.)~~, Gainesville, Fla.	State
~~(Desegregation has been announced policy in all state supported Fla. colleges since '58.)~~	
Georgia	
Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Ga.	Presbyterian
Department of Georgia, Atlanta	State
Kentucky	
Ashland Junior College, Ashland, Ky.	Municipal
Bellarmine College, Louisville, Ky.	Roman Catholic
Brescia College, Owensboro, Ky.	Roman Catholic
Centre	
Berea College, Berea Ky.	Private
Bethel	
The College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky.	Disciples of Christ
Eastern Kentucky State College, Richmond, Ky.	State
Georgetown College, Georgetown, Ky.	Southern Baptist
Lees	
Louisville Presby. Theol. Seminary, Louisville, Ky.	Presbyterian
Midway Junior College, Midway, Ky.	Private
Morehead State College, Morehead, Ky.	State
Murray State College, Murray, Ky.	State
Nazareth College, Louisville, Ky.	Roman Catholic
Paducah Junior College, Paducah, Ky.	Municipal
Pikesville Junior College, Pikesville, Ky.	Presbyterian
Southern Baptist Theol. Seminary, Louisville, Ky.	Sou. Baptist
Ursuline College, Louisville, Ky.	Roman Catholic
University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.	Municipal
University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.	State
Union College, Barbourville, Ky.	Methodist
Villa Madonna College, Covington, Ky.	Roman Catholic

These inserts are on next page

Institutions	Legal Control
INSERT PREVIOUS PAGE	
~~Asbury College, Wilmore, Ky.~~	Private
~~Bethel College, Hopkinsville, Ky.~~	S. Southern Baptist
~~Centre College of Kentucky, Danville, Ky.~~	Presbyterian
~~Lees Jr. College, Jackson, Ky.~~	Presbyterian
Western ~~West~~ Kentucky State College, Bowling Green, Ky.	State
~~College of the Sacred Heart, Grand Coteau, La.~~	Roman Catholic
Louisiana	
John McNeese State College, Lake Charles, La.	State
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.	State
Loyola University, New Orleans, La.	Roman Catholic
~~New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, La.~~	~~Sou. Baptist~~
~~Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans, La.~~	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's Dominican College, New Orleans	
Southeastern Louisiana ~~Institute~~ College, Hammond, La.	State
University of Southwestern Louisiana ~~Institute~~, Lafayette, La.	State
Louisiana State University at New Orleans, La.	State
Maryland	
Baltimore College of Commerce, Baltimore, Md.	YMCA
Baltimore Junior College, Baltimore, Md.	City
College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Baltimore, Md.	Roman Catholic
~~Frostburg Teachers College, Frostburg, Md.~~	~~State~~
Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.	Private
Pg. 3 — Hagerstown Hood	
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.	Private
Loyola College, Baltimore, Md.	Roman Catholic
Maryland Inst.	
Mt. St. Agnes College, Baltimore, Md.	Roman Catholic
Peabody Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md.	" "
St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg, Md.	Roman Catholic
St. John's College, Annapolis, Md.	Private
St. Mary's	
~~Towson Teachers College, Towson, Md.~~	~~State~~
all state teachers United States Naval Academy, Annapolis	National
University of Maryland, College Park & Baltimore Divisions.	State
Washington Western Maryland College,	
~~Westminster Theo. Seminary~~, Westminister, Md.	Methodist

These inserts on next page

Insert these alphabetically, previous page

Institutions	Legal Control
~~Hagerstown Jr.~~ Junior College, Hagerstown, Md.	~~State~~ County
~~Hodd College, Frederick, Md.~~	Private
~~The Maryland Institute~~, Baltimore, Md.	Private
Peabody ~~Conservatory~~ Institute of the City of Baltimore, Music, Baltimore, Md.	Private
St. Mary's Seminary ~~Jr.~~ Junior College, St. Mary's City, Md.	~~Roman Catholic~~ ~~Private~~ State
~~State Teachers College, Bowie, Md.~~	~~State~~
~~" " " Coppin, Md.~~	~~"~~
" " " Frostburg, Md.	"
" " " Salisbury, Md.	"
" " " Towson, Md.	"
Washington College, Chestertown, Md.	Private
Missouri	
St. Joseph Junior College, St. Joseph, Mo.	Municipal
Central Missouri State College, Warrensburg, Mo.	State
Culver-Stockton College, Canton, Mo.	Disciples of Christ
Harris Teachers College, St. Louis, Mo.	Municipal
Joplin Junior College, Joplin, Mo.	District
Junior College of Kansas City, Mo.	Municipal
St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.	Roman Catholic
Southeast Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau, Mo.	State
Southwest Missouri State College, Springfield, Mo.	State
University of Kansas City, ~~Mo.~~ Kansas City	Private
University of Missouri, Columbia & Rolla Divisions	State
Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.	Private
Webster College, Webster Groves, Mo.	Roman Catholic
Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, Kirksville, Mo.	State
Northwest Missouri State Teachers College, Maryville, Mo.	State
North Carolina	
Belmont Abbey College, Belmont, N.C.	Roman Catholic
Black Mountain College, Black Mountain, N. C.	Private
North Carolina State College, Raleigh, N. C.	State
Sacred Heart Junior College, Belmont, N. C.	Roman Catholic

Prev. Negro

Southeastern Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, N.C. Southern Baptist

Institutions	Legal Control
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.	State
Warren Wilson Junior College, Swannanoa, N. C.	Presbyterian
~~Gaston Technical Institute, Gastonia, N. C.~~	~~State~~
Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer, N. C.	Methodist
~~U.N.~~C. Woman's College of University of North Carolina, Greensboro, N. C.	State
~~Western Carolina College, Cullowhee, N. C.~~	~~State~~
Oklahoma	
Cameron State Agricultural College, Lawton, Okla.	State
Central State College, Edmond, Okla.	State
Conners State Agricultural College, Warner, Okla.	State
East Central State College, Ada, Okla.	State
Eastern Okla. Lower ~~Agri. and Mech.~~ College, Wilburton, Okla.	State
Murray State ~~School of Agri.~~ Agricultural College, Tishomingo, Okla.	State
Muskogee Junior College, Muskogee, Okla.	Municipal
Northeastern Oklahoma A. & M., Miami, Okla.	State
Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, Okla	State
Northern Okla. Lower Junior College, Tonkawa, Okla.	State
Northwestern State College, Alva, Okla.	State
~~Okal. A. & M. College, Stillwater, Okal.~~	~~State~~
Okla. Lower Baptist University, Shawnee, Okla.	Southern Baptist
Okla. Lower City University, Oklahoma City, Okla.	Methodist
Oklahoma College for Women, Chickasha, Okla.	State
Okla. Lower Military Academy, Claremore, Okla.	State
Okla. State Univ. of Agriculture and Applied Science, Stillwater Okla.	State
Panhandle A. & M. College, Goodwell, Okla.	State
Phillips University, Enid, Okla.	Disciples of Christ
St. Gregory's College, Shawnee, Okla.	Roman Catholic
Southeastern State College, Durant, Okla.	State
Southwestern State College, Weatherford, Okla.	State
University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.	State
~~University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Okla.~~	~~Private~~

Tennessee Institutions	Legal Control
? American University of Memphis, Tenn.	Private
Austin Peay State College, Clarksville, Tenn.	State
East Tennessee State College, Johnson City, Tenn.	State
Madison College, Madison College, Tenn.	Private
Maryville College, Maryville, Tenn.	Presbyterian
Peabody College, ~~Graduate level,~~ Nashville, Tenn.	Private
Memphis State University, Memphis, Tenn.	State
Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro, Tenn.	State
Scarritt College for Christian Workers, Nashville, Tenn.	Methodist
Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, Cookeville, Tenn.	State
Tusculum College, Greeneville, Tenn.	Private
University of the South, ~~School of Theology,~~ Sewanee, Tenn. ~~Prot.~~	Episcopal
University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.	State
Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. ~~(admits Negroes where no comparable program exists)~~	State Private

(8)

(42)

Texas	
1. Amarillo College, Amarillo, Texas	Municipal
3. Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Austin, Texas	Presbyterian
~~Brite College of the Bible, Fort Worth, Texas~~	~~Disciples of Christ~~
5. Del Mar ~~(Junior)~~ College, Corpus Christi, Texas	Municipal
8. Frank Phillips ~~(Junior)~~ College, Borger, Texas	District
~~Hardin County Junior College, Wichita Falls, Texas~~	~~County~~
10. Howard County Junior College, Big Spring, Texas	County
11. Incarnate Word College, San Antonio, Texas	Roman Catholic
12 Kilgore ~~Junior~~ College, Kilgore, Texas	District
~~Medical College of Texas, Galveston, Texas~~	~~State~~
17. McMurry College, Abilene, Texas	~~Southern~~ Methodist
18. North Texas State College, Denton, Texas	State
19. Odessa ~~(Junior)~~ College, Odessa, Texas	District
20. Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio, Texas	Roman Catholic
21 Pan American College, Edinburg, Texas	County
22 Paris Junior College, Paris, Texas	Municipal

Note: All Texas needs re-alphabetizing

Institution	Legal Control
1. Austin College, Sherman, Texas	~~Private~~ Presbyterian
~~Borger (Junior) College, Borger, Texas~~	~~State~~
4. Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, Texas	Private
6. DeMazenod Scholasticate, San Antonio, Texas	Roman Catholic
~~Corpus Christi (Jr.) College, Edinburg, Texas~~ Corpus Christi,	
~~Edinburg (Jr.) College, Edinburg, Texas~~	
9. Gainesville ~~Jr.~~ Junior College, Gainesville, Texas	~~Public~~ Municipal
~~U. of Texas Medical Branch, Galveston, Texas~~	~~Public~~
13. Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont, Texas	~~Public~~ District
14. Laredo ~~Jr.~~ Junior College, Laredo, Texas	Municipal
16. Midwestern University, Wichita Falls, Texas	~~Private~~ Municipal
~~St. Anthony's Junior Seminary, San Antonio, Texas~~	~~Roman Catholic~~
~~St. Philip's Junior College, San Antonio, Texas~~	~~Public~~ ~~Municipal~~
~~Big Spring (Jr.) College, Big Spring, Texas~~	
~~Brownsville (Jr.) College, Brownsville, Texas~~	
3. Cisco Junior College, Cisco, Texas	~~Public~~ District
7. Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, Austin, Texas	Episcopal
p.5 15. Lutheran Concordia College, Austin, Texas	Lutheran
University of St. Thomas, Houston, Texas	Roman Catholic
28. Southwest Texas Junior College, Uvalde, Texas	~~Public~~ District
39-~~8~~ Temple ~~Jr.~~ Junior College, Temple, Texas	Municipal
30-B Texas College of Arts and Industries, Kingsville, Texas	State
~~University of Texas Dental Branch, Houston, Texas~~	~~Public~~
~~Uvalde (Jr.) College, Uvalde, Texas~~	
23 St. Edwards University, Austin, Texas	Roman Catholic
24. St. Mary's University of San Antonio, Texas	Roman Catholic
25 San Angelo ~~(Junior)~~ College, San Angelo, Texas	Municipal
26. San Antonio College, San Antonio, Texas	Municipal

Institutions	Legal Control
37 University of Dallas, Dallas	Roman Catholic
27. Southern Methodist University, Dallas Texas ~~(School of Theology and Evening Law School)~~	Methodist
29 Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas	Southern Baptist
35 Texarkana College, Texarkana, Texas	Municipal
33 Texas Southmost College, Brownsville, Texas	Municipal
34 Texas Western College, El Paso, Texas	State
38 University of Texas, Austin, Texas (including Dallas, Galveston, Houston, branches)	State
39 Victoria ~~(Junior)~~ College, Victoria, Texas	Municipal
40 Wayland Baptist College, Plainview, Texas	South~~ern~~ Baptist
41 Wharton County Junior College, Wharton, Texas	County
~~Bridgewater College, Bridgewater, Virginia~~	~~Brethren~~
~~College of William and Mary, Williams~~ ~~Texas Western, El Paso, Texas~~	
~~Wichita Falls Jr. College, Wichita Falls, Texas~~	~~State~~
32 Texas Lutheran College, Seguin, Texas	Lutheran
36. Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas	Presbyterian
~~Southwestern Medical School of U. of Texas, Dallas, Texas~~	~~Public~~
31 Texas Christian University, ~~(Grad. School)~~ Brite College of the Bible, Fort Worth, Texas	Public — ?
Virginia	
Bridgewater College, Bridgewater, Virginia	Brethren
? College of William & Mary, Williamsburg and Norfolk Divisions Virginia	State
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg	Mennonite
Medical College of Virginia, Richmond, Va.	State
Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia, Alexandria, Va.	~~Protestant~~ Episcopal
Richmond Professional Institute of the College of William & Mary, Richmond, Va.	State
(Graduate and professional schools)	
Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va.	Presbyterian
University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.	State
Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Va.	State
West Virginia	
Bethany College, Bethany, West Virginia	Private
Concord College, Athens, West Virginia	State

Institutions	Legal Control
Davis and Elkins College, Elkins, West Virginia	Private
Fairmont State College, Fairmont, West Virginia	State
Glenville State College, Glenville, W. Virginia	State
Marshall College, Huntington, West Virginia	State
Potomac (Junior) State College of West Virginia University, Keyser, West Virginia	State
Salem College, Salem, West Virginia	Seventh Day Baptist
Shepherd ~~State~~ College, Shepherdstown, West Virginia	State
West Liberty State College, West Liberty, West Virginia	State
West Virginia Institute of Technology, Montgomery, W. Va.	State
West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va.	State
West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon, W. Va.	Methodist
~~West Virginia State College, Institute, West Virginia~~	~~State~~

The Presbyterian Foundation, Inc. (U.S.)
1004 Wachovia Bank Building
Charlotte 2, North Carolina

JOHN R. CUNNINGHAM
Executive Director

MM
MM-file

February 2, 1961

Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

Thank you for the Report L-23 indicating the extent of desegration in higher education in southern and border states.

May I call your attention to one additional institution of which I know, namely, Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri--Presbyterian--which opened the way for Negro enrollment some three or four years ago.

Your report is decidedly encouraging. I had not known of the desegration of several of our Presbyterian schools, such as Arkansas College, the College of the Ozarks, Centre College, etc.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

J. R. Cunningham
J R Cunningham

h change - add Westminster, + ~~be sure~~ ~~to~~ include Ark, Ozarks, + Centre in letter you are sending

No school desegs. at ~~to~~

MASTER COPY

~~124~~ 129

LUNCH COUNTER DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN CITIES
February 16, 1961

FLORIDA

1. Miami — Lunch X 8!
2. Daytona Beach — No
3. Sarasota — No
4. Tampa — No
5. Ft. Lauderdale — "
6. West Palm Beach — "
7. Orlando — ditto
8. St. Petersburg
9. Clearwater, Duneden, Largo area

(Lunch counter desegregation from chain store list, unconfirmed by SRC)

No desseg

Hileah
Key West
Miami Beach
Barton
Bradenton
Coral City
North Miami
Pompano Beach
Melbourne
~~Sarasota~~
Largo
Ybor City
Coral Gables
Homestead
No. Hollywood
Fort Myers
Cocoa
Lantana

KENTUCKY

1. Frankfort
2. Ashland
3. Lexington

Louisville - documented by LWD

10. Jacksonville

NORTH CAROLINA

1. Asheville — No
2. Charlotte
3. Concord — No
4. Durham
5. Elizabeth City — No
6. Greensboro
7. High Point
8. Raleigh — Newly deseg
9. Salisbury — No
10. Winston-Salem
11. Chapel Hill — Newly deseg
12. Fayetteville — No
13. Wilmington — No
14. Wilson — No

(from chain store list, unconfirmed)

New Bern — No
Goldsboro
Kannapolis — No

TENNESSEE

1. Chattanooga — No — Court suit, pressure
2. Knoxville — Newly deseg
3. Nashville
4. Oak Ridge

(from chain store list, unconfirmed)

No deseg

Kingsport
Bristol
Johnson City
Madison
Elizabethton

TEXAS

1. Austin
2. Corpus Christi
3. Dallas — Court suit
4. Galveston
5. Houston — Newly
6. San Antonio
7. Texas City
8. LaMarque

(continued)

TEXAS (continued)

(from chain store list, unconfirmed by SRC)

Rosenburg
Bryan
Laredo
No — Beaumont
Pasadena
San Angelo
Amarillo
No — Waco
Temple
Brownsville
Huntsville
Abiline
Hurst
Richardson
Victoria
No — Port Arthur
McKinney

VIRGINIA

1. Alexandria
2. Arlington County
3. Fairfax County' — Newly
No — 4. Falls Church
No — 5. Fredericksburg
No — 6. Hampton
7. Norfolk
No — 8. Newport News
No — 9. Portsmouth
No — 10. Williamsburg
11. Richmond — Newly
No — 12. Roanoke
No — 13. Hopewell
No — 14. Winchester (chain stores only)
No — 15. Annandale
16. Charlottesville
No — 17. Lynchburg - ~~(VTA list)~~

(from chain store list, unconfirmed)

No — Harrisonburg
No — 18 Petersburg — ~~(VTA list)~~
No — 19 Staunton — ~~(VTA list)~~
No — Manassas

20 - Suffolk - ~~(VTA list)~~
~~21 - Danville - Trailways bus station only~~
21 - Middleburg
22 - Leesburg

From chain store list, unconfirmed

WEST VIRGINIA

Bluefield

MARYLAND

Brooklyn Park
Salisbury
Baltimore — Documented by LWD

MISSOURI

Maryville
Chillicothe
Sikeston
Sedalia
No. Kansas City
Jefferson City
Poplar Bluff
Independence
St. Charles
Mexico

OKLAHOMA

Tulsa
Durant
Enid
Oklahoma City
Miami
Shawnee
Ada
Bartlesville

TRAILWAYS, GREYHOUND BUS Restaurants in MEMPHIS (NAACP report)

Bus Terminal Restaurants, Inc., has announced desegr of all its restaurants. It operates in Va, NC, Tenn, Fla, & Md.

Atlanta YWCA cafeteria
City hall employees 11.

Lunch counter desegregation in Southern Cities:

Florida:	SRC	~~9~~ 10	
	CS	18	~~27~~ 28
Kentucky	SRC	3	
North Carolina			
	SRC	14	
	CS	3	17
Tennessee	SRC	4	
	CS	5	9
Texas	SRC	8	
	CS	17	25
Virginia	SRC	~~16~~ 21	
	CS	4	~~20~~ 23
West Va.	CS		1
Maryland	CS		2
Missouri	CS		10
Oklahoma	CS		8

TOTAL SRC: 54

TOTAL CS: 68 ~~122~~ 126

SRC - confirmed by Southern Regional Council (a few of these were not on the chain store list but are more recent desegregation)

CS - from list put out in October 1960 by chain stores; ~~and the~~ those cities listed on this list have not been confirmed by SRC or by news reports in any of the newspapers to which we subscribe.

L-23

Master

March 8, 1961

REVISION

DELETE

Barry College; Miami, Florida

Midway Junior College; Midway, Kentucky

ADD

University of Miami; Coral Gables, Florida	Private
University of Tenn. Martin Branch, Martin, Tenn.	State
Park College; Parkville, Missouri	Presbyterian
Westminster College; Fulton, Missouri	Presbyterian
Presbyterian School of Christian Education; Richmond, Virginia	Presbyterian
New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary	Baptist
Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans, La.	~~Roman~~ Catholic
Oklahoma Christian College, Oklahoma city	Private (~~Christian Church~~ Prob. Outlook report)
Duke University (Grad + Prof. - after 9/1/61) Durham	— Private (?)
~~Georgia~~ Institute of Technology, Atlanta	- ~~State~~
~~Tulane~~ No.	
~~Wake Forest~~ - (check)	
Immaculata Minor Seminary, Lafayette, La.	Catholic (Chaplain Benson Letter)
St. Augustine Seminary, Bay St. Louis, Miss.	- Catholic (Chaplain Benson Letter)

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 201, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

March 23, 1961

Miss Ruby Villines
Registrar
The College of the Ozarks
Clarksville, Arkansas

Dear Miss Villines:

To insure the accuracy of our enclosed listing of desegregated colleges and universities (compiled largely from newsclips and earlier surveys), we would be grateful for a statement from you confirming or correcting the inclusion of The College of the Ozarks (see page 1).

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/sm
Enclosure

This will confirm the accuracy of your inclusion of The College of the Ozarks in the list of desegregated colleges.

Ruby T. Villines

Ruby T. Villines
Registrar

NOTRE DAME SEMINARY
2901 SOUTH CARROLLTON AVENUE
NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

March 25, 1961.

Marge Manderson,
Research Assistant,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth St., N.W. - Rm. 201,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Miss Manderson:

Replying to your inquiry of of March 23, I am pleased to state that Notre Dame Seminary operates under a non-racial admission policy. Currently four negroes are enrolled; three undergraduates and one graduate.

If I can be of further service please write me.

Yours sincerely,

Robert J. Stahl

Robert J. Stahl,
Dean of Studies.

ARKANSAS COLLEGE

BATESVILLE, ARKANSAS

OFFICE OF REGISTRAR

March 28, 1961

PHONE RIVERSIDE 3-5225

Miss Marge Manderson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Manderson:

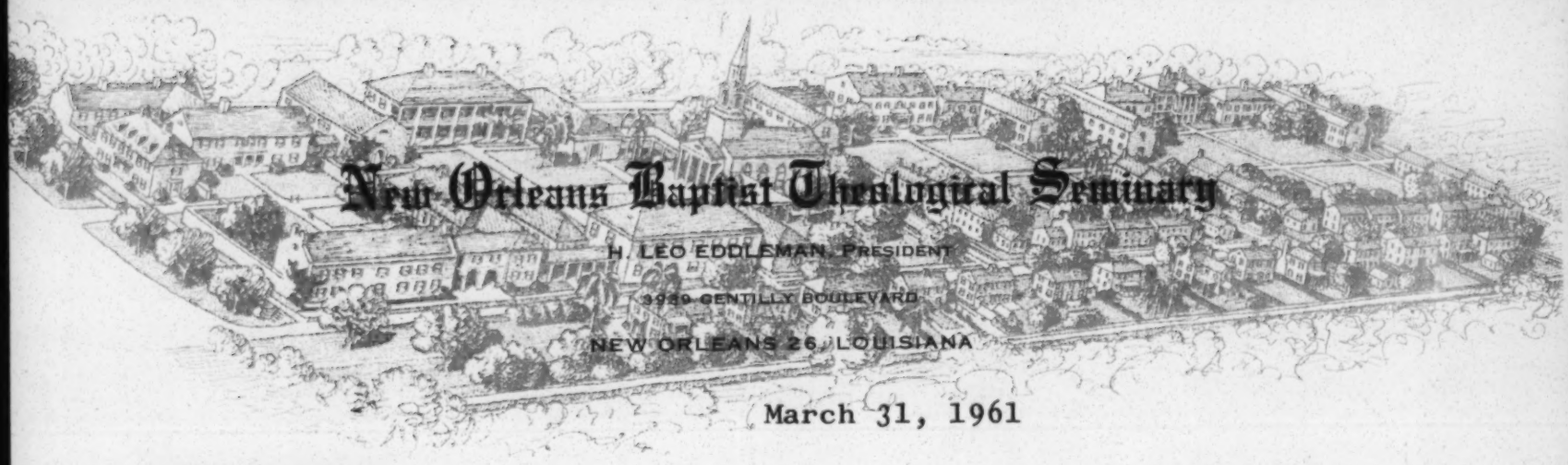
Throughout its history Arkansas College has never had any formal restrictions on admissions regarding race. At the same time some students from Asia have attended but, to our knowledge, no Negroes have. A few years ago the Board of Trustees was asked to consider "desegregating", but the Board took no action as no policy of segregation had ever been adopted. You would have to judge how this situation fits into your classification.

Yours very truly,

Roberta D. Brown

(Mrs.) Roberta D. Brown
Registrar

RDB/fhh



March 31, 1961

GEORGE C. HERNDON
REGISTRAR

Miss Marge Manderson, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Manderson:

We are happy to have your letter indicating your interest in our program for Negro students. We have enrolled Negro students at the New Orleans Seminary since 1951. In order to be admitted students must be graduates of accredited colleges and must satisfy all the other minimum requirements for admission. Several of these students have completed our standard professional degrees, and at least one has earned an advanced degree here.

We trust that this information will be helpful to you. If we may be of further assistance to you in any way, do not hesitate to call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

George C. Herndon

George C. Herndon
Registrar

GCH/mh

CENTRE COLLEGE OF KENTUCKY
DANVILLE, KENTUCKY

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR

April 4, 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Manderson:

In reply to your letter of March 23, 1961, let me say that Centre College of Kentucky is correctly listed in your Report L-23, dated January 24, 1961.

Sincerely yours,

Violetta W. Shearer

Mrs. Glenn R. Shearer
Registrar

VWS:mg

CHARTERED 1693
COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

April 18, 1961

Miss Marge Manderson
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Manderson:

In answer to your letter of March 23, 1961, the College of William and Mary has admitted three Negro students in recent years. The facts in summary are:

Hulon La Vaughan Willis, a graduate of Virginia State College in 1949, attended the College of William and Mary during the summer sessions of 1951, 1952, 1954, and 1956, and was graduated on August 17, 1956 with the degree of Master of Education.

Edward Augustus Travis of Hampton, Virginia, a graduate of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College, was admitted to the College of William and Mary in 1951. He attended the College three sessions and was graduated on August 13, 1954 with the degree of Bachelor of Civil Law.

Mrs. Miriam Johnson Carter of Gloucester, Virginia, a graduate of Temple University, was admitted to William and Mary in September, 1955, as a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Civil Law. She attended the College one session, but was required to withdraw on June 12, 1956 because of her failure to maintain a "C" average in accordance with the standards of the Law School.

I hope that this satisfactorily answers your inquiry.

Sincerely,

J. W. Lambert

J. W. Lambert,
Registrar

JWL:gj

NEGRO FIREMEN IN THE SOUTH (SEPT., 1961)

Charleston, S.C.
Clover, S.C. (volunteer department)
Columbia, S.C.
Baltimore, Md.
Florence, S.C.
Kansas City, Mo.
Knoxville, Tenn.
Louisville, Ky.
Mobile, Ala.
Nashville, Tenn.
Oklahoma City, Okla.
Richmond, Va.
Washington, D.C.
Winston-Salem, N.C.

Masterlists: a survey in New South, August, 1952 plus another list under Negro Employment, 1954. (in files).

LABOR
LE
1964
BP

UNION RACIAL PRACTICES

Statement before U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower

F. Ray Marshall

In discussing union racial practices, we shall emphasize racial exclusion from unions by formal and informal means, segregated local unions, discrimination in the building trades, and the ways unions influence economic opportunities of Negroes. Our discussion of union racial patterns will be followed by an analysis of some of the major factors changing those patterns.

Formal Exclusion

The number of national unions with formal racial restrictions has declined significantly in the last 30 years. In 1930, at least 22 unions formally barred Negroes from equal membership.[1] By 1943, mergers and changing racial practices had reduced the number of restrictive unions to about 13, seven of which were AFL affiliates (SNA, BRSC, IAM, MMP, RMA, WWPA and the ORT). In 1949 there were at least nine unions with formal race bars, two of which were members of the AFL (WWPA and ORT). The ORT removed its race bar in 1952 and the WWPA merged with the United Papermakers and Paperworkers. After the AFL-CIO merger in 1955 there would have been no major national affiliates with race bars if the BRT and the BLF had not been admitted to the merged federation. The BRT removed its race bar in 1960, leaving only the ORC, the BLE and the BLF with formal restrictions. The BLF, the only one of these unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO,[3] removed its race bar in 1963.

The following forces caused unions to abandon exclusion by formal means, or to adopt more subtle forms: expansion of Negro employment

into jurisdictions covered by these unions, especially during World War II; competition between unions for Negro votes in representation elections after the passage of the Railway Labor Act; the embarrassment of exclusionist union leaders at conventions and in the press by criticism from Negro and white union leaders; action by such governmental agencies as the wartime and state FEP committees, especially the creation of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination in 1946; and fear of the loss of exclusive bargaining rights, union shop provisions or other legal privileges under the Railway Labor Act or the Taft-Hartley Act.[4]

Informal Exclusion

The decline in formal exclusion by international unions does not mean, however, that discrimination declined by the same degree because of local variations from official policies. Unions with formal race bars frequently have accepted Negro members and the locals of some international unions with no formal bars, particularly in the building trades and on the railroads, have excluded Negroes by such informal means as: agreements not to sponsor Negroes for membership; refusal to admit Negroes into apprenticeship programs; refusal to accept applicants from Negroes, or simply ignoring their applications; general "understandings" to vote against Negroes if they were proposed (for example, three members of a BRT or BRSC lodge may bar an applicant for membership); using examinations to refuse Negroes journeymen status which either were not given to whites or were rigged so that Negroes could not pass them; and by exerting political pressure on governmental

licensing agencies to see to it that Negroes failed the tests. An examination of union racial practices in various building trades unions throws more light on this problem.

Building Trades

The pattern of racial exclusion in the building trades has been second only to the railroad industry in its rigidity.[5] The craft locals of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) and the Plumbers and Pipe Fitters (UA) have had an almost consistent pattern of discrimination throughout the United States, but the following other building trades unions are also prominent in the list of unions regularly charged with racial discrimination: Granite Workers; Flint Glass Workers; Structural Iron Workers; and Asbestos Workers. In addition, locals of the following organizations less frequently have been charged with discrimination by various civil rights organizations: Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers (BMP); Plasterers and Cement Masons (PCM); United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners (BCJ); International Union of Operating Engineers (IUOE); Lathers International Union; Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers (PDP); International Association of Sheet Metal Workers; and Elevator Constructors. Some of these latter unions, like the BMP, the PCM, and the Roofers are in occupations with relatively large Negro memberships, and the Bricklayers international union seems consistently to have sought to abolish discriminatory practices--except segregated locals--whenever these have been brought to its attention. The unions in the so-called "trowel trades" and the Roofers have many Negro members in integrated or virtually all-Negro locals in the

South, but there have been charges of segregation in the South and other forms of discrimination in many places in the non-South. Other organizations like the IUOE and the Teamsters have had reputations for barring Negroes in some places and accepting them in others.

International Unions

We should note the distinction between the policies of international unions and their locals. Both the Plumbers and the IBEW internationals have become concerned about the adverse publicity they are receiving, which has caused their actions to be carefully scrutinized by civil rights and government agencies and which threatens to jeopardize their control of the trades. The Plumbers established a committee in 1959 to study charges of racial discrimination against their locals throughout the United States and in 1962 the international union included a non-discrimination clause in its national agreement covering large contractors, which could be significant for some federal contractors. Similarly, the 1958 IBEW Convention adopted a "Resolution on Civil Rights," which resolved that it was the "enduring goal of our Brotherhood to assure to all workers their full share in the benefits of union organization without regard to race, creed, color or national origin."[6] In 1963, 18 building trades internationals agreed to take more vigorous action to eliminate discrimination, and the powerful Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners adopted a nondiscrimination program, including the elimination of segregated locals. Moreover, building trades unions throughout the United States have recently responded to the widespread charges of discrimination against them by admitting some Negroes to

membership. It remains to be seen, however, whether these equalitarian measures will produce significant changes in racial employment patterns.

Conclusions on Unions with Informal Exclusion

The evidence seems to support the following conclusions concerning unions that bar Negroes from membership by informal means:

1. Racial exclusion by informal means is not restricted to any particular geographic area. Though restriction is undoubtedly more rigid in the South, unions in the following trades probably have more Negro members in the South than some other places: the trowel trades, longshoremen, teamsters, roofers, hod carriers and common laborers, and hotel and restaurant employees. These trades have been practiced by Negroes in the South because they have been regarded as "Negro work" and because Negroes have sufficient supplies of labor to protect their interests and to protect their employers, who might be boycotted by whites. These occupations also are relatively old and have stable techniques, making it difficult for unions to exclude Negroes by monopolizing the latest technology.

2. While some craft unions have had egalitarian racial policies and some industrial union locals have refused to admit Negroes to membership, as a general rule the unions which practice exclusion are craft organizations. The members of craft locals have the ability to exclude Negroes from membership and from the trade if they can control the labor supply. Industrial unions on the other hand are forced to organize workers hired by the employer, while the craft unions determine in many

cases whom he hires. In addition, craft unions at the local level consider it to their advantage to exclude workers, while industrial unions consider it to their advantage to organize extensively.

3. The foregoing factors are not however sufficient to identify the general character of excluding unions. Some other factors include: because of the egalitarian trend in race relations, those unions which are older, other things being equal, seem more likely to exclude than newer unions; in many cases the employer determines the hiring policy; whites are likely to attempt to exclude Negroes from certain status jobs like airline pilots, stock wranglers, locomotive engineers, white collar and supervisory jobs; and, in some cases, exclusion is directed against all except a particular nationality group. (It has been common practice in the building trades for instance, for locals to be made up entirely of a particular nationality.)

Auxiliary and Segregated Locals

A number of international unions which did not bar Negroes from membership restricted them to auxiliary locals controlled entirely by whites; about the only thing Negro members of these locals were allowed to do was to pay dues.[7] Auxiliary locals were weakened by attacks from the wartime FEPC, court decisions which prohibited the closed shop where auxiliaries existed, NLRB decisions that the auxiliary could not be coupled with the check off of union dues, state FEP laws, the Taft-Hartley and Railway Labor Act amendments making the union shop unenforceable if all workers are not admitted on equal terms, and the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959 which makes it possible for Negro employees

to bring action to abolish auxiliary locals. A few auxiliary locals remained in 1959, but had become relatively unimportant by that date.

Segregated locals are theoretically different from auxiliary locals in that the Negro and white locals are equal and have separate charters.[8] This distinction sometimes is more theoretical than real, however, because the white local might in fact represent the Negro local in dealings with employers. We must note, though, that there are actually relatively few truly segregated locals in the sense of separate unions for Negroes and whites in the same plant or craft. A few unions almost invariably have had segregated locals in the South--the Carpenters, Longshoremen, the Paper Makers, the Pulp Sulphite Workers, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, the Tobacco Workers and the Musicians--but industrial unions have very few--in 1959, the Textile Workers had about three, the ACWA, 2, the OCAW, 2 (of 152 locals in the South). Even unions like the Tobacco Workers, with predominately Southern memberships have adopted a policy since 1946 of not forming segregated locals. Other unions, like the Bricklayers, have a relatively small number of segregated locals in the South; in 1959, 25 of that union's 168 Southern locals were segregated.

While it is extremely difficult to generalize about segregated locals, the writer's experiences suggest several broad conclusions:

1. Negroes in the South frequently favor a continuation of segregation because they would usually be in the minority and know that whites might discriminate against them;[9] Negroes have their own buildings and other property, as well as their own officers and representatives, and

thus have a vested interest in perpetuating segregation;[10] some Negroes believe they can engage in nonunion matters of interest to Negroes better if they have their own locals.[11]

2. Whether or not Negroes oppose integration depends partly upon the effects of segregation on their economic opportunities. Some unions, like the Bricklayers, Musicians, Longshoremen, Barbers, and others feel that their economic opportunities would not be improved if they integrated because they have protected territories.

In other cases, however, Negro workers are extremely unhappy with segregation because they are denied equal job opportunities. Almost everywhere, for instance, Negro Carpenters' locals in the South have virtually atrophied because they cannot get adequate job opportunities. The Painters have a number of segregated locals in the South and have had experience similar to the Carpenters. As noted above, however, the Carpenters adopted a policy in 1963 to merge these locals.

3. The ideological and philosophical positions of Negroes will also influence their attitude toward segregated locals. Some Negro leaders are opposed to segregation on principle and feel that the AFL-CIO should deliver an ultimatum to its segregated locals to integrate or be expelled. On the other hand, a majority of the Negro leaders in segregated unions in the South probably oppose integration. Younger Negro workers are more likely to insist on integration, but older leaders fear Negroes will suffer short-run losses from integration.

4. The proportions of Negroes in unions will influence the ability to merge segregated locals. If there are very few Negroes, whites

will agree to merge, but if the Negroes are in the majority the whites will frequently oppose integration.

5. Negro resistance to integration has been reduced by special arrangements to make it possible for them to continue to have some control over their affairs when they integrated.

Finally, we may note the following developments concerning segrgated unions in recent years:

a. The practice of establishing segregated locals has been almost completely discontinued. Observers also detect tendencies for Negroes and whites to segregate themselves in union meetings less than they did 20 years ago. There are, moreover, increasing examples of integrated union social affairs in the South.

b. A number of international unions have agreed to establish no more segregated unions (Painters; Tobacco Workers; Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers) and other organizations have taken measures to integrate segregated locals (International Ladies Garment Workers, the National Association of Letter Carriers, the International Association of Machinists, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the American Federation of Musicians, the Carpenters and the American Federation of Teachers). Most of the organizations with segregated locals in the South, however, have refused to integrate locals on the grounds of local autonomy, especially opposition by the colored members (Bricklayers, Longshoremen, Machinists, Molders, Paper Makers, Railroad Clerks, Maintenance of Way Employees, Railway Carmen, Railway Trainmen).

c. The AFL-CIO has taken a formal position against segregated

locals, but has refused to invoke sanctions or to establish a time by which segregated locals must integrate.

We should note, however, that to say a local is "integrated" might not mean very much. It could mean that one or two Negroes belong to the organization but never participate other than by paying dues. "Integration" might also mean that Negroes are members of the industrial union and if they attend meetings they segregate themselves or are segregated by whites.

Control of Job Opportunities

Craft unions influence job opportunities for Negroes by controlling entry into the labor market through closed-union-closed-shop conditions, job referral systems, apprenticeship programs, and pressure on employers to hire or not to hire Negroes. Industrial unions affect job opportunities through control of hiring, transfer, promotion, and lay-offs. Many employers are convinced that if they transfer Negroes into previously "white" occupations the white workers will strike, and there is sufficient historical precedent to validate this belief, though it is rarely possible for a group of rank-and-filers to block the employment or upgrading of Negroes without the aid of either the employer or the international.

Finally, unions have positively influenced employment opportunities of minorities by promoting civil rights legislation, including nondiscrimination clauses in contracts and adoption of company-wide seniority agreements to make it possible for Negroes to break out of "Negro" jobs.

While our attention has been focused on problems of racial discrimination within unions, we have noted that unions also have contributed to the improvement of the Negro worker's position. In spite of these positive measures, however, racial discrimination is still a serious problem within the labor movement and probably cannot be solved by the unions themselves. This conclusion is based on the belief that those unions and leaders who want to change union racial practices do not have sufficient power to do so.[12]

Some Factors Influencing Union Racial Practices

Technological change has an important effect on the employment opportunities of minorities, who are concentrated disproportionately in those jobs most likely to be replaced by innovations. Sometimes the job is abolished by the introduction of new machinery and at other times it is made more attractive; Negroes have been replaced in both cases.

Racial trouble has frequently started when unemployment rises and whites start moving into jobs held by Negroes or senior Negroes are laid off while junior whites are retained. Unionism, while not causing Negroes to have equal treatment, might make it possible for them to get the same treatment in lay-offs as whites who have the same seniority because seniority clauses in union agreements give Negroes legal rights they would not have in the absence of unions.

Economic conditions also affect the pace at which Negroes can move up the economic ladder. If the labor market is slack and there are few opportunities for advancement, the results of changing the racial practices of unions and employers will be less significant. For instance,

the effort exerted over a long period to change racial practices in the oil industry produced limited results because nontechnical employment in most companies declined after 1953 and few new employees have been hired or promoted. Though separate lines of progression were broken down in the major companies in this industry, only a few Negroes have moved into better jobs.

Negroes also have found that tight labor markets--such as exist during wars--make it easier for them to move into jobs from which they were previously excluded. It is true that Negroes generally have been the last to be committed to industrial employment during these times, and have been more vulnerable than whites to retrenchment during recessions, but it is nevertheless significant that Negroes were able to enter some jobs for the first time during wars. Once in these jobs, Negroes were in a position to fight from within unions and companies to improve their positions. While many factors influence the employment opportunities of minorities, there is little doubt that anti-discrimination measures would be much more effective in a full employment atmosphere.

The ease or difficulty with which a trade may be learned and practiced is a significant consideration in changing union racial practices. If the trade is relatively easy to learn, or Negroes can learn it in trade schools, the armed forces, or by "picking it up," the union will have difficulty excluding Negroes or will be forced to lower its economic conditions. In the plumbing and electrical industries where apprenticeships are important, it is relatively difficult

for Negroes to learn the trade because there are few colored craftsmen and whites will rarely take Negro apprentices or trainees if the admission of Negroes is opposed by the union. Trades where Negroes have difficulty becoming journeymen because of union exclusion or governmental licensing arrangements will therefore not have many Negro trainees. One of the reasons Negro bricklayers, cement finishers, and plasterers have been able to perpetuate themselves in the South is that there are a sizable number of Negroes who will teach the trade to others. Moreover, the techniques used in these trades are relatively stable, so that new methods cannot be monopolized by whites to exclude Negroes. Negroes were also allowed to retain some jobs which were difficult to perform or had other undesirable features.

Another labor market factor perpetuating racial job patterns is the employer's preference for white or Negro labor. This preference is influenced by stereotypes as to whether or not Negroes can do certain kinds of work, have higher rates of turnover, are subject to more wage garnishments, and the like. Negroes have been preferred by white contractors in the South for certain jobs which colored workers have traditionally held--like longshoremen, hodcarriers, and cement finishers. Employers sometimes preferred Negroes for the same jobs held by whites because Negroes would work for lower wages. In the past, Negroes moved into some jobs during strikes because employers thought colored workers would not join unions, a degree of preference which was intensified by Negro leaders who felt that the colored worker's economic salvation lay in an alliance with employers against unions. Today, many of the

strongest Negro community institutions favor unions and exert their influence to prevent Negroes from being used as strikebreakers. Employers no longer feel that they can count on Negroes to be non-union and the general extension of unionism has made this attribute less important to the companies. Moreover, the virtual abolition of racial wage differentials for the same jobs has eliminated another reason why employers preferred Negroes.

Employers' preferences will also be affected by uncertainties as to the reaction of white workers, and the supply of Negroes who possess the necessary skills if they are boycotted by white craftsmen. Whether or not whites boycott an employer depends upon the availability of jobs and general market conditions. Boycotts will rarely be initiated by whites in relatively stable industrial jobs; in construction work, on the other hand, it is a simple matter for workers to boycott a particular employer. In longshoring, Negroes can furnish enough workers to replace whites if the latter refuse to work with them, but there are not enough Negro electricians or plumbers to make this possible.

Supply of labor is related to the status of the job. In many cases, employers prefer Negroes because they are more easily controlled in low status occupations. Since a sufficiently large supply of whites cannot be found for some of these jobs, employers prefer Negroes who are forced by occupational limitations into these lines.

The scope of collective bargaining is a factor influencing the union's ability to discriminate against minorities. Organizations which have purely local bargaining arrangements are more likely to discriminate

than those that use national bargains, because the national union is usually more conspicuous, making it relatively easy to bring moral pressure to bear on it. There have been some widely publicized cases of racial discrimination by local unions, but as a rule locals are too insignificant to attract national attention. The widely publicized cases attract attention precisely because the locals are impervious to moral pressures and there is usually no agency that can readily focus sufficient economic, physical, or political power on them to produce a change in their policies.

National bargains give the parent organization more power to deal with the local. Since nationals are more vulnerable to moral power, and since the prevailing moral sentiment in the United States is against discrimination, unions with national bargains will be more likely to cause their locals to conform with egalitarian racial policies.

The level of union wages in a plant covered by the national bargain influences the control that a national union can exert over its local affiliates. If union wages and conditions are much higher than prevailing wages in the local area, the international has more control over the local. In Memphis, for example, local white union members vigorously protested the United Automobile Workers' equalitarian policies, but segregationist elements did not secede from the international, partly because of national contracts and good wages and conditions. Some white members of the Memphis local considered pulling out of the international but were deterred by the realization that the international, not the local, was the certified bargaining agent.

Other factors which influence the international's ability to require its locals to observe equalitarian racial policies include: The effect of enforcement on the international's objectives as interpreted by its leaders and as it influences their official positions; whether the international has some reason to appeal to the Negro community, e.g., organizing a bloc of unorganized Negroes or Negro-labor political considerations; the available alternatives for the local, especially whether there is a rival union to which it can secede; the employer's attitude--the employer will be willing to cooperate with the international if he has some reason (government contracts, fear of boycotts) to oppose discrimination by the local; the size and political significance of the local involved; the dues structure and financial strength of the international and the constitutional provisions relating to the ownership of the local's property if it secedes; and the ease with which trusteeships can be imposed upon the local.

The Courts

There has been considerable legal activity in the past twenty years to define more clearly the duty of fair representation imposed on unions as a result of the privilege of exclusive bargaining rights granted by the Railway Labor and Wagner acts.[13] Under this duty, unions were required to represent all workers fairly, even though they were not required to admit them to membership. Some federal courts have also held that employers are jointly liable with unions for the duty of equal representation,[14] and aggrieved minorities have brought suit against unions for damages resulting from violation of their legal rights.[15]

Negroes also sought to use the theory of the school desegregation cases to eliminate discrimination by unions, but the Supreme Court's refusal in 1959 to grant certiorari in the Oliphant case would seem to perpetuate the doctrine that unions do not have to grant membership to all members of the bargaining unit in order to satisfy the duty of fair representation.[16] There is, however, a minority of legal opinion, which seems to be growing, that unions cannot represent workers fairly unless they admit all members of the bargaining units.[17]

Negroes have not been able to change union racial practices very much through the courts, however, because legal action requires a great deal of time, is uncertain as to its outcome, and has rarely resulted in damages to the plaintiffs. However, lawsuits are valuable to aggrieved minorities as a threat to discriminating unions, and injunctions have been used to prevent unions from causing Negroes to lose their jobs.[18]

The NLRB

The disadvantages of court cases could be avoided if there were effective administrative remedies, but the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) has been much more cautious than the courts in interpreting and applying its power to prevent discrimination by unions. Though the NLRB has entertained ". . . grave doubt whether a union which discriminatorily denies membership to employees on the basis of race, may nevertheless bargain as the exclusive representative in an appropriate unit composed of members of the excluded race,"[19] it repeatedly permitted unions which excluded Negroes to participate in elections

covering bargaining units containing Negroes.[20] Indeed, the Board has ruled that:

> Neither exclusion from membership nor segregated membership per se represents evasion on the part of a labor organization of its statutory duty of 'equal representation'. But in each case where the issue is presented the Board will scrutinize the contract and conduct of a representative organization and withdraw certification if it finds the organization has discriminated against employees in the bargaining units through its membership restrictions or otherwise.[21]

Despite this threat, however, the NLRB has never actually revoked certification of a union for racial discrimination, though some unions have surrendered certification apparently to avoid action by the Board.[22]

While it is too early for an evaluation, the NLRB is showing belated signs of taking more direct action against discriminatory unions. The Board has not gone as far as the courts in enforcing the duty of equal representation, but there is some indication that it might respond to President Kennedy's increased interest in equal rights for Negroes by decertifying discriminating unions. In a recent case, for instance, a trial examiner recommended that the certification of an independent union in Houston be revoked because "Where a union segregates members or excludes or denies full-membership status to applicants, on racial grounds, it is violating its duty of fair representation to all members of the unit and should not be permitted to hold a certified status."[23] The Board has given some indication of the trend in its thinking by ruling that it will not permit an existing discriminatory contract to bar a representation election.[24]

It is, however, not clear whether decertification would have a significant impact on union racial practices. While unions appear to

be greatly concerned about decertification, it is not necessary for a union to be certified in order to bargain with employers. Indeed, many craft unions have sufficient economic power to operate without certification. It is not clear whether these unions have the duty of equal representation if they are not certified. It could be, therefore, that in the absence of federal contracts or a state or federal fair employment practices (FEP) law, there are no legal remedies to prevent discrimination by strong craft unions, who are the ones most guilty of discrimination. Even where legal remedies exist, however, Negroes have not been satisfied with the extent to which they have been able to enter many craft unions and occupations. This is perhaps one of the reasons, as in the 1963 Philadelphia and New York examples, that civil rights organizations have resorted to mass demonstrations to get Negroes hired and to focus attention on the discriminating unions. Most of these demonstrations have been in states with FEP laws.

Government Contract Committees

While the various contract committees set up by the federal government since President Roosevelt appointed the wartime FEP committee have not dealt directly with unions, they have had indirect effects on their racial practices. In the petroleum, pulp and paper, aircraft, and other industries in the South, for example, Negroes have changed union practices by threatening employers with the loss of federal contracts. In these industries there has been some desegregation of seniority rosters controlled jointly by the unions and employers, especially since 1953. As a general rule, however, President Eisenhower's

Committee on Government Contracts (PCGC) had a very limited impact on unions because it adopted the policy that unions were not parties to government contracts and were therefore beyond its control. Moreover, the PCGC's power was limited by the executive order which established it. In spite of these limitations, however, the PCGC was used by groups like the NAACP to promote equal job opportunities for Negroes.

President Kennedy's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (PCEEO), not only has more power than the PCGC, but also is directed to "cause any labor union. . . who is or may be engaged in work under government contracts to cooperate with and to comply in the implementation of, the purposes of the order." Moreover, unions covering 90 per cent of the AFL-CIO's membership have signed voluntary pledges to comply with the provisions of the executive order. As a result of the PCEEO's activity, a number of unions have integrated their locals in the South and some jobs have been integrated, particularly at the important Lockheed aircraft plant in Marietta, George, where the International Association of Machinists has bargaining rights. In June, 1963, President Kennedy met with a group of labor leaders and got them to pledge their support to eliminate discrimination in their ranks as well as in the larger community. It remains to be seen, of course, whether the unions can implement these pledges.

State FEP Committees

Some of the most intransigent cases brought before the state FEP commissions, and usually the first cases to go to public hearing or the courts, have involved unions. It is not entirely paradoxical,

of course, that unions have been the chief supporters of FEP legislation and have been among the most intransigent respondents before the commissions established by these laws, because there are many different kinds of unions and union members. Moreover, unions sometimes find it easier to support general civil rights legislation than to solve their own racial problems. In fact, George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, advocates a federal FEP law partly on the grounds that such legislation is needed to help overcome union discrimination.

The FEP commissions have succeeded in changing the formal racial practices of a number of unions, particularly on the railroads, and have succeeded in directly obtaining the admission of hundreds of workers who were formerly excluded from membership in labor organizations. Moreover, the commissions have aided in the regularization of many job referral systems, making it more difficult for these to be used as vehicles for discrimination. Though it would be impossible to establish statistically, the commissions undoubtedly have also been indirectly responsible for gaining more equal opportunities for thousands of Negroes not directly involved in these cases. The FEP laws also have been used by some union leaders as justification for equalitarian changes that were not considered politically feasible before the laws were passed.

In spite of these positive accomplishments, however, the evidence suggests that the commissions have not changed the basic employment patterns in most unionized industries, and the 1963 racial demonstrations against unions in FEP cities and states suggests that

Negro leaders are far from satisfied with the results of these laws. There are many reasons for the commissions' failure to achieve faster results, including: (a) The commissions use essentially the same tactics against unions as against employers, namely, conciliation, persuasion and the threat of public hearing, though it is generally conceded that recalcitrant local unions are less responsive to these tactics than employers. (b) The commissions' operations are complicated by such factors as internal union politics, nepotism, amicism, the natural intractability of employment patterns, declining economic opportunities in many industries where Negroes are concentrated or where they are attempting to get jobs, the natural slowness of the case method in proving racial discrimination, the fewness of verifiable complaints against unions in most states, the complicated hiring arrangements which make it difficult to prove discrimination in many casual occupations, and the autonomy of discriminating local unions.

Any effort to change union racial practices must be based on an understanding of union structures because power is transmitted to decision makers through these structures. Public policy must be sure that the right kind of power is applied to those parts of the labor movement responsible for discrimination. The real problem of racial discrimination is usually at the local level and whether or not locals will take corrective action depends upon the extent to which they may be compelled to do so by parent internationals or outside pressures. Generally, local unions seem to be relatively impervious to moral

pressures, but are more responsive to economic pressures. There are a number of cases (in Cleveland, Washington, D. C., Milwaukee, Hartford, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other places) in which local unions have defied the most vigorous public and official denunciations of their practices, but have yielded to economic pressures. The Hartford Case, for example, involving an IBEW local, was resolved, after the local defied the state Commission on Civil Rights, when the Superior Court found it guilty of contempt for refusing to admit Negroes to membership and fined it $2,000 and $500 for each week it remained in contempt.[25] Building trades unions in Philadelphia were impervious to vigorous public attacks on them, but admitted five Negroes to membership after Negroes exerted direct pressures through mass demonstrations. IBEW Local 26 in Washington, D. C. resisted vigorous moral pressures to get Negroes in the union, but finally relented in 1963 and accepted two Negro apprentices.

These and other experiences suggest that recalcitrant local unions will change their practices when their power sources are threatened by government regulation, retaliation from the Negro community, and alienation of public opinion. If the trends continue, these unions face the following possibilities: decertification by the NLRB; loss of control over state and municipal licensing provisions where these are used for racial discrimination; loss of control over hiring and referral systems; loss of control over apprenticeship training; and being barred from federal, state and municipal work.

Conclusions

We may conclude by noting some of the main changes in union racial practices in the last thirty years.

(1) The number of international unions with formal racial bars has declined from at least 22 in 1930 to two major unions today; and and none of these is affiliated with the AFL-CIO. Moreover, informal exclusion has declined considerably, and recently some of the most intransigent craft locals have accepted Negro members for the first time.

(2) Negro union membership has increased from about 56,000 in 1930 to between 1.5 and 2.0 million today.

(3) The AFL-CIO has adopted a stronger equalitarian racial position than either the AFL or the CIO, though the federation really has little other than moral power to enforce its policies against offending locals. While implementation of the federation's racial policies has been impeded by difficulties within the federation and its civil rights committee and department, there is evidence that the AFL-CIO is moving with increasing vigor to abolish discrimination in its ranks; the external pressures being exerted on the labor movement by civil rights organizations have strengthened the federation in its dealings with its affiliates.

(4) Negroes occupy important official positions within the labor movement. Two Negroes were elected to the AFL-CIO Executive Council, though one of these (Willard Townsend) died and was not replaced by a Negro. At least seventeen international unions have or have had

Negro vice presidents or executive board members.[26] There are also many Negroes in positions of responsibility within local unions.

(5) The level of the debate over union racial policies has changed in the past thirty years. Thirty years ago discrimination was defined largely in terms of unions which would not admit Negroes to membership and the prevalence of racial wage differentials. Where Negroes were admitted, it was commonly to auxiliary locals. Today, the racial wage differential has almost disappeared in jobs covered by union contracts and auxiliary locals are almost nonexistent. The main areas of conflict today involve the exclusion of Negroes from some craft locals, abolition of segregated seniority rosters, the election of Negroes to the international executive boards and overcoming Negro and white opposition to the desegregation of local unions. While many building trades and railroad locals continue to exclude Negroes from membership, and Negroes continue to be concentrated in lowest job categories, segregated seniority rosters have been changed considerably in many industries. Moreover, while segregated locals exist in all sections of the country, it is rare to learn of the establishment of new segregated locals, and several international unions are taking measures to abolish Negro locals where they exist.

(6) Thirty years ago, Negro leaders frequently encouraged colored workers to act as strikebreakers. Today, in spite of the growing public split between the Negro community and the labor movement, many Negro organizations remain pro-union and Negro strikebreakers are rarely heard of. Moreover, Negro-labor political alliances continue to be

important forces in most industrial cities.

(7) A considerable body of law has been developed in union racial practices, and a number of organizations have evolved to which aggrieved workers can take charges of discrimination against unions. Indeed, one reason union racial practices have not been changed more than they have is the paucity of verifiable charges filed with these agencies.

There is ample evidence of discrimination against Negroes by unions, but it would be false to allege either that there has not been a significant lowering of racial barriers in unions in the past 30 years, or that the union movement has not made significant contributions to the Negro's welfare.

FOOTNOTES

1. The following unions are known to have had formal race bars in 1930: Brotherhood of Railway Carmen--AFL (BRC); Switchmen's Union of North America--AFL (SNA); Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks--AFL (BRSC); the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors--AFL; Masters, Mates and Pilots of North America--AFL (MMP); Railway Mail Association--AFL (RMA); Wire Weavers Protective Association--AFL (WWPA); Commercial Telegraphers--AFL; Boilermakers--AFL; International Association of Machinists--AFL (IAM); the Order of Railway Telegraphers--AFL (ORT); the Brotherhood of Dining Car Conductors; the American Federation of Railway Workers; Brotherhood of Railway Station Employees and Clerks (BRSEC); American Train Dispatchers Association; Railroad Yard Masters of North America; Neptune Association; Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE); Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen (BLF); Brotherhood of Railway Conductors; the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (BRT); and the Railroad Yard Masters of America.
2. See Ibid. for names of these unions.
3. BLE Constitution of June-July 1956 as amended in September 1960, section 28. BLF Constitution, July-August, 1959 as amended January 8, 1960.
4. See, for example, James V. Marinship, 25 California 2d 721 (1944).
5. See, for example, speech delivered by George Meany to the Sixth National Legislative Conference of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO, Washington, D. C., March 14, 1960; New York State Commission Against Discrimination, "Apprentices, Skilled Craftsmen and the Negro: An Analysis," 1960; Ben D. Segal, "The Practices of Craft Unions in Washington, D. C., With Respect to Minority Groups,"

in Civil Rights in the Nation's Capitol, Washington, National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, November, 1959, p. 35; Memo to the writer from David Sawyer, Executive Director of the Commissions' Council on Human Relations, Washington, D. C., June 3, 1959; Herman D. Bloch, "Craft Unions A Link in the Circle of Negro Discrimination," Phylon, Fourth Quarter, 1958; "Craft Unions and the Negro in Historical Perspective," Journal of Negro History, January, 1958; Herbert Northrup, Organized Labor and the Negro, New York: Harpers, 1943, Ch. II; National Planning Association, Committee on the South, Negro Employment in the South, New York, 1955, passim; Herbert Hill, "Organized Labor and the Negro Wage Earner," New Politics, Winter, 1962; Idem, "Labor Unions and the Negro," Commentary, December, 1959; National Urban League, "Negroes and the Building Trades Unions," New York, National Urban League, Industrial Relations Department, mimeo, nd.

6. National and local craft unions have different interests with respect to organizing; nationals gain power by expansion while locals gain power by exclusion and controlling the supply of labor.

7. This arrangement was usually adopted in lieu of outright exclusion by formal means and was sometimes the next stage adopted in a union's racial practices following the elimination of formal racial restrictions. Organizations which followed this practice included the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen; the Blacksmith; the Boilermakers; the Motion Picture Operators; the National Rural Letter Carriers; the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; the Maintenance of Way Employees; the Sheet Metal Workers Alliance; the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks;

the American Federation of Railroad Workers; the Rural Letter Carriers Association; the International Association of Machinists; and the Seafarers International Union. All of these organizations except the American Federation of Railroad Workers and the Rural Letter Carriers Association were affiliated with the AFL.

8. The following international unions have or have had segregated locals: Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (BMWE); Brotherhood of Painters Decorators and Paperhangers of America (BPDP); Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America (BRC); Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees (BRSC); International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers (IBBS); International Union of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers (PPS); Sheet Metal Workers International Association (SMW); United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (UBCJ); United Brotherhood of Paper Makers and Paperworkers (UPP); the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers (Independent); American Federation of Musicians (AFM); National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC); International Association of Machinists (IAM); Tobacco Workers International Union (TWIU); the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers (BMP); the Journeyman Barbers International Union; the Oil Chemical, and Atomic Workers (OCAW); the Textile Workers Union; the United Textile Workers; the International Longshoreman's Association; the Molders; the Glass and Ceramic Workers; the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; International Brotherhood of Teamsters; and International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

9. For instance, in 1954, OWIU Locals 23 (white) and 254 (Negro) decided to merge after legal action to integrate seniority rosters. When the

committees merged, the bargaining committee was elected by majority vote, and comprised entirely of whites, who then negotiated a discriminatory contract. The Negroes split with the whites again and brought legal action against the company and the white union.

10. This is a common problem encountered by the AFM, for instance, in its efforts to merge segregated locals throughout the United States. When this question was raised at the AFL's 1957 convention, there were 47 Negro locals with 7,620 members, only 14 of which were in the South. When a vote was taken on this matter, 40 of the Negro locals opposed the merger, five favored it and two did not vote.

11. In New Orleans, for instance, ILA Local 1419 (Negro) owns several business extablishments and operates a political organization which conducts a school to teach Negroes how to register and vote. Negro leaders oppose integration with the white general longshore union because, they argue, it would be more difficult to continue these activities on behalf of their race.

12. See: Ray Marshall, "Some Factors Influencing Union Racial Practices," Industrial Relations Research Association Annual Proceedings, 1961.

13. Steele v. L. & N.R.R., 323 U. S. 192; Archibald Cox, "The Duty of Fair Representation, "Villanova Law Review, January 1957, p. 151; Benjamin Aaron, "Some Aspects of the Union's Duty of Fair Representation," Ohio State Law Journal, Winter, 1961, p. 39; Wallace Corp. v. NLRB, 323 U. S. 248.

14. Central of Georgia Ry. v. Jones 229 F. 2d 648, Cert. denied 352 U. S. 848; Richardson v. Texas & New Orleans Ry. Co., 242 F. 2d 230; 77 S.Ct.230.

15. Syres v. Oil Workers 257 F. 2d 479; 330 U. S. 892; Rolax v. Atlantic Coast Line 186 F. 2d 473.

16. 262 F. 2d 349 (1948) Cert. denied 359 & 935 (1959).

17. See: Betts v. Easley, 161 Kansas 459; Justice Murphy's concurring opinion in the Steele case, 65 S. Ct. 226; Judge Groner's concurrence in Brotherhood v. United Transport Service Employees, 136 F. 2d 817, 829 (CADC), reversed on other grounds, 320 U. S. 715, and Justice Fairchild's dissent in Ross v. Ebert, 275 Wes. 532, 82 N. W. 2d 315, 320.

18. See: Hunter v. Atcheson Topeka and Santa Fe Ry. II Race Relations Law Reporter 996.

19. Bethlehem Alameda Shipyard Cases, R-5963-94 (1943).

20. Carter Manufacturing Company, 50 NLRB 803.

21. NLRB, Tenth Annual Report, 1945, p. 18.

22. Larus & Bros., 62 NLRB 1085; also Case No. 39-RC-854, (1955).

23. Independent Metal Workers Union and Hughes Tool Co., Case No. 23-CB-429; United Steelworkers and Independent Metal Workers, Case No. 23-RC-1748, February 26, 1963, p. 12.

24. Pioneer Bus Co. v. Transport Workers, 51 LRRM 1546.

25. See: 18 Conn. Supplement, 125-127; Conn. Law Journal, Oct. 7, 1952, p. 2; IBEW Local 35 v. Commission on Civil Rights, Conn. Supreme Ct. of Errors October Term, 1953; and IBEW v. Commission on Civil Rights, Superior Ct., Hartford County, Conn., March 26, 1954.

26. International Longshoremen's Association; Allied Industrial Workers; Hotel and Restaurant Employees; National Agricultural Workers; United Rubber Workers; Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; United Packinghouse

Workers; Tobacco Workers; Hod Carriers and Common Laborers; Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers; National Maritime Union; Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; United Transport Service Employees; the American Federation of Teachers; Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union; the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; and the United Automobile Workers.

LMM

Okla. Christian College trustees authorized school's administration to admit any qualified student without regard to race or color.

Presby. Outlook (p. 31) 4-24-61

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Texas: In Dallas, two Negroes, Ceasar Clark and J. Von Brown were defeated in the school board race by a more than 8 to 1 majority. 1958.

Oran McGregor ran for the Ft. Worth school board, 1959.

C. B. Bunkley, Jr. ran for post on city council in Dallas, 1959.

Virginia: Dr. A. I. Jackson and Grover C. Grant were in the race for city council in Richmond (election June 10, 1958). Grant had run for same post in preceding election.

Dean Thomas H. Henderson was a candidate for State House of Delegates, 1959.

Milton King, the Rev. Edward V. Hill, ran for City Council in 1959. Ballots cast for Mr. Hill placed him in a run-off. (Nov., 1959.)

1960

1. Charlottesville, Va: Charles C. Johnson is a candidate in the City Council primary.

	Date of First Demonstration:	City:
97.	8/6	Oklahoma City, Okla.
98.	?	Palm Beach Co., Fla.
99.	8/9	Miami Beach, Fla.

Stand-ins -

Silton can be told this list covers Feb. 1 — present if you omit 14-17.

1. Austin ——
2. Dallas ——
3. San Antonio ——
4 - Houston
5 - Covington, Ky.
6 - Lexington, Ky.
7 - Richmond, Va. — 2/1
8 - Hampton, Va. · 2/1
9 - Nashville, Tenn. - 2/1
10 - Charlotte —— 2/1 (Picketing)
11 - Greensboro —— 2/1 + before (Picketing)
12 - High Point —— 2/1
13 - Chapel Hill, N.C. — (Picketing, stand ins)
~~14~~ - Baltimore, Md - (Picketing, 1960)
~~15~~ Blue field, W. Va. - (" ")
~~16~~ - Lawrenceville, Va. (Boycott of movie - 1960)
~~17~~ - Bethesda, Md. (Marathon picketing - 1960)
18 - Winston-Salem (2/1)
19 - Chattanooga, Tenn. :
20 - Durham —— (Negro section closed in Center Theatre.)

(over)

VA - 1-00 WX

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

September 20, 1960

Thank you for your assistance with our survey of biracial convention facilities in the South. A report of the results is enclosed.

21- Louisville, Ky.
22- Charlottesville, Va.
23- Fayetteville, N.C.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

September 20, 1960

Thank you for your assistance with our survey of biracial convention facilities in the South. A report of the results is enclosed.

31- Louisville, Ky.
32- Charlottesville, Va.
33- Youngstown, O.

Activity, mid-March to present
~~During March and April~~

(1) Sit in at Woolworths in Danville, Va., March 30.
Continued until at least 4/24

(2) Picketing at least as recently as April 11 in Rock Hill, S.C.. Probably boycott

(3) Rutherfordton, N.C. - Sit-in 3/14.

(4) Kneel-in in Memphis, Good Friday - 3/31.

(5) Orangeburg, S.C. - Picketing during Easter Shopping season - 3/31 - Probably boycott.

(6) Stand-in as late as 3/29 in Chattanooga.

(7) Picketing of theatre in Charlottesville, Va. as late as 3/27.

(8) Sit-ins in Oklahoma City 3/28.

(9) Picketing of theatres in Chapel Hill, 3/~~28~~ 26
("established a nightly vigil")

(10) Boycott of Savannah, Ga's. Broughton Street continues, 3/24.

(11) Columbia, S.C. - Picketing city hall - 4/25

(over)

(12) Memphis - sit-ins resumed around first of May.

Recent Activity

Atlanta - Oct. 19, 20, 21 - mass demonstrations followed by 32 day truce arranged by Mayor. No settlement reached. Demonstrations resumed Nov. 25, and are still taking place.

Boycott extended to Central downtown area, plus several suburban shopping centers.

Nashville - 3 straight days of sit-ins at segregated restaurants + drugstores reported Nov. 12. Demonstrations evidently continued since fighting accompanying sit-in at downtown restaurant was reported Nov. 23.

Jacksonville - Lunch counter Sit-ins reappeared Oct. 8. Unknown if they are continuing.
Kneel-in Oct. 2.

Oklahoma City - Sit-ins began again in August.

Hyattsville (Prince Georges Co.) Md. - Bowling alley sit ins, began 9/8 in the county, reported on 10/23/60

Memphis — "New epidemic" of sit ins reported to have begun August 20.

CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION

The 75th Anniversary

WORLD DAY OF PRAYER

DISCUSSION GROUPS

ON

INTERDENOMINATIONAL PRAYER FELLOWSHIPS

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Mrs. Bolling Gay, Mrs. John Patterson

"IF ONE NATION WANTS TO CONQUER THE

OTHER -- THERE WILL BE NO PEACE"

TOGETHERNESS

ONLY

BRINGS PEACE

T H E C H U R C H W O M A N

WHY? -- Mrs. Hugh Harris

Miami - Picketing by CORE in late August 60

Sumter S.C. - Kneel-in 11/20/60.
~~Parade in front of~~ Demonstration at variety and drug stores Oct. 12

St. Petersburg - Sit-in reported 11/19/60.

New Orleans - Sit-ins & kneel-in? reported during September.

S.C.:
Greenville, Dunbarton, Orangeburg, Spartanburg and Claflin College NAACP's carrying out full-scale selective buying campaigns aimed at Christmas buying.

St. Louis -
Series of unsponsored sit-ins by 3 high school students in mid-October -
~~Series of unsponsored sit-ins by 3 high school students~~.

Demonstrations in new places (not on typed list).

(1) Jackson, Tenn. - Week of 10/20 - Ride-in, Picketing - aimed at bus lines. Bus lines desegregated.

Variety store sit-ins in late October. Date ?; Thrown eggs, merchandise (by whites.) 3 days of such incidents.

(2) Clarksdale Miss. - 10/3 - Stand-in at registrars.

(3) Prince Geo. Co. Md. - 9/8 - Bowling Alley.

~~(4) Alexandria, Va.~~

(4) Alexandria, Va - 8/28 - Kneel-in

(5) Myrtle Beach SC - 8/30 - Wade-in at state park.

	Regulations Imposed on Public Employees	Organizations Required to ~~Disclose~~ Register Membership	Organizations ~~Required to Register~~ Inspection of Records File certain info.	Investigating Committees, Hearings
Florida				HB 527; SB 347 (1957) Creates a committee of the legislature to make investigations ~~of the activi~~ conduct hearings (Joint comm. set up in 1956 by Chapter 31498, Ext. Session, expired, 1957.)
Louisiana (Compulsory questionnaire to signers of petition against school closing law - (RKLR III - 781))	248, 249, 250, 252, Acts 2R, 1956. Prohibits teachers and school bus operators from belonging to or contributing to organizations that cannot legally operate in the state, and from advocating or doing any act toward bringing about racial integration in public institutions. (also School employees other than teachers in Orleans Parish)	No need to enact a new statute - used old KKK law - (See RKLR 4 No. 1, 234)	A 7-man legislative comm. probed alleged subversive activities at state colleges, universities, 1958. Senator Cole, Chmn., Rep. Vether, vice chmn.	Supreme Court denied hearing to challengers - House Concurrent Res. No. 9, (1956). Continues in operation Joint Legislative Committee created by H. Con. Res. No. 27, 1954, (Rainach Com.). Authorized to conduct investigations, hearings, and take any and all actions necessary or incidental to carrying out the purposes it sets forth.
Mississippi (Other: HB 119, 1956 provides criminal penalties for any person convicted of inciting a public disturbance by advocating disobedience to any state law and non-conformance with the customs, traditions, or usages of the state.)	HB No. 17, 1956, Superintendents, principals, + teachers in public educational institutions required to disclose by affidavit identity of organizations to which they have belonged or contributed in the past 5 years. NOT ENACTED	HB 880, 1956, creating State Sovereignty Comm., authorizes that body to require SB No. 1973 - 1958. Org. and officer who at any time was an officer of an organization listed as subversive by the U.S. Atty. Gen. or a Congressional committee required to disclose identity of officers and members to Sec. of State	HB 880, 1956 creating State Sov. Comm., authorizes that body to require the production of any books, records, papers, or documents..	(2 more - 1958) HB 880, 1956, creates State Sovereignty Commission to "protect the sovereignty of the State ... from encroachment thereon by the federal government." Commission is authorized to subpoena and examine witnesses. S.B. No. 1973, 1958, Sec. of State authorized to require an investigation by Atty. Gen. or the state's general leg. interest committee of similar organizations
North Carolina	Miss. - Other 1955, SCR 6 - Bans speeches at state institutions by advocates of anti-state action. School Personnel Must List membership - CH 265 - 1956 - According to SEPS - Pg. 12, Statistical Summary			

Segregation Committees of the Southern States

State	Committee	Date Established	
North Carolina	Governor's Special Advisory Committee	August 1954	19 Member committee (including three Negroes) appointed by the governor to study the segregation decision and find means of meeting it withing present school system. Ceased to exist after report of
	2. Advisory Committee on Public Education	June 1955	Authorized by 1955 Legislature as continuing study group on segregatio Its seven members, all white, were appointed by the governor. Pearsall, chairman of the first committee, is also chairman of this group.
South Carolina	School Segregation Study Committee (Gressette Committee)	1951	15 member committee authorized to study all phases of segregation.
Tennessee	1Through late 1956, no name or membership of the governor's committee had been disclosed	1956	In the fall of 1956 Governor Clement authorized a "quiet survey" of desegregation problems and legislation that had been enacted by other states.
	2. Subcommittee of the Legislative Council	1956	A six member subcommittee of the Legislative Council, whose chairman favors segregation, was established to study segregation problems and the pro-segregation laws of other southern states.
Texas	Advisory Committee on Segregation In Public Schools	July 1955	Named by Governor Shivers to to search for answer to problems confronting Texas schools as result of the Supreme Court decision.
Virginia	State Commission on Public Education (Gray Commission)	1954	Thirty-two legislators are members. Appointed by Gov. Stanley to study impact of Supreme Court decision on the state and to find lawful means of preventing enforced integration.

	Regulations Imposed on Public Employees	Organization Required to ~~Disclose~~ Register Membership	Org. Req. ~~to Register~~ Inspection of Records File Info. other than memb.	Investigating Committees, Hearings
South Carolina	Act No. 741, '56 - Prohibited the employment by the state of S.C. or any school district or political subdivision thereof of any member of the NAACP - ~~[No longer in effect]~~ Repealed in 1957, by Act No. 223, 1957, requiring applicants for public employment to list organizations in which they hold membership	? a 1957 Act requires any organization which "has as its policy equal rights for members of any race, creed or color" to list the names and addresses of its members. (RRLR - 4, No. 1, P. 235)	Acts 406, 422, licenses membership solicitors in individual counties - Florence, McCormick, Kershaw. Act 202 - requires info. from racial orgs. in Laurens Co. Act 172 - licensing of fund solicitors, Abbeville Co.	(I-600) Act 920, 1956 - Ordered an investigation of the activities of the NAACP among the faculty and students of the South Carolina State College. Special legislative Comm. to investigate communist activity created in 1958, on request of Gov. Timmerman.
~~Tennessee~~ Tennessee		Ch. 151, ~~1957~~ Public Acts 1957. requires registration of those who promote or oppose legislation for or against any race, or whose activities tend to cause racial conflict or violence or who raise funds for racial litigation. Ch. 152, Public Acts, 1957, filing of info., ~~by~~ including membership, by organizations, individuals and others soliciting funds to finance litigation	D. Ho below	House Joint Resolution No. 26, 1959 - Appoints an investigating committee to investigate the subversive activities of Highlander Folk School and other organizations affiliated therewith.
~~Texas~~ TEXAS	DABBS Has statutes requiring all state college students and teachers and all public school teachers to take an oath that they have never belonged to the C.P. or any org. "listed as subversive by the fed gov.	HB 5, 2nd 1957 Spec. Session - authorizes county judges to require registration of any organization engaged in activities designed to hinder, harass, + interfere" with state's operation of public schools	This is what "Politicians" lists under this category	X
Virginia		Ch. 31, 1956 Extra Session - indiv. or groups soliciting funds to finance litigation - file information including lists of members + contributors ~~etc~~ UNCONSTITUTIONAL	Ch. 32, 1956 - registration with the corporation comm. of persons and groups ~~engaged in promoting~~ various. UNCONSTITUTIONAL ✓	(II-102) Ch. 37 1956 Extra Session Leg. Committee to investigate the activities of organizations "which seek to influence, encourage or promote litigation relating to racial activities." Ch. 34, 1956 Extra Session Leg. Committee to oversee the enforcement of acts relating to champerty, maintenance, barratry, etc.

∴ Barratry, Champerty, Maintenance

Ga.

Miss.

S.C. (Ark. in 1958?)

Tenn.

Va.

	Regulations on Public Employees	Organizations Required to ~~Disclose~~ Register Membership	Organizations Required to Permit ~~Register~~ Inspection of Records or to File Info. other than membership	Investigating Committees, Hearings
Alabama	—	—	—	—
Arkansas	(1) Act 10, 1958 Public Educators required to disclose identity of organizations to which they belong or ~~have~~ contribute, or have in past 5 yrs. (2) Act 115, 1959. Makes unlawful the employment of members of the NAACP by the state or any school district. Unconstitutional - June, 1959	(1) Act 12, 1958 Orgs engaged in activities designed to hinder, harass, and interfere with power of state to control + operate public schools (upon request of co. judges)	(1) Act 13, 1958. Authorizes Atty. Gen. to inspect records of orgs which have "interfered" with "peace and proper administration of the public schools" (2) Act 85, 1957. Orgs promoting "integration of races in pub schools" must file quarterly statements showing contributors. Rules valid, 1958. ~~(2) Ordinance No. 10~~ (3) Act 225. 1959 Registration of organizations interfering with school operations.	(1) Act 83, 1957. State Sovereignty Comm., with investigative powers. Rules valid, 1958. (2) ~~Special Committee~~ Legislative Council Committee ~~held hearings~~ Special Education Committee probed alleged Communist influences in Ark. racial troubles, Dec., 1958: Had been investigating trouble at Central High. (1) Res. Act. 18, 1958. Joint Leg. committee to investigate orgs seeking to promote, finance, institute litigation. (2) H.R.'s Nos. 8 and 11 (Res Act Nos. 16 + 15) - 1957. enable Ga. Ed. Comm. (created 1953) to hold hearings and conduct investigations. Ga. Ed. Comm. abolished 1959.
Georgia ~~Barring~~ Act Student participation RRLR II: 715	Ga. Board of Education Resol., 1955. See W. Pol. Q., P. 385 Withdrawn. ~~Loyalty Oath (was in effect since 1948, at least. Two forms to fill out - one swearing support of constitution — other declaring subversive - evidentiary — orgs.)~~			

1. Atlanta – Current Boycott continues

2. Louisville Ky. – Spasmodic demonstrations for weeks against segregated eating establishments; 149 Negroes arrested 4/20/61. Boycott ~~[illegible]~~ Probably continues (?).

3. Charlotte, N.C. – SNCC sit-ins at restaurants, stand-ins at movies over week-end of April 22-23, during SNCC meeting in the city.

4. New Orleans, La. – Picketing and arrests during last week.

5. Jackson, Miss. – Ride-in on city buses April 19; 4 arrested. 1 later arrested (4/21)
Mass protest meeting called by NAACP.

(6)? Boycott in Savannah, Ga.? Probably – has lasted a year. Last report 1 week before Easter, 1961.

(7) Columbia, S.C. Picketing City hall; plans for picketing gov's mansion

(8) Memphis – see attached

Segregation Committees of the Southern States

State	Committee	Date Established	
Alabama	Interim Legislative Committee on Segregation in the Public Schools (Boutwell Committee)	Sept 1953	6 members Established by the Legislature to study school segregation
Arkansas	Advisory Committee on Segregation	?	5 member committee authorized by governor to study measures of Virginia and North Carolina and make recommendations to the governor on course of action for Arkansas.
Florida	1. Fabisinski Committee	March 1956	8 or 7 member group of retired judges and lawyers directed to study laws of Florida and recommend any necessary changes in view of the U. S. Supreme Court decision which may be used to maintain segregation.
	2. Governor's Advisory Committee on Racial Matters	September, 1956	Fabisinski continues as chairman, but group now has three members, one of whom is a Negro. Group is to assist governor in handling matters that create racial tension,
Georgia	Georgia Education Commission	December 1953	Established by special session of the legislature at the request of Governor Talmadge to find means of circumventing the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court. Composed of all-white group of citizens from public and private life.
Louisiana	Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation (Rainach Committee)	1954	Established to find ways of maintaining segregation of races in all phases of life in the state. Composed of 10 members of the legislature.
Mississippi	1. Legal Educational Advisory Committee	1954	25 member committee created in anticipation of the U. S. Supreme Court decision to make plans to retain segregation.
	2. State Sovereignty Commission	March 1956	12 member commission headed by the governor directed to guard against racial integration and federal encroachment on the state's sovereignty. Replaces the Legal Educational Advisory Committee.

NEWSPAPER SOURCES INDICATE THAT THE FOLLOWING SOUTHERN CITIES HAVE EMPLOYED OR PROMOTED NEGRO POLICEMEN SINCE 1954

Alabama

Mobile: First Negro deputy sheriff appointed, June 1955.

Tuscaloosa: Several Negro policewomen employed, Spring 1955.

Florida

Miami: Four Negro patrolmen are promoted to the rank of sergeant by the police department, June 1955.

Jacksonville: The Duvall County Sheriff adds several Negro deputies on a permanent basis after May 1954.

Georgia

* Atlanta: Two Negro policemen are promoted to the rank of detective, Fall 1955. Five additional Negro patrolmen were added to the Atlanta police force in November, 1956.

Two Negro deputies are employed to assist in handling Negro prisoners in Fulton County, June 1955.

Maryland

Baltimore: Two Negro police - one a woman - are promoted to sergeant, 1956.

Lorenzo Campbell became the first Negro deputy sheriff in Baltimore's history when he was appointed to that position in February 1957.

A Negro entered the Maryland State Police Academy in July 1957, the first of his race to be enrolled in the school.

North Carolina:

Rockingham: The First Negro policeman is hired to patrol the Negro section, August 1955.

Charlotte: A Negro patrolman is promoted to sergeant, with authority to arrest anyone in his jurisdiction, regardless of race, May 1956.

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* A May 1959 report from City of Atlantapolice department revealed that a total of 31 Negro policemen are presently employed. Four of this number are detectives, three are patrolmen serving as turnkeys in police station, 24 are patrolmen.

Virginia:

Vienna: The first Negro policeman in northern Virginia is hired by the Vienna Town Council, bringing the town force to three, September 1955.

Richmond: Thirty-two Negro police officers from seven cities in the state are graduated from the Central Police Training School in Richmond, the first Negroes to attend the school.

Lynchburg: Lynchburg appointed its first two Negro policemen to the city force in January 1957.

LOCAL CITIZENS COUNCILS

Virginia: Peninsula Citizens Council (Newport News)

North Carolina: Guilford County Defenders of States Rights
Caswell County Defenders of States Rights

Mississippi: (January 1959--66 county citizens councils, according to Citizens Council; the following are the ones we know of)

Jackson Citizens Council
Amite County Citizens Council
Adams County Citizens Council
Forest Citizens Council (Scott County ?)
Tchula Citizens Council
Yazoo City Citizens Council
Grenada County Citizens Council
Ruleville Citizens Council
Columbus Citizens Council
Marion County Citizens Council
Jefferson Davis County Citizens Council
Lowndes County Citizens Council
Moss Point Citizens Council
Greenwood Citizens Council
Bentonia Citizens Council
Tate County Citizens Council
Rankin County Citizens Council
District 4 Citizens Council (Madison County)
Warren County Citizens Council
Edwards Citizens Council

Texas: Oak Cliff Citizens Council (Dallas County)

South Carolina: Manning Citizens Council
Florence Citizens Council
Grass Roots League, Inc. (Charleston)
Sumter County Citizens Council
Darlington Citizens Council
Kershaw Citizens Council
Hartsville Citizens Council

Georgia: Cobb County White Citizens for Segregation
Chatham Citizens Council (Savannah)
Flint River Citizens Council

Florida: Seminole County Citizens Council
Lake County Citizens Council
Panama City Citizens Council

Alabama: Montgomery Citizens Council
Wilcox County Citizens Council
Dallas County Citizens Council

Arkansas: Capital Citizens Council (Little Rock)
Dollarway District Citizens Council

Louisiana: Citizens Council of Greater New Orleans
South Louisiana Citizens Council
Metairie Citizens Council
Shreveport Citizens Council
St. Bernard Citizens Council
Kenner Citizens Council
Slidell Citizens Council
New Orleans City Park Citizens Council

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Bibliog.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LITERATURE ON THE SOUTH, SEGREGATION, AND THE SCHOOLS

BOOKS

1. CITIZENS GUIDE TO DESEGREGATION, Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg. Beacon Press, 1955. 185 pages, $1.45.

   Chronicles social and legal change in America from the Reconstruction era to 1954 and outlines major court decisions leading to and culminating in the school desegregation decisions.

2. EPITAPH FOR DIXIE, AN, Harry Ashmore. W. W. Norton, 1958. 189 pages, $3.50.

   The executive editor of Little Rock's Arkansas Gazette examines and appraises the Southern scene in its present state of economic and social transition, supplying perspective on the region's desegregation convulsions. Critics rate the book as the first definitive study of the current period, a source book of the South which ranks with W. J. Cash's "The Mind of the South."

3. LONESOME ROAD, THE, Saunders Redding. Doubleday & Company, 1958. Mainstream of America Series, 355 pages, $5.75.

   An account of the Negro's progress toward racial equality in this country with the focus on the individual. Recounts stories of thirteen men and women, among them, W. E. B. DuBois; Daniel Hale Williams; Sojourner Truth; Joe Louis; Thurgood Marshall; Daniel E. Payne; A. Phillip Randolph.

4. MIRACLE OF SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT, Carl F. Hansen. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York. 70 pages, $ .35.

   Carl F. Hansen, associate superintendent in charge of white elementary schools and curriculum planning in the District of Columbia during the period of desegregation of the District's schools, describes the "man-made miracle" of successful social change in his school system.

5. NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE, Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely. Rinehart & Company, 1958. 371 pages, $5.00.

   A picture of the South during the four year period following 1954 drawn from interviews with people from every element in Southern society and presented in readable anecdote style.

6. NEGRO QUESTION, THE, George W. Cable. Edited by Arlin Turner. Doubleday & Company, Garden City, New York, 1958. 286 pages, $3.95.

A selection of essays, letters, and speeches written between 1875 and 1890 by a Southern novelist-social critic (once a Confederate soldier), "The Negro Question" analyzes the major problems and conflicts with which the South is confronted today. On the basis of religious, political, moral, and social considerations, the author concludes that the treatment of the Negro has been immoral, unjust, and impractical, thereby soundly arguing the case for extending unrestricted civil rights to all people.

7. NEGRO POTENTIAL, THE, Eli Ginzberg. Columbia University Press, 1956. 144 pages, $3.00.

Traces the economic gains made by Negroes between 1940 and 1956 and the challenges yet to be faced before the Negro can fully share in the country's economic opportunities and before the country can fully utilize the latent potential of the Negro race. An analysis of the utilization of the Negro in the Armed Services serves as an example. The study further considers the deficiencies of the present Negro educational system.

8. PSYCHIATRIC ASPECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1790 Broadway, New York, New York, 1957. 95 pages, $1.00.

The observations and findings of more than 250 psychiatrists and social scientists are the substance of this study, designed to assist "in working out the knotty inter-racial problems affecting desegregation." The effects of segregation and prejudice on both majority and minority groups are examined, as are the psycho-dynamics of attitude change.

9. ST. LOUIS STORY, THE, Bonita H. Valien. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York. 72 pages, $ .35.

An account and appraisal of desegregation in the city schools of St. Louis, Missouri, describing preparation and planning, as well as the roles played by community agencies, administrators, teachers, and students.

10. SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL (Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915), Louis R. Harlan. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1958. 290 pages, $6.00.

From the fly leaf: "Here is told, in a successful blend of warm interest and cold statistics, the story of public education in the four Southern seaboard states under the impact of two powerful forces - the wave of racism that swept the South in the early 1900's and the

efforts during the same period of a group of Northern philanthropists to help the crusading school men of the South toward their goal of 'universal' education. Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia swung...toward a slowly expanding public school system - and toward an ever widening inequality of education between whites and Negroes." Although, as Mr. Harlan states, this study is only indirectly related to the desegregation movement, it is of particular interest in these times of threat to the South's painfully constructed public school system.

11. SOUTHERN HERITAGE, THE, James McBride Dabbs. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1958. 273 pages, $4.00.

After analysing the reasons behind the rise and growth of segregation in the South, then demolishing the arguments of segregationists, the author (himself a Southern plantation owner) concludes that not only has the price of segregation been too great but the system of racial separation actually runs counter to the best features of the "Southern heritage."

12. STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM, Martin Luther King, Jr. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1958. $2.95.

The leader of Montgomery, Alabama's protest movement against bus segregation in 1955-56 tells the story of that protest from his personal point of perspective and submits a suasive argument for non-violent resistance as a method of combating racial oppression.

13. WITH ALL DELIBERATE SPEED, edited by Don Shoemaker. Harper and Brothers 1957. 239 pages, $3.50.

Compiled by the staff members and associates of the Southern Education Reporting Service, this symposium summarizing developments in educational desegregation in the Southern and border states since 1954 emphasizes the disinterested documentation of events rather than interpretation or extensive analysis. A number of useful statistical tables are included.

PERIODICAL REFERENCE SOURCES

1. NEW SOUTH, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432, Atlanta, Georgia, $2.00 per year.

   Chronicles "the changing South in print," with information and analysis of Southern problems and progress. Published monthly, except for August.

2. RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, Vanderbilt University School of Law, Nashville, Tennessee, $3.00 per year.

   Presents, in six volumes each year, texts of legislation, orders, regulations, and decisions in court cases involving race relations.

3. SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS, Southern Education Reporting Service, P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville 5, Tennessee, $2.00 per year.

   A monthly publication reporting, factually and objectively, on school segregation-desegregation in the Southern and Border states.

OTHER MATERIALS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST

1. ECONOMIC EFFECT OF SCHOOL CLOSING, THE, James Montgomery, Business Editor of the Atlanta Constitution. This presentation was first made in the Emory University Short Course, "The Crisis in the Schools," Winter Quarter, 1959.

2. FIRST STEP TOWARD SCHOOL INTEGRATION, A, Anna Holden. Pamphlet, available through Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York. $ .25 per single copy, June, 1958.

3. RACE RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH, Rembert W. Patrick. Pamphlet, available through Florida State Teachers Association, P. O. Box 1211, Tallahassee, Florida. $ .25 per single copy. 21 pages, 1958.

4. SEGREGATION COSTS: DIXIE FIRMS FIND THEM MORE OF A BURDEN AS RACIAL TENSION GROWS, Cal Brumley, Wall Street Journal, December 17, 1957.

5. SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF VIRGINIA'S CURRENT EDUCATIONAL CRISIS, Lorin A. Thompson, Director of Bureau of Economic and Population Research, University of Virginia.

6. STORY NOBODY TELLS YOU, THE. William Peters, McCall's, September, 1958, page 35.

7. STRATEGY OF SOUTHERN RESISTANCE, THE. Arthur S. Miller, The Reporter, October 2, 1958, page 18.

8. TRUTH ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS, Erwin Knoll. Washington Post and Times Herald, December 22-28, 1958 or available in pamphlet form from The Turnpike Press, Annandale, Virginia, $ .15 per copy.

9. VIOLENCE CHECKS SOUTHERN INDUSTRY BOOM, Herbert Hill, New Leader, April 14, 1958, page 3.

MASTER COPY

NEGROES RUNNING FOR PUBLIC OFFICE
(1957 to August 10, 1959)

Newsclips which have come to our attention indicate that the following Negroes were candidates for public office during 1957, 1958, 1959. Unless indicated, it is assumed that they were not elected. A more nearly complete listing of Negro candidates should include those who were successful in their bid for election, as shown on the SRC report, "Elections and Appointments."

Alabama:

Arkansas: W. C. Nolen filed for election to Hot Springs School Board, 1957.
Charles Knott - Dollarway School Board, 1959.

Florida: The Rev. King Solomon DuPont was a candidate for Tallahassee City Council, February 1957.

Grant Johnson filed for City Council in Bradenton, November 1957.

Robert F. Houck was a candidate for Marion County Democratic Committee, July 1958, the first Negro to qualify for a county political post since reconstruction days.

Georgia: The Reverend Charles D. Walker, the first Negro candidate to run for a municipal post in Savannah since Reconstruction days, was a candidate for election to the aldermanic board, 1958.

W. C. Ervin for re-election to Augusta Board of Education in 1957; defeated.

Liberty County--Eight Negroes qualified as candidates for membership on the Democratic Executive Committee in early 1958.

Atlanta (Fulton County)--Four Negroes ran for places on Democratic Executive Committee: Mrs. Ruby Blackburn, Dr. C. A. Bacote, J. C. Daugherty and a fourth Negro. Dr. Bacote and Mr. Daugherty were elected. 1958.

T. M. Alexander ran for Board of Aldermen in city Primary. Was defeated in run-off ballotting. 1957.

North Carolina: The Rev. Eugene Turner ran for a post on the Lumberton city school board, the first member of his race to file for public office in Lumberton, winning 494 out of a total of 2,455 votes in the May election. 1958.

Ocia Howell was a candidate for constable in Robeson County in the late spring elections. 1958.

Dr. Nelson H. Harris campaigned for election to the State House of Representatives from Wake County during the spring of 1958. In 1959 he entered race for Raleigh School Board, then withdrew because of lack of interest among Negroes he said.

Rev. A. M. Gibson announced his candidacy for nomination to the County Board of Education (Iredell County) 1958.

Tenn.

Frank R. Gordon qualified as a candidate for the Knoxville board of education in Nov. 1959 election. He was defeated by a white candidate for the same post 4 years earlier.

With

B. Wilde.

BW.

The Rev. I. B. Horton was one of six candidates for the five positions of the Chadburn board of commissioners in early 1959. (During his campaign he received at least two telephone calls, made by someone who identified himself as a member of the Ku Klux Klan, threatening death to his wife and children if he stayed in the race.)

Dr. Clifford Jones ran for one of three vacancies on Elizabeth City City Council, May, 1957.

Two Negroes sought four-year terms on the city council of Durham in 1957.

Waldo C. Falkner ran for Greensboro city council, Spring 1959.

L. T. Lightner and Dr. Catherine G. Middleton were candidates for the seven man city council of Raleigh in April 1957. Dr. Nelson H. Harris (defeated in race for election to state House of Representatives in 1958) filed for election to Raleigh city council in 1959, later withdrew.

Dr. Salter J. Cochran was only Negro among ten candidates seeking election to the Halfax County Board of Education in 1958. Cochran also ran in 1956.

There was a Negro candidate for municipal office, evidently city council, of Wilson in 1957.

Robert F. Williams entered race for mayor of Monroe, 1959.

Rev. Wm. R. Crawford announced as a candidate for a fifth term on board of aldermen in Winston-Salem. Results of election unknown. He is also a member of the city school board. 1959

Louisiana: Alexander P. Tureaud campaigned for election as U. S. Congressman from Louisiana in 1958, but was defeated almost 6 to 1.

South Carolina: Three Negroes filed in the race for a seat in the House of Representatives from Richland County: The Rev. W. M. Bowman, A. P. Williams, Wilson Miles. John Wrighten was in the race for the House from Charleston County. All in 1958.

Tennessee: Shepperson A. Wilbun announced as an independent candidate for state representative in the August 7 Democratic primary. 1958.

The Rev. U. Z. McKinnon was a candidate for one of the county's two seats in a state constitutional convention. November 1958.

Roy Love and Henry Bunton ran for membership on the school board of Memphis; Rev. Ben Hooks, for Memphis juvenile court judge, and Eliehue Stanback for tax assessor. Russell B. Sugarman, Jr. ran for city commissioner. All 1959. (All defeated.)

In Nashville, Leo Lillard ran for post of vice mayor in 1959. Eight other Negroes, including two incumbent councilmen, were candidates for city council in 1959. (The two incumbents were both re-elected: Robert E. Lillard and Z. Alexander Looby.)

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Atlanta 3, Georgia

CURRENT MATERIALS AVAILABLE

_____ THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS, a 48-page report sent to President John F. Kennedy with an 18-point proposal on executive power in furthering civil rights. 50¢ single copy; 35¢ each in quantities of 50 or more.

_____ RACIAL VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, by George McMillan, 32 pages Southern Regional Council. A study of racial violence and law enforcement in Chattanooga, Little Rock, and Montgomery. 25¢ single copy.

_____ SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE FIRST SIX YEARS, 35 pages, Southern Regional Council. This short pamphlet sets forth, in question and answer form, the facts confronting the South and the meaning for its citizens. 30¢ single copy; 25¢ each in quantities of 50 or more.

_____ RACIAL CRISIS AND THE PRESS, Walter Spearman and Sylvan Meyer, an analysis of the treatment of racial news by the press. 30¢ single copy; 25¢ for quantity copies.

_____ THE SOUTH AND THE NATION, by Leroy Collins, former Governor of Florida, "a picture of the material advance of the South in recent years, of unusual educational efforts and successes, of a growing but wise use of government, and of the possible return of the South to her early position of national leadership." 15¢ single copy.

_____ THE CHURCH IN AREAS OF RACIAL TENSIONS, by the Reverend Cornelius Tarplee, Associate Secretary for Intergroup Relations, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, an address given before the National Convocation of the Church in Town and Country in Louisville, Kentucky. 10¢ single copy.

_____ IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED...A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOL PLAN, by Warren E. Gauerke and Donald Ross Green, 40 pages, 1959, The Southern Regional Council. 25¢ single copy.

_____ TOWARD A SOLUTION TO THE SIT-IN CONTROVERSY, by Margaret Price, a round-up of events in the sit-in controversy including an analysis of methods used to solve the problem in some cities. (mimeographed) 10¢ single copy.

_____ LUNCH-COUNTER DESEGREGATION IN CORPUS CHRISTI, GALVESTON, AND SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, by Kenneth Morland. (mimeographed) 10¢ single copy.

_____ THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT, a Special Report prepared by the research department of the Southern Regional Council. 10¢ single copy.

_____ THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT and THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH, both by Margaret Price; and RACE AND SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH SINCE 1940; three treatments of registration and voting by Negroes, published by the Southern Regional Council. 40¢ for three-pamphlet packet; 35¢ for quantity copies.

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_____ L-6 -- THE "DAVIS REPORT" AND THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SITUATION IN WASHINGTON, D. C., July 3, 1959.

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_____ L-17 -- DESEGREGATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, March 14, 1960.

_____ L-20 -- PROBLEM SOLVING THROUGH RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEES, October 25, 1960.

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_____ L-22 -- A REPORT BY THE FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS, a biracial commission appointed by former Governor Collins of Florida to supply leadership on issues of race relations, December 9, 1960.

_____ L-23 -- DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION, January 24, 1961.

_____ L-24 -- EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS BY MALCOLM BRYAN, PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF ATLANTA, CONCERNING RACIAL PROBLEMS AND ECONOMICS, February 16, 1961.

_____ ACTION PATTERNS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: A GUIDEBOOK, by Herbert Wey and John Corey, 276 pages, 1959, Phi Delta Kappa Commission Project. Single copy free, quantity requests considered.

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